Author's copy

By Edward R. Murrow
C.B.S. News Commentator

October 18

In France, the winds of optimism are blowing. Mendès-France is being referred to as "the different Premier." He has lived dangerously--demonstrated that he is prepared to gamble politically, and that he is no prisoner of tradition. He has decided to confer with German Chancellor Adenauer at his week end retreat in Marly Forest, instead of at the Foreign Office. This is where the kings of France once went to shoot wild duck; and this week Mendès-France and Adenauer will be trying to snare the dove of peace. There will be a blind around the Marly Pavilion, a complete blackout on all news from the outside for fear that a public controversy in the course of negotiations might force either man to take an irreconcilable position. The first and biggest problem is that of the Saar. Last week Mendès-France sent one of his top advisors to Bonn, secretly, to talk with Adenauer's right hand men. These conversations are [redacted] described as "very successful."

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Later this week, French and German leaders will join United States Secretary of State Dulles and British Foreign Minister Eden for four-power talks on German sovereignty. Then on Friday the full fourteen-nation North Atlantic Treaty Organization meets, but what they can do will depend upon what the French and German leaders have decided in that shooting lodge at Marly. Mendès-France will want a tighter integration of t the armed forces on the Continent, tighter control for the supreme commander; and some scheme for an armaments pool, perhaps going so far as jointly owned and operated French-German armament plants. Mendès-France is still under very considerable pressure to open direct negotiations with the Russians for disarmament, and he is expected to press this view on Mr. Dulles and Mr. Eden.

[redacted]

Cut some of the optimism may be due to the weather, for in Paris the roses are blooming in October; but [redacted] there seems to be more solid ground for the current French optimism. Mendès-France has asked the Socialists to join his Cabinet next week. He has offered them the portfolios of Economic Affairs, Labor

and Social Security. This would give the Socialists a strong hand in increasing the living standard of the masses of the French people, which Mendès-France insists is the best way of fighting Communist influence in France.

If Mendès-France brings off the Socialist participation in his government, he will have a stable political majority, for in France the Socialists are among the most militant anti-Communists. So it appears tonight that if the international conference in Paris is not booby-trapped, the French-Cabinet will be re-made next week, and Mendès-France may preside over the most stable government, with the most workable majority that any French Premier has had since the end of the war.

October 21,

Dispatches from Paris tonight indicate that the diplomats of nine nations are bulging with optimism. Smiling delegates are predicting that the final papers will be signed by Saturday. Agreement has been reached on the broad plans for restoring German soverignty, ending the Allied occupation, and linking Germany militarily with the west.

ap

This means that Germany will regain her freedom, the right to create a half million man German Army. Premier Mendès-France has withdrawn his demand that there be created an arms pool of all the member nations. Agreement in principle has been reached to admit Germany and Italy as members of the Brussels Alliance.

The French and Germans have reached agreement on the one issue that threatened to hold up the signing—some kind of settlement of the Saar question. We do not know the terms of the settlement, but it has been reached.

This conference in Paris shaped up as pretty much a French-German conference, with the other Europeans, the United States and Britain sitting on the side lines wondering who was doing what to whom. There were long private conversations between French Premier Mendès-France and German Chancellor Adenauer—conversations held without aides or interpreters. Mendès-France speaks excellent German. Already there is evident a certain amount of concern on the part of the smaller European powers, lest this

"Franco-German dialogue" result in an agreement to run the rest of Europe. There is some unofficial talk in Paris of the possibility of a Franco-German agreement involving cartels and division of markets and German assistance in developing and exploiting French territory in North Africa. A Franco-German combine could undersell Britain [redacted] in the markets of the Middle and Far East. It could also give the United States some hot competition in the South American markets.

Mendès-France in recent days hasn't appeared the least bit reluctant or fearful of the dangers involved in German re-armament. He has abandoned his earlier stand, demanding tight control on German civil aviation, as well as the uses to which the great Ruhr industries may be put. His political spokesman have been beating the drums about vast plans for economic cooperation with Germany. The French government appears to have suppressed its earlier fears that a German embrace can choke as well as comfort France and the rest of Europe.

While there is optimism in Paris tonight, there is also recognition that the signing of a paper does not alter the facts of

history or geography. But if the agreement is in fact signed on Saturday, the Western Powers will have set something of a record for agreements reached; Trieste, Suez and finally the nine-power agreement, which will be the result of almost three years of negotiation and compromise.

October 22

Last night it was reported here that the Germans and French had reached agreement on the Saar. That was generally believed, but it was not true. There was a new crisis this morning, and success or failure of the Paris conference, involving fifteen nations and over four hundred million people in the Atlantic community, now depends directly on the future of the tiny coal-rich Saar land, no bigger than Rhode Island. There is a new chapter of history ready to be sent out to the printers in Paris. It records not only the soverignty of Germany and her military alliance with the West; it records contracts and agreements already drawn up, for a wide range of industrial, cultural and commercial cooperation between Germany and France.

This includes joint armament plants, ex-

change of students, big contracts for Germany to buy French milk, wheat sugar and meat; and a French agreement to remove trade quotas on hundreds of millions of dollars worth of German products. All this , and more hinges on the Saar settlement. Since the end of the late war this tiny territory has had political autonomy, but has been tied economically to France. This agreement, admittedly a temporary one, was engineered at the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Moscow in 1947 by John Foster Dulles, who was then adviser to Secretary of State General George Marshall.

In the past German Chancellor Adenauer has said that he was willing to renounce German territorial claims to the Saar, and wait for a final decision to be made when a German peace treaty is signed. The French fear a repetition of what happened in 1935, when under Nazi threats of invasion and influenced by German propaganda, the people of the Saar voted in a plebiscite to return to Germany.

One set of figures will illustrate the importance of the Saar to France. French production of coal and steel, together with

that of the Saar, represent about twenty-eight percent of the total European output. Germany and the Rhur contribute about thirty-four percent. If the Saar were returned to Germany, the French would have about eighteen-percent of the total European production and the Germans forty-four percent.

In Paris both Chancellor Adenauer and Premier Mendès-France are claiming that they will have trouble with their own legislative bodies, if either gives more ground. Unofficially the Germans and the French are accusing each other of bad faith.

This sudden crisis in Paris has added new fuel to the anti-French sentiment which flared up so strongly in Bonn after the French Assemlby killed the European Defense Community. This time, Adenauer is backed by all political parties in Germany and he would run into serious domestic political difficulties if he would concede any major points to the French. Nine Germans out of ten would consider it outright French blackmail.

The present German Government and the German constitution are strictly provisional. They are not authorized to dispose of Ger-

man territory. Only a peace treaty, concluded by a reunited Germany, can settle territorial and constitutional questions. Thus any solution for the Saar must legally and factually be only temporary. The Germans also demand full freedom for all political parties in the Saarland, including those advocating the return of the Saar to Germany. This the French will not agree to. The Germans demand equal economic rights in the Saar, although they are willing that the French continue to manage the currency and customs.

This present crisis is over a moth-eaten, much discussed and debated nineteenth century issue. Many Germans suspect that France is only using the Saar as a pretext to hold back the clock and keep Germany in continued subjugation. Many Frenchmen believe that the Germans are not to be trusted, that they covet the territory of the Saar as well as its coal and steel.

For the moment this is a case where negotiations of far-reaching importance—perhaps crucial to the defense of the Western world—have run into a wall of memory, suspicion,

history and economics.

If agreement can be reached, it will probably have to be done in the broadest and most general terms, leaving the tough practical details for definition and resolution later on. For at this point, and primarily for domestic political reasons, neither Adenauer nor Mendès-France can afford what would appear to be a defeat on the issue of the Saar. Neither one can afford to pay the price of a victory for his point of view, because the price would involve the collapse of the West European union. This is why, in spite of this last-minute crisis, there remains considerable optimism tonight both in Paris and Bonn.

F

March 23, 1959

Mr. Gregor Ziemer
American Foundation for the Blind
15 West 16th Street
New York 11, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Ziemer:

I have pleasure in sending you Mr. Murrow's recording of the script for the commemorative record in connection with the Talking Book Silver Anniversary. I hope you will find it in order.

Yours sincerely,

Sheila Hogg
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

M. C. MIGEL, Chairman, Board of Trustees
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AMERICAN FOUNDATION FOR THE BLIND, Inc.

15 WEST 16TH STREET • NEW YORK 11, N. Y. • WATKINS 4-0420
CABLE ADDRESS: FOUNDATION, NEW YORK

HON. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, Honorary President

*M. ROBERT BARNETT
Executive Director

*HELEN A. KELLER, L.H.D., LL.D.
Counselor, Bureau of National and International Relations

March 3, 1959

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madision Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed Murrow:

During your absence your very pleasant secretary (I'd probably say lovely if I had ever seen her) advised us that you would be back March 9.

Herewith the script for the commemorative record for the Talking Book anniversary.

Just read your part on tape, speed 7½, and we'll do the rest. Through the Library of Congress, we are working with CBS who have put a director at our elbow -- Bruno Caroto Jr., who will help us edit the tapes as soon as the President and the others have finished.

Since we are working against a sort of dead-line (as always) anything you can do will be appreciated.

I need not stress again how grateful we are, in the name of America's 350,000 blind people, for the excellent help you are giving us. . . This record will be sent out nation-wide by the Library of Congress and will become an important document in the long road of the Talking Book.

My best wishes to you, and as you know, we all feel there is only one Ed Murrow. . . Too bad, too. Otherwise some of us could perhaps emulate you.

Thanks again, Ed. It's a fine thing you are doing for us.

Cheers,

Greg Z

Gregor Ziemer
Director of Public Education

GZ:md
Encls: 2 scripts

*Blind

Please see reverse side

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* Blind

American Foundation for the Blind

15 West 16th Street
New York 11, N.Y.
WAtkins 4-0420

ypc.

November 5, 1958

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Company
485 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed Murrow,

Large thanks for your willingness to narrate our commemorative record for the Talking Book Silver Anniversary.

We will contact you as soon as the script is ready.

Sincerely,

Greg Z

Gregor Ziemer
Director of Public Education

GZ:md

upc.

October 29, 1958

Mr. Gregor Ziemer
American Foundation for the Blind, Inc.
15 West 16th Street
New York 11, N.Y.

Dear Gregor Ziemer:

In reply to your letter of October 28, I shall be happy to participate in the preparation of the commemorative record on the 25th anniversary of the Talking Book.

I suggest that, when you have the script ready, you give me a call and we can arrange a convenient date for the recording.

Yours very truly,

KRM:skh

*M. C. MIGEL, Chairman, Board of Trustees
JANSEN NOYES, Jr., President
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HON. DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER, Honorary President

*M. ROBERT BARNETT
Executive Director

*HELEN A. KELLER, L.H.D., LL.D.
Counselor, Bureau of National and International Relations

October 28, 1958

Will do

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madison Ave.
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed Murrow,

Several times I've tried to impress you with the possibility of using M. Robert Barnett, the nation's No. 1 blind man, for "Person to Person." I'll let that rest for a while, knowing that eventually he'll make it. It's such a natural that someday you'll be happy you used him.

But, Ed, I am writing now in behalf of the Library of Congress, the American Printing House for the Blind (which prints the Readers Digest in Braille) and the American Foundation for the Blind.

One of the greatest friends of America's 350,000 blind people is the Talking Book, that marvelous long-playing record which will be celebrating its 25th Anniversary this Spring.

More than 2800 books have been read on records by authors and readers; more than 7,000,000 records have been made by the Foundation alone since 1934; more than 58,000 blind readers use these records which are distributed free of charge by the Library of Congress.

Now, to commemorate the 25th Anniversary of the Talking Book, a special commemorative record will be made, to go to all of America's libraries for the blind and all blind people. The record will give a short resume of what the Talking Book is, then, hopefully, bring a message from the President of the United States who is our Honorary President as you can see from this letterhead; a message from the Librarian of Congress, from the director of the Printing House, and from Barnett himself.

Mr. Bray, head of the department of the Library of Congress dealing with Talking Books has asked me to contact you.

Would you give us about 15 minutes of your precious time to do the background and narration for this record? Since the entire record will be only about 40 minutes

*Blind

Please see reverse side

(both sides) the part allocated to you would be about 15 minutes. We'd prepare the script, come to your studio whenever you designate, take the message down on tape, and then cut it in between the various speakers.

Nobody need tell us how busy Ed Murrow is. We know that. We are all the better for it. The nation will some day bless you for your courage, your determination, and your stamina.

If I now ask for special attention it is so that America's 350,000 blind people can give you a special "thank you."

There is no immediate urgency about this — I mean it need not be done tomorrow. You pick the time — any time between now and Christmas. . . .

Can do, Ed? The results will be grand and glorious, I assure you.

I'll be at your disposal. . . And WHEN will we see you at an ARNA meeting?

Sincerely,

Greg

Gregor Ziemer
Director of Public Education

GZ:md

FOR RECORDING

DISTRIBUTION LIMITED

TALKING BOOK COMMEMORATIVE RECORD

By

Gregor Ziemer

CAST:

President Eisenhower
Edward Murrow
L. Quincy Mumford
Finis E. Davis
M. Robert Barnett
Woman (Southern)
Man (Western)
Child
Old Woman
Man

VOICES ON RECORD John Knight --Alexander Woollcott (While Rome Burns)
Ethel Everett (The Open Door)

= - - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

VOICES ON TAPE - Eva LeGallienne
- Robert Sherwood
- Edna Ferber
- John Mason Brown

MUSIC

DOCUMENTARY COMMEMORATIVE RECORD

HONOR OF 25th ANNIVERSARY OF TALKING BOOK

COMMEMORATIVE RECORD

(MUSIC: HAIL TO THE CHIEF -- BRIGHT AND STRONG ENOUGH TO ESTABLISH THE MOOD. . . THEN UNDER, KEEP MUSIC B.G. WHILE WE HEAR:

MURROW: Ladies and Gentlemen, the President of the United States.

(MUSIC UP FOR A FEW BEATS -- THEN B.G. MAINTAIN DURING SPEECH)

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER: MY FELLOW CITIZENS: Twenty five years ago those of our countrymen who were blind either had to be read to, or they had to learn to read braille, if they wanted to read their Bible and other books.

Then something happened. Thanks to our American Congress, working through the Library of Congress, in cooperation with the American Foundation for the Blind, New York, and the American Printing House for the Blind, Louisville, long-playing records were made available.

Today our 350,000 blind people can hear the world's finest classical and modern literature, on these long-playing TALKING BOOKS. Thirty-five thousand titles in all are available --on millions of records.

I myself have heard some of these Talking Books and can well imagine what they mean to blind people. It gives them a feeling of independence, of being as well-informed as their sighted friends. And I might add, that the Talking Books are the result of cooperation between the federal

(more)

government, state and voluntary agencies. They exemplify cooperation between governmental departments like the federal Post Office and the Library of Congress. In other words, it is a fine American Service.

And so on this record which commemorates the 25th anniversary of the TALKING BOOK I wish to extend to all present and future users, my greetings. And may I express the hope that if you know of a blind person who does not yet have the Talking Book, tell him about it. . . In that way we can fulfill yet another duty as good citizens. THANK YOU.

MUSIC UP: SLOWLY DURING THE LAST SENTENCE. AND FULL TEN OR TWENTY SECONDS AFTER THE PRESIDENT CLOSES:)

MURROW: Thank you, Mr. President.

(MUSIC: UP FOR 3 SECONDS THEN OUT)

MURROW: This is Edward R. Murrow. And THIS is a record prepared to help you commemorate the 25th anniversary of the TALKING BOOK.

Contrary to the well-behaved child of family lore, TALKING BOOKS were made to be heard, not seen. Before we become involved in the question of what a Talking Book is, where it began, what it does, perhaps you'd appreciate listening to a short passage from a TALKING BOOK.

(MUSIC: A FEW STRAINS OF A THEME BRIGHT AND DIGNIFIED. FADE OUT)

(More)

ETHEL EVERETT: THE OPEN DOOR
2:20

MURROW: What you have just heard is the introduction to one of the more recent TALKING BOOKS. Now it can probably be said with a certain degree of assurance that Man's Humanity to Man cannot be measured by Time. Mankind CAN do much for itself in the twinkling of an helpful eye; sometimes it does nothing over a span of wasted years. In the case of the TALKING BOOK, long-playing records for the blind, MUCH has been done in 25 years. For it was 25 years ago that the first TALKING BOOKS were made available to our blind citizens. Listen then to one of the first TALKING BOOKS ever made -- it may not have been High Fidelity, but it meant much to blind people back in 1934, especially since it was read to them by one of the historic titans of the airwaves, Alexander Woollcott.

(MUSIC: FEW MORE STRAINS OF THE THEME: THEN FADE OUT.)
2

RECORDING
WHILE ROME BURNS
1:40

(MUSIC: THEME: SOFTER AND FADE OUT)
5

MURROW: That's where it all began. Back in 1934. Of course, by the time Alex Woollcott let himself be persuaded to go into that first experimental recording booth (he never made any secret

(more)

of the fact that he suffered from claustrophobia) years of research had already been conquered -- Research with such necessary things as the lines per inch on the record, diameter of the needle, weight of the tone arm, number of revolutions per minute, and even the kind of material to use for a light non-breakable record. For be it remembered -- that in those days, although RCA and other organizations had conducted experiments with records that would play longer than 3 to 5 minutes, many problems were unanswered. But through the imagination and perseverance of men like Robert B. Irwin, then director of the American Foundation for the Blind, Dr. Frederick Paul Keppel, former president of Carnegie Corporation, William Corbett, J. O. Kleber, Lincoln Thompson, Harry Sommers, Charlie Helms, Jane Muhlfeld, Charles Ritter-- all names that will not soon be forgotten by those who know-- eventually there it was -- a 12 inch record that played 15 minutes at a speed of 33 1/3. Today's records run for 27 minutes. Then came the problem of money to make the records. . . Eventually that too was solved -- money was appropriated by Congress. The Library of Congress was placed in charge of administering the entire program -- nation-wide without cost to blind people. So let's hear from the Librarian of Congress, Dr. L. Quincy Mumford. We take you now to the Library of Congress in Washington D.C.

(MUSIC: DIGNIFIED -- A FEW BARS: ENOUGH TO ESTABLISH THE MOOD.)

(more)

MUMFORD:
120

As the head of the Library of Congress I send best wishes to all users of the Talking Book records, and to all who hear about it for the first time. We here at the Library are proud of the part we play in making the long-playing records available to America's blind people, through 30 cooperating libraries, and 55 state agencies for the blind. Although this is only one phase of the work, administered by our Division for the Blind, we feel it is a very vital one. Through this division we are making more and more Talking Books available as well as more and better machines that can be manipulated easily.

The work was nobly begun by Congresswoman Ruth Pratt of New York and Senator Reed Smoot of Utah when they became parents of a bill which appropriated money to the Library of Congress for books for the blind, back in 1931.

Now Talking Books have reached a milestone -- a 25th milestone. The Silver Anniversary should be an inspiration to all of us who have had anything to do with the program. . . It is an inspiration. Finally, who is entitled to use this Talking Book? Every blind person, including children. If, as the President has indicated, there are blind persons who do not yet have the Talking Book, a letter or postcard addressed to the Library of Congress will bring information on how to proceed to get one, in your own area.

And now let me say: Happy Anniversary, Talking Book!

(more)

MURROW: If the Talking Book is an inspiration to men like L. Quincy Mumford today, it was more of a challenge than an inspiration 25 years ago. First, the American Foundation for the Blind and its associates had to solve the problem of special machines to play the recordings, which could not be played well on ordinary phonographs. The first machines were manufactured as a WPA project under the supervision of the Foundation.

The problem of literary rights had to be solved. This too was overcome through the late Dr. Irwin's cooperation with the Author's Guild and the Author's League of America. Today all labels of Talking Books bear the legend, "Soley for the use of the blind," and both authors and publishers are most generous in permitting their books to be read onto Talking Book discs. . . Then came the question of readers. Professionals -- men and women with good voices -- were selected to do the reading. . . Some of the first readers are still doing it today . . . All blind people in the nation know names like John Knight, and Ethel Everett. Alexander Scourby has read the entire Bible more than three times. There are others who have been with the program almost since its beginning: Fred Utell, John Brewster, Carl Webber, Carmen Mathews, Norman Rose, Livingston Gilbert, and Milton Metz. Often famous authors have read parts or all of their books-- like Alexander Woollcott did. Here, for instance, are a few of such famous voices. See how many you can recognize:

EDNA FERBER 30 seconds

30

(more)

MURROW: That was a girl from Wisconsin -- named Edna Ferber
2

EVA LEGALLIENNE: 35 seconds
35

MURROW:
4 One of the famous ladies of the theatre-- Eva LeGallienne.

ROBERT SHERWOOD: 28 seconds
28

MURROW: A voice long to be remembered -- that of Robert Sherwood.
30

JOHN MASON BROWN: 16 seconds
16

MURROW: One of our leading critics -- John Mason Brown.
2

MURROW: And so many more -- Cornelia Otis Skinner, Thomas Mann,
28 W. Somerset Maugham, Eleanor Roosevelt, Ex-President Truman, Harry Hopkins, Wendell Wilkie, --oh, so many more.

And then came the question of where to manufacture the records. Finally two plants were selected: The American Foundation for the Blind in New York, and the American Printing House for the Blind in Louisville, Kentucky, both non-profit, public service agencies. It seems logical then to take you now to Louisville where we will be greeted by Superintendent Finis E. Davis. Mr. Davis. . .

(MUSIC: DIGNIFIED ENOUGH TO CREATE MOOD)

DAVIS:
120

From the Printing House in Louisville, Kentucky, I send greetings for this 25th anniversary of the Talking Book. The Talking Book and the American Printing House are old friends. Millions of labels on millions of discs carry the title "manufactured by the American Printing House for the Blind," including The Reader's Digest each month and Newsweek Magazine each week. In our 101st year of existence, we at the Printing House look back with pride to the many years during which we have contributed to this service to the blind -- the Talking Book.

The great deaf-blind leader, Helen Keller, once said, "While they were saying among themselves 'it cannot be done,' it was done." This sort of determination has always guided the progress of the Talking Book Program, ever since it was first conceived.

Anyone looking in on our studios where the books are recorded on tape, anyone who follows through and sees the master disc prepared, and the pressing made, the records packaged and mailed, will realize that this is not a minor operation -- but a big job.

Twenty-five years of service is a good record for any project. The Talking Book has just begun to Talk.

Happy Anniversary, Talking Book.

(more)

(MUSIC UP DURING END -- SOME BEATS TO ESTABLISH PERIOD)
35

MURROW: 30 When the cornerstone of the present headquarters of the American Foundation for the Blind, New York, was laid, into it went the usual array of timely documents, newspapers, a time capsule -- AND wrapped in wax an early TALKING BOOK Record with selections from Helen Keller's early books, the Bible, contemporary essays, and some noises of traffic of the day. In the year 2034 that record is supposed to be taken out and played. It will be an historic occasion. But while we wait for 2034 let's take you now to the American Foundation for the Blind and meet Mr. M. Robert Barnett, its executive director:

BARNETT: 120 As you have heard, in the cornerstone of the building a few feet from my office, rests one of the first Talking Book records ever made by the American Foundation for the Blind.

If we had another cornerstone laying at the Foundation now, we could place in it, the seven millionth Talking Book record manufactured here at our Foundation.

(more)

BARNETT: (con't) But of course, the Talking Book is more than numbers -- it is more than volume. It is quality as well. The Talking Book is a service, a service that has helped to make the lives of more and more blind people meaningful, productive and enjoyable.

Thirty-five hundred titles have now been recorded, as President Eisenhower has told you. That is more books than any one person can read in a life-time, probably. It indicates that blind people are being given a choice of reading material. And that is as it should be. For blind people don't all want to read the same thing, any more than the sighted do.

We here at the Foundation are indeed proud of the contributions made to the Talking Book Program, by my predecessor, Dr. Robert Irwin and his associates who laid the foundation for the Talking Book as we know it. But above all we are proud that our efforts today are a cooperative effort, between AFB, the Library of Congress, the American Printing House for the Blind in Louisville, the 30 distributing libraries and all the other agencies involved. This 25th anniversary would not have been possible without the efforts of all of us.

And if we all continue to combine our efforts, our dreams, and our planning, the Talking Book will indeed remain one of the outstanding services to the blind. To this hope the Foundation dedicates itself.

Our work in the Division of Technical Research continues.

(more)

BARNETT: (con't) The future offers many unanswered questions. We will do what we can to answer them.

Meanwhile -- Happy Anniversary, Talking Book.

MUSIC: BRIGHT UP AND OUT.)

MURROW: 60 Begun as a dream -- some say it was a dream of Thomas Edison that one day his talking machine would help the blind -- continued as a scientific experiment, existing today as a reality -- that is the Talking Book.

Some there are who have called the Talking Book the best friend blind people have. Some have objected to this on the grounds that it indicates dependency, and they prefer to think of the Talking Book as a SERVICE to the blind. Friend or service -- one fact remains -- Blind people need the Talking Book. Here are a few voices of people who are willing to say so: A blind woman from the South--

WOMAN: (SOUTHERN VOICE) Honestly, I don't rightly know what I'd do without my Talking Books. Every two months I get my list of available Talking Books in the Talking Book Topics. I pick those I want and send the list to my nearest Library for the Blind-- and back they come. . .

MURROW: Yes, back they come. Today in every state in the nation, in every city, village and hamlet, Uncle Sam's postal messengers are delivering the weather-proofed containers with Talking Book records. As a blind man from the West coast

(more)

MURROW: (Con't) puts it:

MAN: (WESTERN TWANG) I used to be mighty lonely sometimes before I had my Talking Book. Mighty lonely. Didn't always want to ask people to read to me. Don't have to ask them no more. I can turn on my machine, and a mighty fine voice reads to me. Don't tell my neighbor, Mrs. Schultz, though. She reads pretty well too -- but -- anyway, I'm glad I got my Talking Book.

MURROW: And well he may. They are indeed trained voices. Here is a voice from the Middle West. A blind child --

CHILD'S VOICE: Now they have Talking Books for children -- I love them.

MURROW: She loves them. . . Some blind people use the Talking Book for serious purposes. . .

VOICE OF AN OLD WOMAN: When I went blind at the age of 80 I thought I'd never again be able to read the Bible. I can now -- all of it -- any part of it. . . My Talking Book records do that for me.

MURROW: And here's somebody who prefers the lighter side of literature. . .

VOICE OF A MAN: Yes, Sir! It's Westerns and detective stories for me. When I went blind suddenly I thought I'd sure miss my favorite reading. Well, I don't any more. I can still read all the adventure yarns I want. . .

(more)

(MUSIC: A BEAT OR TWO TO SHOW TRANSITION)

MURROW: 60 We could go on for hours -- in fact, we could hear 55,000 voices, each giving a testimonial in its own way. . . But even a commemorative record must come to a close. . .

But not just yet. There remains time for a glimpse or two into the future.

To summarize it -- according to the experts responsible for more and better records and better machines, the future of the Talking Book looks bright and busy. . .

Bright--- if all agencies, all organizations interested, continue to cooperate, to meet the need for more and better Talking Books and Talking Book machines.

Some big problems of the future are the problems of cost and bulk. Organizations like ~~Columbia~~ C.B.S. Laboratories and others are experimenting with slower speeds. ~~Columbia~~ CBS LABORATORIES and the American Foundation for the Blind have both demonstrated to the Library of Congress that a slow speed of 8 1/3 revolutions per minute is feasible. That would mean that an entire book, now requiring 12 to 14 discs, could be played on two discs. . . The saving in storage and postage alone would be considerable.

Yes, the future looks busy -- and as bright as we wish to

)more)

MURROW: (Con't) make it. The story is told of an old blind woman in the North woods who once dictated a letter (written by her niece) to one of the "voices" of a Talking Book. "Sir," she said, "May God bless you for what you are doing for blind people. And when we both get to Heaven just speak to me. I'll recognize your voice."

And undoubtedly -- she will.

MUSIC COMES UP: -

MURROW: (Con't) And so in the name of the many, who are devoting time, effort, and enthusiasm to the Talking Book program, in the name of thousands who are using them, even in the name of the many more thousands who could and should use them, if they knew about them, I join my voice to those who have already greeted you.

HAPPY ANNIVERSARY, TALKING BOOK.

THIS IS ED MURROW.

Goodbye -- and GOOD LUCK.

THEME MUSIC UP--SWELLS--TRIUMPHANT--TO END. -

TR. File 3/20/59

TALKING BOOK COMMEMORATIVE RECORD

Ladies and Gentlemen, the President of the United States.

MUSIC UP: SLOWLY DURING THE LAST SENTENCE. AND FULL TEN OR TWENTY SECONDS AFTER THE PRESIDENT CLOSES:)

Thank you, Mr. President.

(MUSIC: UP FOR 3 SECONDS THEN OUT)

This is Edward R. Murrow. And THIS is a record prepared to help you commemorate the 25th anniversary of the "TALKING BOOK." Contrary to the well-behaved child of family lore, TALKING BOOKS were made to be heard, not seen. Before we become involved in the question of what a Talking Book is, where it began, what it does, perhaps you'd appreciate listening to a short passage from a TALKING BOOK.

(MUSIC: A FEW STRAINS OF A THEME BRIGHT AND DIGNIFIED. FADE OUT)

What you have just heard is the introduction to one of the more recent TALKING BOOKS. Now it can probably be said with a certain degree of assurance that Man's Humanity to Man cannot be measured by Time. Mankind CAN do much for itself in the twinkling of an helpful eye; sometimes it does nothing over a span of wasted years.

In the case of the TALKING BOOK, long-playing records for the blind, MUCH has been done in 25 years. For it was 25 years ago that the first TALKING BOOKS were made available to our blind citizens. Listen then to one of the first TALKING BOOKS ever made -- it may not have been High Fidelity, but it meant much to blind people back in 1934, especially since it was read to them by one of the historic titans of the airwaves, Alexander Woollcott.

MUSIC: FEW MORE STRAINS OF THE THEME: THEN FADE OUT.

RECORDING
WHILE ROME BURNS
1:40

(MUSIC: THEME: SOFTER AND FADE OUT)

That's where it all began. Back in 1934. Of course, by the time Alex Woollcott let himself be persuaded to go into that first experimental recording booth (he never made any secret of the fact that he suffered from claustrophobia) years of research had already been conquered -- Research with such necessary things as the lines per inch on the record, diameter of the needle, weight of the tone arm, number of revolutions per minute, and even the kind of material to use for a light non-breakable record.

For be it remembered -- that in those days, although RCA and other organizations had conducted experiments with records that would play longer than 3 to 5 minutes, many problems were unanswered. But through the imagination and perseverance of men like Robert B. Irwin, then director of the American Foundation for the Blind, Dr. Frederick Paul Keppel, former president of Carnegie Corporation, William Corbett, J. O. Kleber, Lincoln Thompson, Harry Sommers, Charlie Helms, Jane Muhlfeld, Charles Ritter -- all names that will not soon be forgotten by those who know -- eventually there it was -- a 12 inch record that played 15 minutes at a speed of 33 1/3. Today's records run for 27 minutes. Then came the problem of money to make the records... Eventually that too was solved -- money was appropriated by Congress. The Library of Congress was placed in charge of administering the entire program -- nation-wide without cost to blind people. So let's hear from the Librarian of Congress, Dr. L. Quincy Mumford. We take you now to the Library of Congress in Washington, D. C.

(MUSIC: DIGNIFIED -- A FEW BARS: ENOUGH TO ESTABLISH THE MOOD.)

If the Talking Book is an inspiration to men like L. Quincy Mumford today, it was more of a challenge than an inspiration 25 years ago. First, the American Foundation for the Blind and its associates had to solve the problem of special machines to play the recordings, which could not be played well on ordinary phonographs. The first machines were manufactured as a WPA project under the supervision of the Foundation.

The problem of literary rights had to be solved. This too was overcome through the late Dr. Irwin's cooperation with the Author's Guild and the Author's League of America. Today all labels of Talking Books bear the legend, "Solely for the use of the blind," and both authors and publishers are most generous in permitting their books to be read onto Talking Book discs.. Then came the question of readers. Professionals -- men and women with good voices -- were selected to do the reading ....Some of the first readers are still doing it today... All blind people in the nation know names like John Knight, and Ethel Everett.

Alexander Scourby has read the entire Bible more than three times. There are others who have been with the program almost since its beginning: Fred Utell, John Brewster, Carl Webber, Carmen Mathews, Norman Rose, Livingston Gilbert, and Milton Metz. Often famous authors have read parts or all of their books -- like Alexander Woollcott did. Here, for instance, are a few of such famous voices. See how many you can recognize:

EDNA FERBER - 30 seconds

That was a girl from Wisconsin -- named Edna Ferber

EVA LEGALLIENNE: 35 seconds

One of the famous ladies of the theatre -- Eva LeGallienne.

ROBERT SHERWOOD: 28 seconds

A voice long to be remembered - that of Robert Sherwood.

JOHN MASON BROWN: 16 seconds

One of our leading critics -- John Mason Brown.

And so many more -- Cornelia Otis Skinner, Thomas Mann, W. Sommerset Maugham, Eleanor Roosevelt, Ex-President Truman, Harry Hopkins, Wendell Wilkie, --oh, so many more.

And then came the question of where to manufacture the records. Finally two plants were selected: The American Foundation for the Blind in New York, and the American Printing House for the Blind in Louisville, Kentucky, both non-profit, public service agencies. It seems logical then to take you now to Louisville where we will be greeted by Superintendent Finis E. Davis. Mr. Davis . . .

(MUSIC: DIGNIFIED ENOUGH TO CREATE MOOD)

(MUSIC UP DURING END -- SOME BEATS TO ESTABLISH PERIOD)

When the cornerstone of the present headquarters of the American Foundation for the Blind, New York, was laid, into it went the usual array of timely documents, newspapers, a time capsule -- AND wrapped in wax an early TALKING BOOK Record with selections from Helen Keller's early books, the Bible, contemporary essays, and some noises of traffic of the day. In the year 2034 that record is supposed to be taken out and played. It will be an historic occasion. But while we wait for 2034 let's take you now to the American Foundation for the Blind and meet Mr. M. Robert Barnett, its executive director:

Begun as a dream -- some say it was a dream of Thomas Edison that one day his talking machine would help the blind -- continued as a scientific experiment, existing today as a reality -- that is the Talking Book.

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And well he may. They are indeed trained voices. Here is a voice from the Middle West. A blind child --

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HAPPY ANNIVERSARY, TALKING BOOK.

THIS IS ED MURROW.

Goodbye -- and GOOD LUCK.

(THEME MUSIC UP ---SWELLS --TRIUMPHANT - TO END.)

DEFENCE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

by

COMMANDER SIR STEPHEN KING-HALL

GOLLANCZ

DEFENCE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE

by

COMMANDER SIR STEPHEN KING-HALL

in which, against a background of service experience & tradition, he argues for

UNILATERAL NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT

This is a book which, in view of the author's service experience and traditions, is certain to cause a rare to-do.

* * *

In 1925, Sir Stephen, then a young naval Lieutenant, wrote a book entitled *Imperial Defence—a Book for Taxpayers*. By a chance, Viscount Haldane of Cloan, one of the greatest of Secretaries of State for War in British history, read the manuscript of the book, sent for its young author and volunteered to write a preface. Lord Haldane began his contribution as follows: "This is a striking book. Although short it is distinguished by comprehensive insight into a subject of which little is understood by the public."

Since 1925 Stephen King-Hall has written many books, become a well-known broadcaster, edited his world-famous News-Letter, and sat as an independent M.P. He is also the founder (in 1944) of the Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government, whose ever-growing activities he continues to direct; is on the board of a large insurance company; and as side lines has written highly successful plays and runs a farm in Hampshire. But we are sure that, as he looks back on some forty years of such varied activities, he can regard nothing he has striven to do as of comparable public importance, or of such significance to men and women all over the world, as the writing of *Defence in the Nuclear Age*. This is a book that should rank with that of Clausewitz on War, and with Sir Norman Angell's *The Great Illusion*, as one of the major contributions to thought on the problems of defence; and because defence today is everyman's problem it is written for everyman.

A graduate of two staff colleges, a holder of the rarely awarded Gold Medal of the Royal United Service Institution, and (during his service career) the occupant of many important staff appointments, Sir Stephen "has all the answers" when he lectures to defence experts at the Imperial Defence College. But he is also a politician,

[*please turn to back flap*

18/- ~~0/0~~ net

and an acknowledged expert on foreign affairs with a gift for dealing with complex subjects in a manner respected by the expert and appreciated by the general reader; and it is this combination of qualities that has enabled him, in writing *Defence in the Nuclear Age*, to produce *a really new and original study of an age-old problem to which the discovery of nuclear energy has given a desperate urgency.*

These are high claims, but they are valid. For Sir Stephen has gone to the root of the matter by analyzing the *nature* of war and pointing out that, if we misunderstand its nature, we inevitably misunderstand its object; and that, if we misunderstand its object, our methods must be correspondingly false. Most, if not all, writers on defence questions—Clausewitz in his day was a notable exception—assume that we all know what war is, and therefore what we are trying to do if war breaks out as well as what we are trying to prevent from "breaking out". Sir Stephen, on the other hand, shows that most of us, including our rulers, have *not* known what war is about; and that even when there has been some understanding of the basic fact—that war essentially exists before the shooting starts—this understanding is immediately obliterated by the terrible drama of military operations.

In the first part of his book the author, after exposing existing fallacies about the nature of war and its object, lets off a shattering explosion under our present defence system based on the great deterrent. But, he continues, it is not good enough to be destructively critical. Is there another and perhaps better idea on which to base our defences, an idea that can be logically linked to the true nature of war? Yes, says Sir Stephen, there is indeed such an idea, but in order to grasp it the reader must make an effort to break through the thought-barrier in defence thinking. We now realise that the earlier part of the book has been written to help us get right through this thought-barrier.

Physical violence has outlived its usefulness as the main tactical force in defence strategy, and must now be replaced in priority by moral and political forces. Sir Stephen proposes that Great Britain, either unilaterally or in agreement with like-minded powers, should abandon the use of

[*please turn to back*

nuclear energy for military purposes. He then works out in detail what this would or might mean vis-à-vis our American allies and the Soviet Union. He evades no issues, including the question of an occupation by the enemy of the U.K., and he analyzes, in the light of recent occupations as well as in terms of his own lively imagination, what this would mean and how it should be resisted. He points out incidentally that, even excluding nuclear weapons, the U.K. has never been so vulnerable to occupation as it is today, and brands as defeatist those who—still on the wrong side of the thought-barrier—consider that, should an enemy ever occupy the U.K., all is irrevocably lost.

Sir Stephen then examines the problem of training the nation in the new technique of defence, in which morality and expediency would find themselves on the same platform. Although in the space at his disposal the author can only outline the nature of the new defence service which would progressively replace the armed services and the (passive) civil defence organization, he gives the basis of a blue-print for a nation-wide plan from Whitehall to the village, and for the role of the B.B.C., T.U.C., the Press and other national institutions. Sir Stephen holds firmly that the best method of defence is attack, and has something to say about the inadequate nature of our political warfare arrangements, and about how they should be enlarged and made more effective in the new defence strategy.

Finally, Sir Stephen makes a moving plea to the British people: let it be *they* who have the courage and political sagacity to rise to the unique opportunity now offered them, and, by breaking the present fatal deadlock, set an example to the world—an example that might save mankind and themselves from the horrors of nuclear war.

Let there be no mistake: *Defence in the Nuclear Age* will arouse furious controversy, and the author intends that it should do so. The traditionalists will be shocked because some of their most sacred cows are pole-axed by an acknowledged expert on the so-called mysteries and technicalities of defence: but they will have to admit that this is no essay in wishful thinking by a pacifist, but a hard-boiled programme for an up-to-date system of defence from the pen of a man who has been through two world wars (Grand Fleet and Submarine service 1914-18; Hon. Director Factory Defence Section M.A.P. 1940-43). On the other hand, millions who are neither professional defence experts nor "moral" or "religious" pacifists will welcome this highly challenging book for what it is: a gleam of light and a message of hope in the dark and almost despairing climate of opinion about the future of mankind. As such—we have no shadow of doubt—it will be read by hundreds of thousands of men and women, not only here and in the United States, but throughout the literate world.

S. King Hall

August 26, 1959

Dear Sir Stephen:

Your letter of August 18th arrived after Mr. Murrow had left for Sweden. He expects to arrive in London sometime during the first two weeks of October and will, I am sure, get in touch with you.

Sincerely yours,

Cdr. Sir Stephen King-Hall
The Penthouse
162, Buckingham Palace Road
London, S.W. 1
England

gw

The Penthouse,

162, Buckingham Palace Road,

LONDON. S.W.1.

18th August, 1959

My dear Ed,

The Fellowship of Reconciliation Publishing House of Box 271, Nyack, New York informs me that copies of the book for which you so kindly wrote an introduction will be sent to reviewers on September 1st.

I don't suppose for a moment that its ideas will be considered particularly good ones, although the progress being made on this side of the Atlantic is quite amazing and surprises me very much, but what I do think is important is that the subject should be debated, and this of course means that the book should be reviewed, even if it is attacked. If, therefore, you felt disposed to give one or two people a nudge in this respect, I should of course be very grateful.

It is a sign of the times over here that Der Spiegel of August 12th published an enormous interview with me, running to pages, on this question of unilateral nuclear disarmament; and the Labour Party are going to be in real trouble about it at the election.

All good wishes.

Yours ever

Stephen

Mr. Ed Murrow,
C.B.S. News,
485, Madison Avenue,
New York 22,
New York,
U.S.A.

King-Hall, Stephen

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

by

Edward R. Murrow "Defense in the Nuclear Age"

absolute universal nuclear disarmament

There has never been in the history of man a problem or series of problems which approached in significance those which have arisen through the use of nuclear energy for military purposes. Those who endeavour to evade it by pretending that in its strategic, political and moral aspects, it is only relatively new, are playing with words. It is absolutely new and whether it can be solved without adopting absolutely new policies, or at any rate policies hitherto regarded as unrealistic in defence thinking, is open to serious doubt.

Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall has written a book about Defence in the Nuclear Age which, having aroused passionate controversy in Great Britain, has been published in German and is now being published in the U.S.A. Even the most violent of Stephen King-Hall's critics concede that he is sincere and that his service experience in two world wars, on the Admiralty staff and at two staff colleges (Navy and Army) have earned for him a nation-wide reputation as a commentator on defence questions. Moreover, he is not a moral pacifist. The value and importance of King-Hall's book is that it is unorthodox, that he reaches conclusions of a startling nature, and that no-one can read it without being stimulated to think rather than to merely repeat slogans. He has grappled with the awesome problems that confront all of us in connection with the use of nuclear energy in weapons of war. Few, I suspect, will agree with his conclusions, for they are disturbing and revolutionary.

K-H delivered following:

I write this note, not to commend his conclusions, but rather to introduce an old friend who has written a book which should not be ignored.

King Hall, Stephen

DRAFT.

with apologies for my impudence

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

by

Edward R. Murrow

There has never been in the history of man a problem or series of problems which approached in significance those which have arisen through the use of nuclear energy for military purposes. Those who endeavour to evade it by pretending that in its strategic, political and moral aspects it is only relatively new, are playing with words. It is absolutely new and whether it can be solved without adopting absolutely new policies, or at any rate policies hitherto regarded as unrealistic in defence thinking, is open to serious doubt.

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the Communist menace, I am writing this note in order to express my conviction that this book is required reading for all those - and that means all of us - who are grappling with the fearful problems arising from the use of nuclear energy as a weapon of war. This very disturbing and revolutionary book cannot be ignored.

E. R.M.

Stephen King-Hall

December 15, 1958

Mr. Robert Gilmore
American Friends Service Committee
237 Third Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Gilmore:

In reply to your recent letter concerning Sir Stephen King-Hall's DEFENCE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE, I think the best reply I can make is to send you a copy of the foreword which I have written and which was sent to London for his approval on November 19.

Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

enc.

NEW YORK CITY OFFICE
MIDDLE ATLANTIC REGION

237 Third Avenue, New York 3, N. Y. GRamercy 3-5998
AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE

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REGIONAL EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, Lyle Tatum 20 South 12th Street, Philadelphia 7, Pa.

December 4, 1958

Send copy of Foreword

Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Edward Murrow:

I have been asked by Sir Stephen King-Hall to get in touch with you concerning the American publication of his book. I am quite interested in having the book either published in this country, or imported for extensive circulation.

I am curious to know from you how you feel about Sir Stephen's proposal of your writing a Foreword for the American edition. I am writing you this note coming out of a personal conversation with Sir Stephen a few weeks ago in London, and I would appreciate your thinking on the matter.

Sincerely,

Robert Gilmore

Robert Gilmore

RG:pc

King - Hall, Stephen

162 EAST 83RD STREET, NEW YORK 28, N. Y.

Wed

Dear Ed,

In case I miss you before I sail, Mrs Kerr [who seems to know what she is about] says that the firm of

Regnery
64. E. Jackson Boulevard
Chicago

Mr Henry Regnery Pres
Mr Charles Lee Executive Editor

are likely to be interested in the book. She has asked me to

ask you whether you would have time to send them one of your copies with the news that you would write a preface etc. Mrs Kerr says that she thinks you know Regnery, but if you do not contact them would you please let her know. She feels of course you would be better than her. She knows of them, but I think does not know them personally. Mrs Kerr is at 174 E 93rd.

Yours ever
Steve

I think dell of an American edition in the book.
Steve.

King-Hall, Steph

November 19, 1958

Dear Steve:

Here's a slightly rewritten draft. I hope it's alright.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

enc.

Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall
The Penthouse
162 Buckingham Palace Road
London S.W. 1

N.B. cutting book returned by registered mail today

King-Hall, Stephen

King-Hall News-Letter

The Penthouse
162 Buckingham Palace Road London S.W.1

Telephone: Sloane 5432 & 4408 *Telegrams:* Natnewslet London

13th November, 1958

My dear Ed,

It now appears that an American Firm, - the Fellowship of Reconciliation - is wishing to publish the book by buying sheets. We shall print the sheets here and send them over. Included in those sheets will be your introduction, if you will do one.

I don't know what you have in mind, but I certainly don't want to put you to a lot of trouble. I have therefore decided that I know you well enough to indicate in the enclosed draft the kind of thing which I hope you might write. You will observe that I have been careful not to commit you to any policy - because I don't know how far you feel you can go.

If you will give us a page or so we will get it set up over here and I will personally proof it.

Yours ever,

Steve

My love to Janet

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485, Madison Avenue, New York 22.

Founder & Editor: Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall

PS. They seem to be in a hurry

King-Hall, Stephen

October 22, 1958

Dear Steve:

Thank you for your letter. Let us hope the disappearing Mr. Greenfeld soon turns up. I will stand by until I hear from you.

Meanwhile, I have your scrapbook to look through.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall
The Penthouse
162 Buckingham Palace Road
London S.W. 1
England

King-Hall, Stephen

The Penthouse,

162, Buckingham Palace Road,

LONDON. S.W.1.

15th October, 1958

Dear Ed,

You may be wondering what is happening about the book. A most extraordinary mystery has developed. The top man of the Orion Press inc., a certain Mr. Greenfeld, seems, so far as Victor Gollancz and myself are concerned, to have disappeared somewhere between his head office in Florence and New York. He failed to keep an appointment in London to finalise arrangements for the publication of the book and although we understand the firm is a perfectly reputable concern and a contract was being prepared, we are in a state of complete mystification as to what has happened and that we have heard nothing from him.

I therefore can only ask you to take no action until this mystery can be cleared up.

You will be interested to learn that the German edition is about to be published and no doubt you have seen the articles which appeared in The Times of October 15th, etc.

Cont...

I am going to Oxford tomorrow to support the motion that we should abandon nuclear energy formilitary purposes at the Oxford Union.

Yours ever,

Stephen

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485, Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

First fold here

BY AIR MAIL

PAR AVION

AIR LETTER
AEROGRAMME

LONDON S.W.1
16 OCT
1958

SIXPENCE POSTAGE

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485, Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

Second fold here

Sender's name and address: Cdr. Sir Stephen King-Hall,
The Penthouse, 162, Buckingham Palace Road,
LONDON, S.W.1.

AN AIR LETTER SHOULD NOT CONTAIN ANY ENCLOSURE; IF IT DOES IT WILL BE SURCHARGED OR SENT BY ORDINARY MAIL.

To open cut here

King-Hall, Stephen

September 25, 1958

Dear Steve:

We are in complete agreement about Quemoy, and the tragic fact is that the people in this country appear utterly complacent. There is not even any sustained or intelligible debate about it.

We shall certainly meet when I come over to do the piece with Monty.

I would like to see the press-cutting book and will return it to you.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall
The Penthouse
162 Buckingham Palace Road
London S.W. 1.

The Penthouse,

162, Buckingham Palace Road,

KLONDON. S.W.1.

23rd September, 1958

My dear Ed,

If you have had time to read the News-Letter you will see how horrified I am about Quemoy. I have sent a tough letter about it to this week's Economist.

I do hope we shall have a chance to meet when you come over to see Montgomery. As he lives within 5 miles of me in the country and you may possibly be interviewing him down there, I hope you will come and spend the night with us.

As regards the reviews of the book, they are all stuck up in a book big press-cutting book. Should we send this to you?

Yours sincerely,

Stephen

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485, Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

King-Hall, Stephen

September 19, 1958

Dear Steve:

I think if you were over here, you would be even more worried about Quemoy. The whole thing is an absolute nightmare.

For the foreword, when the time comes to write it, I should like a rather more complete biography of you and reviews of the book that appeared in the principal British publications. Perhaps you could ask your secretary to dispatch them to me.

I am coming over to do a long interview with Field Marshal Montgomery in March and will hope to see you then.

As ever yours,

KRM:skh

Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall
The Penthouse
162 Buckingham Palace Road
London S.W. 1
England

The Penthouse,

162, Buckingham Palace Road,

LONDON. S.W.1.

16th September, 1958

To open cut here

Dear Ed,

Many thanks for your note of September 8th.

We are still awaiting final details from the Orion Press.

I am more worried about what is going on at Quemoy than anything which has happened since 1945.

Yours ever,

Clare

Mr. Ed Murrow,
485, Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

King-Hall, Steph
Sr

September 8, 1958

Dear Stephen:

Thank you for your letter of August 28th. I am delighted to hear that the book is being published in America. I shall await the promised copy.

I am not sure how sound the principle you advance is, but take it that the purpose of the foreword is not to applaud, but to stimulate interest. I will do my best.

As ever yours,

Cdr. Sir Stephen King-Hall
The Penthouse
162 Buckingham Palace Road
London S.W. 1, England

gw

The Penthouse,

162, Buckingham Palace Road,

LONDON. S.W.1.

28th August, 1958

Dear Ed,

I am glad to tell you that an American firm of publishers called the Orion Press, whose European office is at Florence, have apparently decided to publish the book.

I am at this moment waiting to receive from them a list of minor amendments which they think should be made to the American edition. I have told them, and of course they are very pleased to hear the news, that you kindly stated that you would write a short introduction to the book and that, so far as I know, your promise still holds good.

If this is the case I imagine the next move would be for me to send you a copy of the book with the alterations made and with the special chapter which is being written "for Americans". When you receive this you can decide what you would write.

I need hardly add that I shall regard it as a great honour if you will write a short introduction to the American book. Nothing which has happened since we last met alters my opinion that the principle is sound.

I am rather horrified to read in the British press that your famous programmes have been abandoned by their sponsor. I hope to goodness somebody else is stepping into the breach.

Yours ever,

Stephen

Mr. Ed Murrow,
Columbia Broadcasting System.
485, Madison Avenue,
New York 22,
New York, U.S.A.

King-Hall

May 29, 1958

Dear Mr. Smith:

Thank you for your letter of May 23rd.

The matter of Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's book DEFENCE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE is still under consideration. I feel, therefore, any discussion between us should be postponed. I suggest that I get in touch with you about this later on.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Robert Smith
Editor-in-Chief
Sagamore Press Inc.
50 Rockefeller Plaza
New York 20, New York

mcc

SAGAMORE PRESS INC., PUBLISHERS
50 Rockefeller Plaza, New York 20, N.Y. JU 2-1555

May 23, 1958

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I understand that you are interested in promoting the publication of Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's book "Defence in the Nuclear Age".

While we can not hope to compete with any of the big publishers in the matter of an advance on this book, we are very much interested in it, and if it is still available would like to discuss its publication in this Country.

Sincerely,

Robert Smith
Editor-in-Chief

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

TO Mr. Murrow Pending

FROM Mrs. Crissan May 23

Sir Stephen King-Hall is under the impression that you are writing the introduction to his book.

Mr. Ed
If a publisher is found he would do.

TO Mr. Murrow

FROM Mrs. Crissan May 23

Mrs. Kerr called re Sir Stephen King-Hall's book. Said she thinks Simon & Schuster are interested in the book but wants to know if you had done anything about getting it to Random House, Knopf or Regnery.

Answer to Mrs S+S.
See no reason why she shouldn't go ahead with Simon & Schuster
Called May 23.

King-Hall, Stephen

25. april.

162 EAST 83RD STREET, NEW YORK 28, N. Y.
RH 4-8062

My dear Ed:

In re the book: I report.

(a) I have told your secretary you are interested in the American publication: [Classic example of capitalist social infiltration].

(b) I learn from Washington that a Mr Murphy who represents the Vanguard Press which I am told is a small reputable concern are interested. I have written to Synder of the International Affairs Seminar 2101 R Street Washington who wrote to me about Murphy that if I am no longer here will Vanguard please contact your office.

(c) I think a number of small but significant alterations can be made in an American edition and I shall work on this in the boat. and send you back the annotated copy.

(d) Lewis Mumford of America N.Y. writes to say he is very moved for the book and has asked Harcourt Brace to take it under consideration.

I thought your secretary Hull have these facts on the file. I hope I am not being a nuisance.

Yours

Steve

KH

TO Mr. Murrow

FROM Mrs. Crissan March 31

This letter was being held for the arrival of his book, but it never arrived.

Drop in Defence in the Nuclear Age

Keing Hall

The Penthouse,

162, Buckingham Palace Road,

LONDON. S.W.1.

25th February, 1958

Hold

Dear Ed Murrow,

I am sending you a copy of my new book due out on March 10th and I am expecting to arrive on April 7th for a fortnight to discuss my proposals with various people. Hope to see you

Gordon Dean wants me to meet Kissinger.

All my arrangements are being made by:-

Mr. Norman J. Whitney,
American Friends Service Committee,
Twenty South Twelfth Street,
Philadelphia 7,
Pennsylvania,
U.S.A.

Yours ~~sincerely~~,

Stephen

Ritterhouse

#9372.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485, Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

TO Florence King-Hall, Stephen

FROM Mary

Mr. Clarence Pickett, Rittenhouse 6 9372 called & wants ERM to know that Stephen King-Hall is coming to N. Y. in April, and thinks it would be a good idea to have him on P2P. The dates he's available for are April 11, 18, 25. Mr. Pickett wants us to call his sec'y with a reply. Her name is Mrs. Pache. I didn't give this to Mr. M because the attached didn't seem too promising.

note - called Mrs. Pache 3/6/58 - said "no"

mc

Kirby-Hall

162 E83

RH4 8062

My dear Janet & Ed.

What a pleasure it was to pick up the threads again and weave another strip in our long friendship. It was a source of great pride to me that Ed should think well of the book and I am most deeply grateful for his offer to see if he can get an American publisher interested. I feel quite lost in the American vastness and I am still more appreciative of his willingness to write a preface for the American edition. Quite frankly I would say that a preface by Edward Murrow would make the whole difference between a Yes and a No. Ed's reputation in every walk of life is so highly respected that if he could be recognised as developing Dictatorial tendencies I should regard him as more sinister than Kruschev!

I hope you will tell prospective publishers that you will write an introduction.

I will of course make the alterations or additions you suggest and I would think an additional chapter for the American people which I have in draft would be desirable. It might also be a consideration whether the title should be changed to Defence of the ~~Free~~ Free world in the Nuclear age

or Defence of Freedom in the Nuclear Age.

However these are details and if anything can be fixed up I can assure you that I will not waste time doing my part of the business.

Don't forget if you have a moment in England The Penthouse 162 Buckingham Palace Road or/and Hartfield House Headley-Bordon are at your disposal Telephone: SLO 5432 1096 and Headley Down 2140 respectively.

Many thanks for a lovely dinner

Yours ever

Stephen

7 King-Hall, Stephen

November 25, 1957

Dear Stephen:

Many thanks for your letter of November 15th. It is good to hear from you again.

"Defence in the Nuclear Age" sounds highly interesting, and it appears that the publication date is well timed.

As for the possibility of your being invited to make a television appearance over here, no one can really tell about that until the book appears. If it does cause the anticipated commotion then you may well be swamped with invitations.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall
National News-Letter
162 Buckingham Palace Road
London SW1
England

mcc

Chairman
COMMANDER SIR STEPHEN KING-HALL

Directors
LADY KING-HALL
MISS ANN KING-HALL
MR YVES BARRAUD (Swiss)

NATIONAL
News-Letter

Telephone
SLOANE 5432 & 4408

Telegrams
NATNEWSLET LONDON

PUBLISHED BY K-H SERVICES LTD . 162 BUCKINGHAM PALACE ROAD . LONDON SW1

K. C

15th November, 1957

My dear Ed Murrow,

The enclosed advance copy of my forthcoming book tells its own story. There is a chance that Lord Alanbrooke will write a preface for it. I have just lectured on the subject to the Royal United Service Institution and although it is impossible to be sure about these things, Victor Gollancz and I believe that the appearance of this book is going to create a considerable sensation.

Reports of my lecture have reached the American Friends Service Committee, who want me to come over and speak about this subject in the U.S.A. I am considering this.

My purpose in writing to you is to give you advance notice of what is going on because we are waiting to find out if Harper's will publish the book in America. I have written a special chapter for Americans.

If the whole thing causes the commotion we anticipate, it struck me that somebody over on your side might be interested in getting me across for a television discussion about this.

I am ashamed to say I am a little out of touch as to what your present activities are, but at any rate, nobody would know better than you what the possibilities may be if the book makes the explosion I hope it will do.

My kindest regards to your Lady. I am glad to say the Ford Foundation have just given 75,000 Dollars to the Hansard Society for Parliamentary Government, which is expanding at an alarming rate.

Yours sincerely,

Stephen

Mr. Edward Murrow,
c/o C.B.S.,
485, Maddison Avenue,
New York 22.

King-Hall News-Letter

The assertion of truth, the unveiling of illusion, the dissipation of hate, the enlargement and instruction of men's hearts and minds-THE LATE LORD KEYNES

No. 1111 of 6 November 1957 · 162 Buckingham Palace Road London SW1
Telephone: Sloane 5432 or 4408 · Telegrams: Natnewslet London

THE CRISIS IN THE COMMUNIST WORLD

Dear Member,

The news last Sunday that the Soviet Union had launched a bigger and better satellite containing a dog into the wastes of outer space, with a postscript to the effect that they have also built the largest air-liner in the world,* was extremely interesting. So was the amount of time devoted by the BBC to the protests about the dog. A great many people in the Anglo-Saxon countries, whose ideas about Communism have been deplorably woolly, will now be convinced that Khrushchev and Co. really are bad men holding wicked ideas. This is correct, but not because they have put a dog in a satellite and caused a number of people to become indignant who had no difficulty in swallowing during their Sunday lunch, pieces of the flesh of pigs, cows and sheep whose experiences before they appeared in the kitchen had often been very far from pleasant.

In December next there is to be a special meeting of Nato attended by the heads of States. They will meet under the orbits of at any rate one dog-satellite and maybe the first Sputnik will still be in circulation. We shall guess that during the celebrations which will be taking place in Moscow this week, after this news-letter has left our hands, the multitudes (including the foreign press attachés) will be shown some very modern examples of hardware in the rocket department and information about these things will also be considered by the Nato chiefs.

It is a pretty safe bet to assert that the main item on the agenda of the Nato meeting will be: "How to keep up with the Khrushchevs."

This will be evidence of a misunderstanding about what is the most important problem facing the West at this time. Our readers have often accused us of pessimism (we prefer to call it realism) so they may be pleased to learn that at no time since this news-letter was first published in 1936 have we been more convinced than we are to-day that we are going to be proved right by events when we assert that the most important fact in world affairs is the crisis in the Communist world.

Whether the events which are going to prove this diagnosis to be correct are favourable or the reverse to the free world depends upon how our leaders handle the problem. If they are to formulate the correct policies

* At the time of writing the Russians have not yet reached the Moon.

they must both understand the problem and be supported by a public opinion in an equally well-informed condition.

We must here strike a low note of pessimism by confessing that the evidence that either statesmen or people in the West do understand the extreme importance of the crisis in the Communist world and its character, is rather scanty.

If Lenin could rise from his mausoleum in the Red Square he would not be deceived by the impressive military display for he would know and—if his teachings are any guide—he would say to Khrushchev: "You blockhead, you may have the lead in the field of rockets and you can send a dog into outer space, but you have lost in the realm of ideas."

The most important *fact* in the great ideological struggle to determine what kind of way of life is to be the basis of the world government of the future is that Moscow has lost its one-time monopoly of doctrinal authority.

This is a development of decisive importance. There is a crisis of extreme gravity maturing in the Communist world at two levels. The over-all crisis is the schism amongst the Communist States; and within this general crisis is the dilemma of the particular Communist Parties in their own countries.

In the early 'thirties the discipline imposed by Moscow was unquestioned throughout the Communist world and—with a few exceptions—it was so maintained up to recent years. But now, in various parts of the world, there are Communist Parties which have broken the Russian monopoly. The Soviet ideological hegemony has been shattered. We have pointed out in recent news-letters the rot which is afflicting the Communist world. The organizations and the armoured divisions remain but they are merely instruments of a tyranny whose ideological purpose—and hence its justification—has been destroyed. One may usefully compare the present intellectual bankruptcy of Communism with the condition of the Holy Alliance in the time of Metternich. Because educated men had ceased to believe in legitimism, the idea which inspired or was intended to inspire the Holy Alliance collapsed and inevitably the political system which was the instrument also collapsed.

Communism is in the early stages of its disintegration. Like other empires before it, there has been the period of centralization when Emperor Stalin was Caesar without rival. Now the Caesars are springing up in the provinces. There are at least four independent doctrinal centres, viz. Moscow, Peking and, to a lesser extent, Warsaw and Belgrade. These internal schisms are the more serious in that in each Communist-controlled area there is, in varying degrees, the domestic revolt about which we have written a good deal of late.

We repeat: Marxist-Leninism, once "the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth", has split into separate doctrines; the Kremlin still has the rockets but it has lost the most powerful weapon of all, the exclusive idea.

We think it likely that many will say: "But do these ideological developments in the Communist world matter to me?" We tell you very earnestly that they are of vital importance to you. An explosion is coming in the Communist world and it may be a grave danger to peace.

Historically, a great schism such as that which is now brewing in the Communist world may be expected to produce two developments. Tensions and frictions between the rivals who have emerged from the collapse of the monolithic centre. Tito and Gomulka are manœuvring against Moscow, but with understandable caution. The Chinese protest too much that the Moscow-Peking link is unbreakable. The Chinese will turn on the Russians as soon as it is tactically convenient to do so. The other development to be expected and it is a very great danger to peace is that Moscow, in an endeavour to reassert and restore its ideological leadership, will seek ways and means (was the Turkish-Syrian affair one of these?) to create external tensions with the West, enabling Moscow to claim that the whole Communist world is in danger and can only be saved by everyone rallying behind Moscow?

Recent Russian policy gives reason to suppose that this may be Khrushchev's guiding thought; if it is, we are in for a very dangerous period in history.

So much for the over-all crisis. The secondary crisis which is going on at the domestic level has recently been discussed in this correspondence. Recent developments are: The Zhukov affair: the decision of Gomulka in Poland to carry out a detailed purge of the Communist Party; Tito's obvious uncertainty as to whether to be more or less linked to Moscow in the light of his own internal difficulties.

The exploitation of these domestic crises in the Communist world is one of the ways in which the West should seek to develop its psychological strategic offensive.

But how to handle the local situation in China (and it certainly should *not* be the American way), how to treat Poland and Yugoslavia and what to do about the East German situation are each tactical problems. What is more urgent is a broad policy of defence and attack on the part of the West related to the major crisis in the Communist world arising from the loss by the Soviet Union of its ideological supremacy. We are absolutely convinced that for the western policy to succeed it must be one which will recapture the initiative. It is playing the Soviet game to strive—so to speak—to send up bigger and better dogs (or even a man) into the stratosphere even if we can beat the arch-materialists at their own business, which is by no means certain. We have got to find a new idea and one which by its nature they can never defeat so long as they adhere to the principles of Communism and we stick to those of democracy. It is with this conviction that we draw your particular attention to what follows:

DEFENCE IN THE NUCLEAR AGE. When this News-Letter was launched in

1936 it had a purpose which was that of defending, promoting and in every way encouraging the free way of life. There were many ways in which to attempt to fulfil this purpose and, in 1936, one of the most important seemed to be a campaign to make clear to our readers why the Nazi menace was a deadly danger which, if ignored or appeased, would lead to war.

The war came and during the years 1939-1945, apart from the job of trying to help people to see the conflict in the round, the News-Letter endeavoured to make sensible suggestions about the post-war settlement.

In parallel with this exposition of how to promote the cause we existed to promote, was our campaign in 1945 to arouse opinion to the enormous significance of the atom bomb.

Our efforts were fruitless. It was obvious we had misjudged the capacity of men's imaginations. We waited—with complete and pessimistic certainty that we should not wait in vain—for events to catch up with our beliefs.

On 24 April 1957, five hundred and eight news-letters after the one written in August 1945 which went off like a damp squib, we tried again (News-Letter 1083). There was a considerable mental bang. A great many readers in all parts of the world have written to say: "What next?" or "Where do we go from here?" It was clear to us that the whole question of how to defend the free way of life had, by 1957, floated up to the top of the agenda in men's minds.

We regard this as the most urgent and important question of the day.

That is why you will find with this News-Letter a proof copy of the dust-jacket of a book. (If you get the News-Letter by air, the enclosure will be sent to you under separate cover.) This book will be published on 10 March and it is expected, or at any rate hoped, that it will be possible to produce it for 18/- or thereabouts.

The publisher's (Victor Gollancz) story on the dust-jacket—after making due allowance for the optimism which keeps book publishers in business—does, we think, give an accurate summary of what it is all about and we think it will cause a lot of useful discussion.

The publishers would have liked to have had more time in which to excite the appetites of the book-sellers, but Victor Gollancz agrees with us that there is no time to waste in this affair. Even Mr Bevan, whose sudden conversion to the need for H-Bombs indicates a certain confusion in that high-powered mind, agrees that we appear to be moving towards catastrophe. So the book is scheduled for 10 March, which is pretty smart work. If you feel well disposed towards helping to promote public discussion of this vital subject you can be of assistance by placing an order with your bookseller now.

We add that if any member of this News-Letter Service places an order for the book now and is dissatisfied with the result when he gets the book, we shall be perfectly willing to buy the book back from him at the published price. This may be an unusual suggestion but so are the proposals in the book.

We believe they advocate the correct method whereby the West can fruitfully exploit the crisis in the Communist world and secure the initiative in the Cold War.

THE SCRUNCH. What happens, one was asked at school, when an irresistible force meets an immovable mass ? Heat and friction was one answer.

We are about to see this reply exemplified in the wage struggle in Britain in which the force of Government and the mass of the unions are now being deployed.

The issue or conflict is plain. On the one side the Government is firmly of the opinion that there must be a halt in annual wage increases whilst the unions (whatever the leaders may think in private) are claiming that, either in the shape of shorter working hours or straight increases of pay, the process of wage increases must continue. There were some doubts after the Brighton Conference whether the Government were going to match words with deeds, but the action at the end of last week of the Minister of Health should silence the critics who have been saying that when it came to the pinch the Government would retreat.

One must assume that when the Minister of Health disallowed an increase of wages for Health Service officers which had been agreed by the Whitley Council, he was acting with Cabinet knowledge and authority and, this being so, his action is clear evidence that the Government is going to be very tough.

It is the first time that a Minister has over-ridden a decision reached by agreement through a Whitley Council and is bound to have repercussions right down the line.

This particular government action is also an indication of the seriousness with which Ministers must regard the inflationary danger, because there is no escaping the conclusion that indirectly this decision strikes a blow at the whole idea of negotiating and arbitrating wage disputes. By this decision the Minister has vetoed an agreement reached by his employees and his own officials and he has certainly contradicted the spirit—if not the letter—of statements made in the past in Parliament, to the effect that Ministers could not intervene in Whitley Council discussions because to do so would be to make nonsense of joint negotiating machinery and "quite improper". A statement to this effect was made in Parliament on 8 February 1956.

The roar of disapproval which this unprecedented action has evoked from the employees' organizations has been met by the reply that what may have been right in 1956 is not so in the circumstances of 1957.

We are writing too soon after this event to assess all its consequences, but our first impression is that it will turn out to be a tactical error.

The Government has three weapons or methods at its disposal with and through which to play its part in controlling wage increases. The first is the direct refusal to grant increases to its own servants; the second is to

refuse to make available to the nationalized industries any extra finance they need if they are to raise wages without putting up prices; the third is through the credit squeeze to make it hard for private industry to lay their hands on cash. The credit squeeze with its 7% bank rate is now beginning to operate pretty effectively, though this correspondence holds the view that we have by no means yet felt its full impact. The stock market index of industrial share prices is now back to the 1954 level and has fallen 40 points since July. We shall be very surprised if in the early months of 1958 the present level is seen to have been the bottom.

What we question is whether the Government has been wise to fire the first shot in the battle on the Health Service front and against a Whitley Council decision, especially as the veto on the increase only applies to the lower salary scales and the higher paid officials are to have an increase. There is an explanation for this distinction but the Government's information service will have to be very astute if they are to persuade anyone to listen to it!

Far better, we should have thought, for the Government to have made every effort to make the bus drivers' and railwaymen's claims the test case. They are—especially the London bus drivers'—quite unreasonable and direct action to support them will not receive public support.

It is true that in theory the Government cannot prevent the Transport Commission granting these claims but in practice they can make it almost impossible for the Commission to give way. But such action takes place behind the scenes and the direct clash would be between the Commission and the unions and not between the unions and the Government.

However, the Cabinet has decided to make this bold challenge in the Health Service arena and maybe their audacity will pay off. The one fatal error would be to retract the veto.

It must be said that it will make a very favourable impression on the gentlemen in Zurich whose opinion of the stability of the £ depends upon what they think is going to happen about the wage demands now being made in Britain. This brings us to:

THE WORLD ECONOMIC SITUATION. Although on the face of it the economic problem which this Government must solve, or make way for one which will do the job, seems clear enough. It is the problem of stopping inflation in Britain, an inflation of which the increase in wages unbalanced by production is a principal cause.

But what is worrying Ministers and their advisers is not the domestic battle but whether or not our local struggle is going to be swallowed up in a world recession. This important point can be illustrated thus: One can imagine two small states having a conflict over a frontier dispute when suddenly they find themselves mixed up in a world war. The frontier dispute and all the measures each side is taking to win it immediately become irrelevant.

Broadly stated, the Government's domestic policy is deflationary and, notwithstanding the soothing syrup dished out by Ministers, they know very well that if it is going to be effective there is bound to be some decrease in full employment. There will be a fall in profits and hence a reduction of dividends and probably bankruptcies of small inefficient firms. These are phenomena related to the local war. But what if, whilst the local struggle is taking place, a world depression envelops us all?

Then it might become urgently necessary to reverse government policy and adopt what would look like inflationary measures.

But how does a government suddenly reverse policies which it has been saying (and rightly saying) are essential to our economic health and at the same time convince people that it has not changed its mind about the dangers of inflation?

The extent to which there is a danger of a world-wide recession is *the* question exercising the minds of thoughtful people all over the world. From the innumerable symptoms which indicate the state of the world economy at any given moment this correspondence regards two as of major significance. One is the condition of the American economy; the other is the price level of primary commodities.

By neither of these tests is the outlook satisfactory and both provide grounds for anxiety about the probable trend of economic events during the next six months.

We notice that in N/L 1100 of 21 August 1957 we were drawing attention to (*a*) the fall in commodity prices, (*b*) the Indian economic crisis which we estimated would force Nehru to reduce his statutory reserve limit and (*c*) the American recession. All those warning signals are still flying and rather more briskly than in August last. Commodity prices and shipping freights are still falling. The Indian Government has had to reduce its reserve and the customary autumn boom in the USA has so far failed to appear.

Our news from our American contacts is that whilst they are all agreed that the great boom is over they do not anticipate a serious recession and they say that if there were any signs of it the Government would at once start priming the pump. They also give thanks for the Russian satellite which—with other Soviet achievements—has caused the Federal authorities to stop cutting armaments expenditure.

We realize that it is rather presumptuous of us to think we know better than our American friends but it is our guess that the USA—like Britain—is not at the bottom and that, although a world slump of the 1930 type ought to be impossible, a world deflationary movement of some magnitude is now in process and will go on for some time.

All this may strike some of our readers as rather theoretical stuff but of course what does happen in their economic developments closely affects every one of us.

A typical example came to our notice the other day of the connexion

between prices of raw materials and human welfare. The economy of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is geared to the theory that copper will be worth £240 a ton. Having soared to more than £400 a ton it is now fluctuating around £190. It is estimated that in Salisbury, the capital of the Federation, there are about 15,000 Africans who are living in deplorable conditions which in its turn leads to crime of all kinds. The Salisbury municipality, warned perhaps by what has happened at Johannesburg, has done quite a lot to provide better housing for Africans but, because of the slump in copper and consequent economic stringency and shortage of capital the municipality has been refused permission to carry on with its programme.

ARE YOU THE LEAK? This leading question was put to us by someone who referred us to N/L 1095 of 17 July 1957. On looking it up we see that we wrote that the Bank Rate should be raised to 6½%. We can assure our enquirer that if there was any leak it was from News-Letter to Treasury and not vice versa. What happened in the days immediately preceding the raising of the Bank rate was that the Chancellor had some off the record talks with both bankers and financial journalists in which he outlined the Government's plans for cuts in capital investment and told the bankers that he expected them to tighten up the credit squeeze. The impression left on the minds of those who heard Mr Thorneycroft was that he meant business and it may well be that someone said to him: "I take it that putting the Bank Rate up might be part of the programme" and that the Chancellor replied: "That's very interesting, so you think the Bank Rate should go up?"

It was common knowledge in financial circles that the Chancellor had let it be known he was going to be tough and the purpose of the interview was to let this be known. Some people may have felt that they would take a chance on the Bank Rate going up. They were bound to benefit if it did and unlikely to lose much if it did not.

Yours sincerely,

K-H

KING-HALL NEWS-LETTER
founded by Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall in 1936
is available to non-subscribers FREE *for one month on application to*
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King-Hall, Stephen

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An educational Society for spreading information about parliamentary government

COMMANDER SIR STEPHEN KING-HALL
Chairman and Hon. Director

W. SCOTT-ELLIOT
Hon. Treasurer

39 MILLBANK
LONDON, S.W.1

Telephone: VICtoria 2431

18th October 1955.

My dear Ed,

I am writing to tell you that unfortunately I have had to postpone my visit to the United States planned for January 1956. The reason is rather paradoxical. The object of my proposed visit is summarized in the enclosed note, signed by our two American Councillors, and I hoped that by coming to the USA I might persuade perhaps 30 or 40 large concerns to become corporate members of the Society at 100 dollars a year. I also hoped to be able to point out to the Ford and the Rockefeller people the absurdity of a situation in which these foundations refuse to help us and yet individuals to whom they have given grants turn up on our doorstep and ask for our help! You know Britain well enough to know that -so far as the British Parliamentary system is concerned- there is no Public Relations Department (except the Hansard Society!).

With the Swedish Government asking us officially to do a book about their Parliament and other Governments (Israeli, Italian and ? Dutch) in the queue, and endless demands for our services from all over the world, I am, as the Honorary Chief Executive Officer, overwhelmed. I have two girls and two typists to help me and what would happen to the Society if anything happened to me (I am nearly 63) is anyone's guess. I am also honorary editor of Parliamentary Affairs, the quarterly journal.

With a total income of £4,000 per annum, most of which I raise by personal effort, it is impossible to increase the staff and get the two young men I must recruit and train up to take my place. I must therefore raise our income to some £10,000 per annum and I had hoped to get £1,000 or £2,00 a year from trans-Atlantic sources.

But, alas, I cannot leave the office for five weeks to do this the current flood of work is so great and is increasing. It is really a very worrying dilemma, but hardly surprising because we are the only body in the world doing this job of specifically promoting the cause of Parliamentary democracy in all its forms all over the world.

I realise how fearfully busy you must be, but if at any time you see an opportunity of interesting soome big concern or person in the work of the Hansard Society, I should be most grateful. I enclose our latest list of corporate members.

Yours sincerely,

Stephen

Mr Ed Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, 22,
U.S.A.

THE HANSARD SOCIETY

Early in 1956 Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall, the founder, Chairman and Honorary Director of the Hansard Society, will visit the Eastern states and particularly New York and Washington in order to draw the attention of public opinion in the U.S.A. to the work of the Hansard Society and seek the support of American firms and citizens for its work.

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It is the only body in the world of its kind; it is completely independent of any form of government control and is governed by a council elected by its members. Membership is open to any individual or corporate body which believes that, to quote words used by Sir Winston Churchill and Mr. Attlee about the work of the Society, "It is of the utmost importance at this time in our history".

The ideological struggle which is at present taking place on a world-wide scale between the totalitarian and democratic ideals and principles seems likely to be with us for many years and it is the duty of the Hansard Society, through a variety of educational methods to strive for the cause of democratic government. Few can doubt that if the principles and practices of democratic government which at present

inspire, for example, the policies of the U.S.A. and Great Britain, were universally accepted, world peace would be on a far sounder basis than it is.

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The Council of the Hansard Society (which also includes the Speaker of the Indian Assembly amongst its twelve members) has decided that the moment has come, in the eleventh year of the life of the Society, to make its work better known in the U.S.A. and has charged the Chairman, Sir Stephen King-Hall, to undertake this task.

Full particulars of the work of the Society are shown in the accompanying literature and we draw your attention to the work which the Society has already done through its publications in informing British public opinion about the American way of government. Plans are on foot to extend this work in the schools of Great Britain. We, the undersigned, being American citizens and members of the Council have drafted this note in order to commend Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall and his mission on behalf of the Hansard Society and its work to the American people.

(Signed) Carl Hayden

Walter Lippmann

An Educational Society for spreading information about
Parliamentary Government

THE CORPORATE MEMBERSHIP OF THE HANSARD SOCIETY 1955

Abbey School, Reading
Adelaide University
Administrative Staff College, Henley
American Chamber of Commerce, London
Ampleforth College
Anglo American Corporation of South Africa Ltd.
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Arnos Secondary Modern School, London
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Associated Newspapers of Ceylon Ltd.
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Grange Grammar School for Girls, Sheffield
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Hereford Cathedral School
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Kettering Industrial Co-operative Society Ltd.
Kidderminster Industrial Co-operative Society Ltd.
King Edward VI Grammar School, Morpeth
Kingsgate College, Broadstairs

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Malayan Chinese Association
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Manchester & Salford Equitable Co-operative Society Ltd.
Manchester University
Manitoba University

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Ministry of Labour Staff Association
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National Association of Mixed Clubs and Girls' Clubs
National Association of Theatrical & Kine Employees
National Bank of India Ltd.
National League of the Blind
National Liberal Club
National News-Letter
National Provincial Bank Ltd.
National Union of Boot & Shoe Operatives
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Notre Dame University, U.S.A.
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Oxford Union Society

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Ruskin College, Oxford
Rutgers University, U.S.A.

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St. Helen's, Northwood
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St. Hugh's High School, Jamaica
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Swansea University College
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Trinity School of John Whitgift
Truro School

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United Nations, E.C.O.S.O.C.
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Uppingham School
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Working Mens Club & Institute Union Ltd.

Yale University Library
Younghusband, Barnes & Co.

Please detach this sheet and send it to:

The Secretary, The Hansard Society,
39 Millbank, London, S.W.1.

I wish to enrol my firm .....

.....

as a corporate member of the Hansard Society. I enclose a cheque for £..... (Minimum £2. 2s.) as one year's subscription.

Signed: .....

NOTE: If you feel disposed to give us a seven-year covenant please write and ask for the appropriate form.

PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS

Hon. Editor: Cdr. Sir Stephen King-Hall

PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (136 pp. illustrated) now in its eighth year is the only quarterly journal in the world devoted to all aspects of the institution of parliament. It is published by the Hansard Society and contains articles and book reviews on a wide variety of parliamentary subjects written by eminent authorities.

Members of the Hansard Society receive the journal free of charge; the annual subscription to non-members is 25s including index (post free).

"*I would like to congratulate you on the high quality of the journal of the Hansard Society.*"—The Rt. Hon. Sir Winston Churchill, K.G., O.M., C.H., M.P.

THE HANSARD SOCIETY

39 MILLBANK, LONDON, S.W.1

VIC. 2431

THE CHISWICK PRESS, N.11

THE HANSARD SOCIETY

An educational Society for spreading information
about parliamentary government

CDR. SIR STEPHEN KING-HALL
Chairman and Hon. Director

W. SCOTT-ELLIOT
Hon. Treasurer

39 MILLBANK,
LONDON, S.W. 1

Telephone : VICtoria 2431

SKH/DS

12th September, 1955.

My dear Ed,

Many thanks for your letter of the 23rd August. I shall be writing to you again about this.

Yours ever

Stephen

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485, Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

King-Hall Stephen

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DS

29th August, 1955.

Dear Mr. Murrow,

In the absence of Sir Stephen King-Hall, who is attending the International Political Science Association Conference in Stockholm, I write to thank you for your letter of the 23rd August.

This will be placed before him on his return to the office on the 8th September.

Yours sincerely,

Davina Shaw

for the Secretary to the Hon. Director

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.
U.S.A.

King-Hall
Stephen

August 23, 1955

Dear Steve:

I will, of course, be delighted to arrange guest privileges at the Century, unfortunately we have no sleeping accommodations.

It is great news that you are coming over, and we must arrange to do some high-level promoting for the Hansard Society. I think you are dead right to have a try on the corporate level. It will be great to see you again.

As ever yours,

Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall
Chairman and Hon. Director
The Hansard Society
39 Millbank
London, S.W.1
England

rh
(Dictated but not signed by Mr. Murrow)

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Hon. Treasurer

39 MILLBANK
LONDON, S.W.1

Telephone: VICtoria 2431

SKH/PB

9th August, 1955.

Dear Ed Murrow,

I enclose with this letter some documentation which gives you the latest position as regards the Hansard Society. You might take a particular look at the list of corporate members.

I am intending to arrive in New York on or about the 12th January, 1956 for a maximum period of a month in the New York-Washington area. The purpose of this expedition is to add a certain number of names of American corporations to the list I referred to above. The Hansard Society which, as you will see has two Americans on its Council, is not a British Society, but is supra-national and concerned with the promotion of parliamentary democracy in all its forms everywhere, that is to say, wherever it is genuine.

It is no use my trying to sell the Hansard Society to the great American public. Therefore my plan is based on the hope that some of my American friends will give one or two small dinners for me at which I can put my story to a dozen or more businessmen, who will say, "That makes sense to us, our firm will become a corporate member at, say, $100 a year".

My immediate purpose in writing to you is to ask you whether you could sponsor me as a temporary member of the Century Club? As a member of the Athenaeum I though we had a reciprocal arrangement with the Century, but I find that apparently this is not so. I am not sure, but you would know, whether one can sleep at the Century, as I would prefer to spend my week or ten days at a club than at an hotel. I imagine that it might be slightly less expensive and I have a feeling that the Bank of England is going

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to be rather tight on dollars in January 1956. Anyhow, this is just advance information about my plans and if you feel disposed to give my any help in this project, I shall be most grateful.

I was very sorry to miss you during the General Election, but I managed to get a glimpse of Janet.

Yours sincerely,

Steph

PS I enclose a draft just approved by Walter Lippmann

Mr. Ed.Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York.

THE HANSARD SOCIETY

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(Signed) Carl Hayden

Walter Lippmann

A LETTER ABOUT THE HANSARD SOCIETY

from

SIR STEPHEN KING-HALL

(*Chairman of the Council*)

"There has also sprung from our island home a theme of social and political thought which constitutes our message to the world and through the changing generations has found acceptance both within and far beyond my realms. Parliamentary institutions, with their free speech and respect for the rights of minorities, and the inspiration of a broad tolerance in thought and its expression—all this we conceive to be a precious part of our way and outlook."

Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, in her Coronation Broadcast, 2nd June, 1953.

HANSARD SOCIETY, 39 MILLBANK, LONDON, S.W.1

EXTRACTS FROM MESSAGES FROM SOME MEMBERS OF THE HANSARD SOCIETY

The Rt. Hon. Sir WINSTON CHURCHILL, K.G., O.M., C.H., M.P.

"I follow the work of the Society with great interest and hope that its activities will be supported by all those at home and abroad who appreciate the great importance of parliamentary institutions at this time in our history."

The Rt. Hon. C. R. ATTLEE, O.M., C.H., M.P.

". . . I take this opportunity of commending the work of the Society and expressing my sincere wishes for the continual success of its important work of promoting knowledge of, and interest in, Parliament. . . ."

Viscount RUFFSIDE, formerly Speaker of the House of Commons.

"I can say on behalf of all Members of the House of Commons that we give our hearty support to the Hansard Society. . . ."

His Excellency LUIGI EINAUDI, President of the Republic of Italy.

"The work of the Hansard Society, in its task of arousing and maintaining interest in parliamentary government, is of world-wide significance and of special importance at this time in the history of western civilization. . . ."

The Hon. FELIX FRANKFURTER, Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States.

"Never was there greater need for an invigorating faith in free parliamentary processes. The Hansard Society is an evangel of that faith. May it go from strength to strength. . . ."

The Hon. G. V. MAVALANKAR, Speaker of the Indian Parliament.

"I like the work which the Hansard Society is carrying on in spreading information about parliamentary government. . . . I shall always do whatever is possible to advance the objects of the Society, which is doing such useful and important work."

HANSARD HOUSE,
39 MILLBANK,
LONDON, S.W.1
1955

Dear Reader,

I am writing to you in my capacity as Chairman of the Council and Honorary Director of the Hansard Society. It was eleven years ago that a few of us realized the need to create an unofficial, non-party, educational society devoted to the task of promoting interest in parliamentary institutions. I was at that time an Independent Member of Parliament, and had come to realize that Parliament is both a symbol and the living expression of the free way of life. The Hansard Society came into existence on the 2nd August, 1944, in order to preserve and strengthen the system of parliamentary government wherever it has been or will be established. The Society is independent, non-party, and non-profit-making.

During the eleven years of its existence, the Hansard Society has grown from a small society with a handful of members and no money into a recognized and respected organization. There are now 1,400 members of the Society in Britain and overseas, and a regular programme of work is administered from our headquarters in Westminster. Nevertheless, we continue to face one serious problem. Our income from members and supporters is approximately £3,500 a year, but we have no working capital to finance new projects which will in

time become self-supporting. In every other respect the Society is firmly established.

You may consider that my opinion on this matter is biased. Forget my opinion, and consider what the leaders of the three British political parties have said about the Society. Sir Winston Churchill, Mr. C. R. Attlee, and Mr. Clement Davies have described the Society's work as being "of exceptional importance at this time in our history". They have repeated this opinion in recent messages to the Society in which they have expressed the hope that its work will be supported by all those who appreciate the importance of parliamentary democracy. Her Majesty the Queen has been graciously pleased to send a donation to help the work of the Society. Many distinguished persons in all walks of life in Great Britain and in overseas countries support the work of the Society, either by being members or sending a donation.

So much for an outline of the background of the Society. I will describe the work of the Society under four headings: its nature, how it is carried out, what has been achieved so far, and what still needs to be done.

THE NATURE OF THE WORK: It is educational. We are living in a period of world history during which there is great debate about the political arrangements best suited to meet the needs of human society. There is general agreement that man's political progress has not kept pace with his material progress. Two differing conceptions of how men

should order their common life have been, and are still, competing for the allegiance of mankind. One conception, government by discussion, can best be described as parliamentary democracy. The other has appeared as various forms of the totalitarian or absolutist idea of government. Fascism and National Socialism have had their day and exacted their price: totalitarian Communism, controlled from the Kremlin, now competes with parliamentary democracy for the allegiance of men.

The Hansard Society is not an anti-Communist Society. It was founded for a positive, not a negative, purpose. It is a society dedicated to promote, encourage, and sustain parliamentary institutions in all their forms. The Parliaments of the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth, the free Parliaments of Western Europe, the Congress of the United States, and any supra-national parliamentary assemblies which may come into existence are all within the scope of the work of the Society.

It is the duty of the Society to spread information about various aspects and manifestations of parliamentary democracy; to encourage and urge people, and especially young people, to play their part as citizens in the working of democratic institutions; to carry out—on a non-party basis—research into some of the complicated problems which arise from the operation of democratic parliamentary institutions, and in general to promote knowledge of, and interest in, parliamentary government.

HOW THE WORK IS CARRIED OUT: It is impossible

within the compass of this pamphlet to describe in detail the various ways in which the Society conducts its work. All I can do is to indicate, in the briefest terms, our main activities.

The Society—

- publishes books, pamphlets, and a quarterly journal, *Parliamentary Affairs*;
- maintains exhibitions and prepares films, film-strips, posters, gramophone records, and study boxes;
- arranges meetings, lectures, model parliaments, seminars, conferences, discussion groups and study courses;
- answers questions, conducts research and prepares reports.

WHAT HAS BEEN ACHIEVED SO FAR: Since 1944 the Society has published some twenty books and pamphlets. The most important books still in print are listed on page 12. It is relevant to mention here that these books have been published without any working capital, and that they have provided the Society with a small but important part of its revenue. Our publications have been well received by both the specialist and the general reader. The British press has paid many tributes to their value.

The Society's quarterly journal, *Parliamentary Affairs*, issued free to members of the Society, is the only publication in the world in any language devoted to its subject, and is to be found in libraries all over the world.

Within the limits of its resources, the Society

organizes meetings in London and the provinces. Audiences of 2,000 to 3,000 are normal, and this activity is warmly welcomed by the educational authorities. In addition, many small and informal gatherings are held at Hansard House for visiting groups of parliamentarians, journalists, officials from overseas Parliaments, and students. The Society has frequently received the thanks of Her Majesty's Government and other Governments for the work they have done in this field.

In one way and another the Society answers about 1,000 enquiries a year. Recently we received on one day questions from Washington, Lagos, The Hague, Singapore, and Adelaide. Some of the enquiries are exceedingly complicated, and need much research. A fee is charged in appropriate circumstances.

The work of the past decade can be summed up as follows: in 1944 the Society was founded with no full-time staff, no offices, and £70 in the bank. Now it has established itself as the only body in the world dealing with this enormous subject. Among its members are more than three hundred corporate bodies (firms, trade unions, schools, libraries, and similar associations). A representative list of corporate members will be found on pages 10 and 11. As stated earlier, it has an income of £3,500 a year which is only maintained at this figure by continuous efforts on the part of a small staff already overburdened with the work of the Society. The Society has earned an enviable record for its

efficiency and its readiness to serve the community. Time and again I have been asked by persons who have taken the trouble to inform themselves about the work of the Society: "How on earth has this Society achieved so much with such slender resources in personnel and finance?" The only reply I can give is that the work is done because it so obviously cries out to be done and there is no other body in the world to do it. The Hansard Society has had to make bricks without straw and show that the job needed doing, and that the Society knew how to do it. This has now been achieved, but we can do no more unless individuals and firms join the Society in sufficient numbers to raise our revenue to the figure of about £10,000 per annum. If we can secure this degree of support, we can build on our established foundations.

WHAT STILL NEEDS TO BE DONE: Here are ten specific ways in which we ought to expand our work. They are selected from a much longer list.

1. Books are waiting to be published. For this we need working capital.

2. We wish to enlarge in many ways our work among school children, and be in a position to meet fully the requests from educational authorities.

3. We have been asked to extend our work in territories which are not yet fully self-governing.

4. We want to organize essay contests and other activities for young people.

5. There is a need for seminars and conferences for parliamentarians, officials, and leaders of opinion from Africa, the Middle East, and Asia.

6. We wish to establish an adequate information department.

7. We would like to be in a position to meet the requests for speakers on Parliament which come to us from trade unions, schools, clubs, etc.

8. Documentary films about parliamentary government are badly needed.

9. Many research projects, about whose urgency there is no question, are held up for lack of funds.

10. We wish to build up a library on parliamentary democracy.

In the preceding pages I have endeavoured to give you an outline sketch of the origins, objects, achievements, and needs of the Hansard Society. I now invite you to consider supporting the Society.

I could base my appeal on the theme of immediate self-interest. I could point out that an individual who pays 30s. a year, or a firm which becomes a corporate member at a minimum of £2 2s. a year, receives certain privileges, including a free copy of *Parliamentary Affairs* (price to non-members 5s.

per copy) four times a year; the use of our information service; the right to buy all our publications at 33⅓ per cent. less than the published price; free admission to meetings. But I reject self-interest as the basis of my appeal. I invite you, rather, to consider the words of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth which are quoted on the cover of this pamphlet. So far as I am aware the Hansard Society is the only organization in the world through which an individual or a corporate body can give practical effect to Her Majesty's injunction.

You have been reading some of the reasons why I put it to you that the Hansard Society deserves support. The work of the Society is that of promoting and strengthening parliamentary government in its varied manifestations. If you believe in the need to encourage and improve the quality of the democratic way of managing human society, then the Hansard Society offers its services to you as an instrument designed to achieve this purpose. I ask you either to become a member at an annual subscription of 30s. a year, or an associate at 10s. a year.

To business firms: On pages 10 and 11 of this pamphlet you will find a selection from the names of some 350 of our corporate members. I ask you to make your firm a corporate member of the Society at a minimum subscription of £2 2s. a year. There is general agreement that industrial peace should be achieved by democratic methods. The principles

and practices of parliamentary democracy are not confined to Parliament: they mould and influence every aspect of life. The work of the Hansard Society, especially amongst young people, aims at bringing home to people the meaning of the democratic way of life and how it culminates in the institution of Parliament.

The Covenant: Because we carry on educational work on a non-profit basis, we are able to invite you to pay your subscription in the form of a covenant. This puts you to no extra expense or trouble, beyond signing an annual certificate which we send you, but the value of your subscription to the Society is almost doubled.

I have told you our story and ask you to give it careful consideration; I am reasonably confident that if you do so, you will feel that the Hansard Society has a strong claim to your support.

Yours sincerely,

Stephen King-Hall

SOME TYPICAL CORP

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Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa
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List of principal publications of The Hansard Society in print January 1955

Parliamentary Affairs

Bound Volumes No. *3 1949-50*	The set £3 3s.
„ *4 1950-51*	Separate volumes £1 1s. each.
„ *5 1951-52*	
„ *6 1952-53*	

	s.	*d.*
Our Parliament (4th edition)	15	0
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PRINTED IN 1955 BY THE CHISWICK PRESS, N.11

Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

November 10, 1950

Dear Ted:

Here it is. I am unhappy about it, and am fully aware that I know nothing about the proper technique of writing a book review. I would still prefer you to get someone else to do it -- but please do with this copy what you will.

As ever yours,

Mr. Edward Weeks
c/o Mrs. Warren Nicholas
4037 Ridgeway Drive
Los Alamos, N.M.

cc: Mr. Weeks; Boston
with copy of review

OFFICE OF THE
EDITOR

8 ARLINGTON STREET
BOSTON 16, MASS.

The Atlantic Monthly

November 17, 1950

Dear Ed:

Out of the dim recesses of my boyhood memory I remembered a word which Teddy Roosevelt had once applied to a man he admired. He said he had:

BULLDOG HANG-ON-ITIVENESS

And if you approve, I think that word with the subtitle Winston Churchill in italics provides the perfect caption for your firm, affectionate and discriminating paper. I am sure it was a tough one to write, but the labor doesn't show. What shows is the integrity and fairmindedness with which you have illuminated the big book.

On exact measurement there proved to be a run-over of some thirty-eight lines which I have eliminated as tenderly as possible. It's an exceptionally good piece, Ed, and I am sincerely grateful to you for giving it the time it needed.

Sincerely as ever,

Ted.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

rec'd 11/27

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY

8 ARLINGTON STREET
BOSTON 16

November 17, 1950

Mr. Edward Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave.
New York, New York

For your contribution to The Atlantic Monthly entitled BULLDOG HANG-ON-ITIVENESS Winston Churchill we enclose a check for $250.00 in payment of all rights.

Since the Atlantic is interested in first American and Canadian serial rights only, we shall be happy, on receipt of your request, to assign the copyright therein to you, at any time after publication date, reserving to ourselves the right to vend copies of the article during the term of the copyright as a part of The Atlantic Monthly.

We are advised that this formal procedure is necessary to protect your rights, as well as ours, under the very complicated conditions surrounding the copyright laws.

Very truly yours,

THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY COMPANY

Per Lowell G. Bishop Treas.
Treasurer

E. R. Murrow - November 10, 1950
Book Review for Atlantic Monthly

THE PROD

"I am certainly not one of those who need to be prodded. In fact, if anything, I am a prod." (Winston Churchill in the House of Commons, February 11, 1942.)

"With all his faults, right or wrong, he was always for fighting; which is something." (From Winston Churchill, of Marlborough.)

"When young men begged to be allowed to take part in actual fighting and when the curmudgeons of red tape interposed their veto, I used to brush these objections aside saying: 'After all, they are only asking to stop a bullet; let them have their way'."

This is the fourth volume, dealing with the last World War, produced by that ancient and honorable son of the House of Commons - Winston Spencer Churchill. It is, I think, the most revealing document to come from the pen of this great craftsman of the English language. At the not inconsiderable age of 75 he demonstrates again that he is a reporter without equal, a diplomat of great skill, a man of war with the habit of command heavy upon him. No man of the century has made and written such history. And Churchill the Historian supports Churchill the Statesman.

This chronicle begins in 1942, with the onslaught of Japan; with the prolonged exchanges between Mr. Churchill and Prime Minister Curtin of Australia.

Mr. Churchill has been - and probably will be - criticized for burdening this book with so many cables, telegrams, minutes and directives. His explanation, not defense, is in essence that he has had enough of being criticized as a "partial editor and sub-editor of history" and he prefers to give his readers the raw meat of official data which they may digest, if they are able. The difficulty is, of course, that by no means all of the documents are here presented. The selection is Mr. Churchill's; and even giants are rumored to welcome additions to their strength. For example, Mr. Churchill gives us a glimpse of his exchange with General Auchinleck in the Desert, in 1942. We find the Prime Minister advising the General as to enemy dispositions, and what the General's action should be; telling Auchinleck to withhold certain information in his communiques, in order that Reporter Churchill might divulge this information to the House of Commons.

Mr. Churchill's chronicle moves to the fighting in the Malay Peninsula; the retreat to Singapore; more telegraphic argument between Mr. Curtin and Mr. Churchill; Mr. Churchill's dismay that there were no permanent fortifications covering the landward side of the naval base in the city of Singapore. Then we are back to domestic politics; a vote of confidence in the House of Commons in the face of Far Eastern disasters; Mr.

Churchill's unsuccesful effort to persuade Sir Stafford Cripps to take the Ministry of Supply; the hostility between Lord Beaverbrook and Sir Stafford Cripps; Churchill trying to reshuffle his Cabinet to include Cripps; while the battle cruisers "Scharnhorst" and "Gneisenau" with the cruiser "Prinz Eugen" came out of Brest and ran the gauntlet of the Channel, thereby creating more public dismay and resentment than was produced by the fall of Singapore. Mr. Churchill still isn't quite sure what happened at Singapore, and implies that an inquiry should be held.

In the early months of 1942 disaster continued in Asia, while shipping losses mounted in the Atlantic. There were more differences between Mr. Churchill and the Australian Government, the Prime Minister failing to realize why Australians didn't react like Englishmen. Sir Stafford Cripps took off on his mission to India. Mr. Churchill makes it clear that his attitude toward the brightest jewel in the Crown had not changed in 50 years.

Mr. Churchill gives his readers relief from official documents regarding Ceylon, the Bay of Bengal and Madagascar by devoting a chapter to American naval victories in the Pacific, at Midway and in the Coral Sea. It is a masterpiece by Churchill the great Naval Reporter. He is equally effective in describing the desperate efforts to force convoys through to Murmansk. And he is unusually restrained in reporting the rough and surly answers he received from Marshal Stalin regarding both supplies and the Second Front.

But diplomacy, naval warfare, disposition of land forces, and domestic politics were not enough to occupy Mr. Churchill's time. He was prodding the scientists and the airmen about GEE, OBOE, and WINDOW. He accepted responsibility for everything, but would accept no diminution of his own authority. He even found time to set down his ideas of the post-war Europe which was not to be dominated by "barbarism".

Meanwhile he continued to prod Auchinleck to attack in the Desert. Rommel attacked first. Churchill counselled Auchinleck from a distance. The British were driven back, but it did not appear to occur to Mr. Churchill that if they could not hold on defense, they might not have had the force necessary to take the offensive against Rommel.

In March and April of '42 the correspondence between Churchill and Stalin became slightly more agreeable. Molotov arrived in London, and stayed at the Prime Minister's country place at Chequers, where there occurred "some remarkable incidents". Mr. Molotov's room "had been thoroughly searched by his police officers. The bed was the object of particular attention. The mattresses were all prodded in case of infernal machines; and the sheets and blankets were re-arranged by the Russians so as to leave an opening in the middle of the bed, out of which the occupant could spring at a moment's notice, instead of being tucked in." One night the sentries in the garden saw a chink of light showing through Mr. Molotov's blackout curtains. The housekeeper at Chequers, "a Scottish

lady in her prime, and of placid temperament", went up and knocked at Mr. Molotov's door. The door was opened about a foot, and Molotov confronted her with an automatic pistol in his right hand. Mr. Churchill believed that "the incident reveals one aspect of the gulf between the Soviet way of life and that of the Western Powers."

Throughout this entire volume Mr. Churchill exercises the utmost restraint in reporting his differences with Stalin, de Gaulle and President Roosevelt. He devotes considerable space to critical debates in the House of Commons. And it is clear that a victory in the House pleased him only slightly less than a victory in the field. His affection and respect for President Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins is never beneath the surface of his memory or his dispatches.

Regarding the deal with Admiral Darlan, Mr. Churchill deprecates purely military decisions, still retains his irritation with General de Gaulle, and fails to make clear that Admiral Darlan ordered the cease fire in North Africa after the firing had ceased of its own accord. Darlan's assassination "relieved the Allies of their embarrassment at working with him." Churchill the Parliamentarian is obviously not proud of the "Darlan Deal". But Churchill the Man of War was and is persuaded that it contributed to victory, and he hopes the tortured Admiral may rest in peace.

Churchill the Book Reviewer gives us a lesson in the art when he discusses the invitation to General de Gaulle to join

the two giants at the Casablanca meeting. He says that Elliott Roosevelt hastened to write about the confidential talks he heard at the meals to which he was brought by his father. "He seems to suggest that the President suspected me of trying to stop de Gaulle coming, and objecting to his being brought there." Churchill the Book Reviewer produces the cablegrams to refute this and says of young Mr. Roosevelt's book: "This rubbish has had a wide and long currency."

The phrase "unconditional surrender" gave Mr. Churchill a feeling of surprise when he heard the President use it at a press conference at Casablanca. He thinks perhaps it had been mentioned in prior conversations, but he isn't sure. As usual, he takes his share of responsibility. And anyway, whatever the origin, he doesn't think it was a mistake. It is not Mr. Churchill's habit to regard decisions once taken as having been in error. He still believes that his desire to go into northern Norway instead of North Africa was correct; and it would be difficult to prove that he was wrong. He was impelled in part by a desire to bring more effective and immediate help to the Soviet Union, although he was under no illusion as to Russia's past or probable future policy. And he was, during the period of this narrative, subjected to harassing and "needling" correspondence from Stalin.

Mr. Churchill reports one exchange of correspondence, about which or upon which he reaches no conclusion: the grim story which broke on April 13th, 1943. The Berlin Radio reported the

discovery of the bodies of 10,000 Polish officer-prisoners in the forest of Katyn, near Smolensk. The Germans alleged that these prisoners had been massacred by the Russian Security Police in 1940. The Polish Government in London was inclined to agree, and asked the Red Cross to make an inquiry. Mr. Churchill gives us the exchange of communications between himself and Prime Minister Stalin. It is unimportant and inconclusive. The exchange of communications between Moscow and the Polish Government in exile, which had been trying to locate these officers for nearly two years, might have been more illuminating. The British Intelligence reports - which were presumably available to Mr. Churchill when he wrote this volume - might well have cast more light upon this massacre than does the exchange of correspondence between Churchill and Stalin. Over a period of nearly two years Moscow, when it bothered to answer Polish representations, insisted that the 10,000 officers had been "lost". The Poles were loath to believe that even the inefficient Russians would just lose, without trace, 10,000 Polish officers.

This massive fourth volume brings us up to the beginning of the Italian campaign by way of Tobruk; Mr. Churchill's second and third visits to Washington; his skill at reciting "Barbara Frietchie".

The entire volume reveals Mr. Churchill as one of those rare Englishmen who can get along with foreigners; who insisted that only his view should prevail, after reasonable but not too long discussion. He clearly found his relations with American officers agreeable; although in recounting his experiences with Generals

Eisenhower and Mark Clark he appears to neglect to report what might be called a typical Churchillian intervention.

He had dubbed the dour, dyspeptic Chief of Staff Bedell Smith "The American Bulldog"; and he had christened as "The American Eagle", a tall, beak-nosed officer whose reputation at that time rested primarily upon the report that he had lost his trousers somewhere between shore and ship off the African coast - General Clark.

Mr. Churchill does not recount one occasion, during lunch at 10 Downing Street, when General Clark so far forgot himself as to preface a remark to Mr. Churchill by saying: "Of course you civilians..."

The General's remaining words of wisdom were unspoken, because the Prime Minister growled at him: "Young man, I was killing people when you were puling and puking in your blanket."

Throughout the war Mr. Churchill never really regarded himself as a civilian. He was quite prepared, as he did, to order his pilot to gain altitude in order to avoid a mountain top which was nowhere near the course of flight. The habit of command was strong in this incredible individual with the restless, ranging mind, who throughout his life has found that green and pleasant Island too small a stage upon which to play.

He regarded himself, I suspect, as a great commander, unavoidably and unfortunately prevented from commanding armies in the field because his services were more urgently needed

for the central and supreme direction of the war. He could scarcely endure to see a conflict looming over the horizon without being seized with an almost irresistible urge to grasp the English language in both hands and use it as a cudgel. His favorite adjectives appear to be "austere", "sombre", "sordid" and "squalid". He seldom employs a phrase that has lost its cutting edge.

He acknowledges only one master, which is the House of Commons, unless it be his wife whose judgment of individuals and issues often surpasses his own, and who can and does interrupt what the late Harold Laski once called "those thunderous and well-rehearsed improvisations" with the remark: "Shut up, Winston, and listen to this."

Mr. Churchill was, in his own words, "brought up and trained to have the utmost contempt for people who get drunk." But at the same time he cannot resist the attraction of an intoxicating phrase that rolls well off the tongue. He labors long over his public utterances, and has the rare ability to taste a sentence before he writes or utters it. He was able, during the war years, to mobilize Elizabethan language in a manner that lifted the hearts of his fellow-countrymen. He divined and tapped the well-springs of their tradition, their fears, their hopes and their arrogance.

He was and is an astounding combination of a gallant gambler, an aristocrat, an historian and an early eighteenth century cavalry officer. At the same time his sense of humor labels

him as one of the world's indestructible juveniles.

He is, I think, the most considerable man to walk the stage of world history in the last fifty years. His own version of history will support his actions. He both made it and wrote it. Later historians who have access to full documentation may amend or reverse his conclusions. But he is, as they will be, the prisoner of experience.

In these four volumes, with which historians may disagree but which they cannot ignore, Winston Churchill has permitted himself two mild expressions of personal regret or bitterness. One over the fact that the House of Commons refused him permission to install recording apparatus for one of his great speeches; and two, the fact that the British electorate "turned him out to pasture", when victory had been achieved.

The four volumes that have been published since the end of the war contain a substantial clue as to why his fellow-countrymen denied him political power when the fighting was done. He was, in a sense, scarcely aware of them. For him the battle was everything. He drove himself so hard in the intoxicating atmosphere of high command that he failed to realize that other millions of nameless Britons, without his heritage, ability or vision, were driving themselves as relentlessly; that they had visions of a fuller measure of equality - milk and hot lunches for their children, decent houses and "fair shares for all".

I think it is true that most nations in time of war and dire peril dig back into their history, their folklore and their

traditions for support and sustenance. The British did that, and fortunately found them all wrapped up in one man. In the dark days they committed their present to his keeping. But they refused him the burden or the privilege of guiding their future.

During the war there were those familiar with his capabilities who were disposed to regret that Mr. Churchill was not reporting the war rather than running it. That matters fell out as they did is undoubtedly fortunate, because Churchill the Reporter would most probably have unleashed his most scathing invective against Churchill the Great Commander. As a reporter he would have been in perpetual difficulties because the reporter, like the Prime Minister, would not have been able to resist the temptation to tell the Generals, the Admirals and the Airmen how the war should be fought.

This volume is Mr. Churchill's version of the turning tide, or the hinge of fate. Historians may disagree with him about Dieppe or Darlan. They may feel that he selected his documents to sustain his judgment. They may conclude, as I did at the time, that his popularity was greater in this country than it was in Britain - just as Roosevelt's was greater in Britain than it was here. They may conclude that his knowledge of the past was so great as to becloud his perspective of the future.

I do not pretend to know upon what myth or fact future historians will agree. But I would hope that out of these four volumes, those to come, and all the footnotes and documents of the era, those historians will succeed in dredging up the essential

greatness of Mr. Churchill.

That greatness is not, I suggest, his courage, his eloquence, patriotism, tenacity or knowledge of history. His critics who condemn him for arrogance, for not having changed his mind for 50 years, for his imperialistic - or if you like, reactionary - utterances will, I hope, be confounded by a single fact. He truly regarded himself as a servant of the House of Commons. No democracy in modern time has been nearer than was Britain to the all-consuming flame of totalitarianism - and survived. It was Mr. Churchill's purpose and policy that the nation he led should survive or perish in freedom, and in a manner calculated to bring applause and respect from ancestors and descendants. This adherence and scrupulous attention to parliamentary procedure may prove an example, a hinge of fate more powerful than anything recorded in these four volumes.

I find no indication that there was ever a time when Mr. Churchill could have lost the war in an afternoon. But there were certainly times when he could have destroyed, or at least irreparably damaged the faith of the Western World that it can defend its freedom without losing it in the process.

The conduct, the character and behavior of Mr. Churchill and his fellow-countrymen were more eloquent than any book even he is likely to write. It was proof of what he said in a moment of serious levity at Ottawa, in December of 1941: "We have not journeyed across the centuries, across the oceans, across the mountains, across the prairies, because we are made of sugar candy."

Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

F 559-3/48

OFFICE COMMUNICATION

To Edward R. Murrow

From M. J. Foster

Station

February 28, 1949

Jack Gould informs me you are doing an article for him for the special New York Times television section. As soon as you have the outline of the article in mind, I would appreciate your letting me know some of the things you plan to say so I can submit photographs which might go with your article. I make this request at Gould's own suggestion.

M.J.F.

md

Picture NEWS.....NY TIMES...

Murphy 3/1/49

Competitive question...will people turn to television rather than sound or print to find out what is going on in the world...

.....This is a visual medium..where editorial judgement has been largely pictorial..direction of news reels or picture magazine..who turns to those to find out what is going on in the world...

....Problem of mobility...camera as mobile as telephone or Microphone...

.....Editorial controll..who decides..need for mariage between newwman and director..Instance Alabama delegation at convention.....

..... Problems of privacy...Truaman in blind Alley..shots at a fight.....

..... Editorialising by pictorial selection...sleeping man in midst of speech..

....what lends self to pictorial traetment when most news is made up of what happens in mens minds as reflected in what comes out of their mouths and how do you put that in pictures...

CONCLUSION....Need for television to recognise limitation of medium...just as honest AM broadcaster admits that language of speech..in limited period can best be used to stimulate curiosity..cause listner to pursue in print... TV maybe able to compete with tabloids when present technical troubles overcome..but there is still room for Times and Trib....Increased selectivity of TV audience when novelty wears off.....Discpline of those who talk on TV...speak good heads...Will TV change politics..doubt it...Premium on man who photogs well...but Dewey by professional standards better broadcaster than Truman....TV just more revealing than sound alone.....TV just third dimension in reporting...Will anyone turn on TV at eight AM instead of reading morning paper or listning to world news round up.....

PREDICTION..danger of ad lib camera..need for sifting and sorting thru mind to avert distortion....ex blitz....Will TV regard news as naything more than a saleable commodity...will they controll it or abdicate like am... Financial pressures may induce servility by operators...need to argue this out before patterns become set and we all begin to see pictures of our country and the world that just arent true....

distortion x Objectivity & Control

TO Mr. Murrow

From ADRIAN MURPHY

3/1/49

Mr. Murphy asked me to send you the attached copy of his February 11th memo on television news.

Mary Alice Murphy

COPY

inter-office memo

February 11, 1949

from Mr. Murphy

CBS EXECUTIVE OFFICES

to: Mr. Stanton cc: Messrs. Lowman, Van Volkenburg

This concerns the general philosophy of television news.

Evidence seems to be developing that the appeal of television news in all the various formats thus far tried by various broadcasters is something less than great. How much of the lack of enthusiasm is accounted for by inadequate production or personalities cannot be estimated.

But we and others have used a large number of news personalities including some of the best radio people. We and others have had newsreel material comparable or equal to, and earlier in time than, the best the motion picture industry has been able to produce after many years. Our still picture supply has not been bad; and although our chart and graph efforts have not been the best, they have not been the worst. Also, we have had some pretty interesting people interviewed on the air. We have even had the "report from Washington" (usually an interview) which has been part of many a radio news program.

The verbal news sources have been as good as there are, even if our treatment of the news may not have been one hundred per cent comparable to that given news in radio.

So much for the <u>sources</u> of material.

In <u>types</u> of material, we, the industry, have run the gamut from Cardinal Mindszenty to the Atlantic City beauty parade, from Moscow to Hollywood. We have had children, bear cubs, houses made of milk bottles, fashions, JATO, and almost every other subject matter you can think of and in varying portions depending upon the broadcaster.

In format, TV news has varied from 20th Century Fox's straight newsreel type format to the CBS more varied and newsier technique, to which NBC appears to be veering.

In effect, therefore, we have had all the ingredients, and we have baked the cake from a number of different recipes, but somehow the net result has never been fully satisfying. With more experience and more money we will be able to do a somewhat better, smoother, more effective production job, and perhaps more appealing personalities will be developed. But even so, it is difficult to see how these will provide for the compelling quality that will bring people back to the screen time after time and in large numbers — a quality which just hasn't been there.

Perhaps that is the way it is going to be with television news. Perhaps it will never be any more compelling than the newsreels have been in the motion picture industry.

It is not inconceivable that people may prefer to get their news in a minute or two from a radio digest or by scanning the newspaper headlines, and devote the rest of the fifteen minutes to television viewing of an entertainment type of program. Of course, if there is a sensational disaster or other news event to be shown on a television news program, they may make a special date with it as they would any other important special event.

It may well be that, if a television news program is to have a compelling appeal which will bring many people back again and again through habit, the TV news program may have to do something more than report what has already happened a day ago or even an hour ago. It may have to create news of itself.

This could be done in three ways:

1. Through mobile unit operation which would bring actual scenes of the current fire or water-main burst, at least during the debris clearing period.

2. Through interviews or statements, either in the studio or at LaGuardia Field or some place, in which people would actually make news. For instance, the Mayor announcing the name of the new police commissioner; the Governor announcing that he is going to recommend higher income taxes; Branch Rickey announcing the resignation of Leo Durocher.*

3. Through an entirely new emotional approach -- perhaps with a much higher content of humor or pathos; or highly stylized aural and visual presentation; or perhaps a high editorial voltage; or something.

Obviously any of these ways could be costly, but if they are the answer to television news, it seems reasonable to assume that they will come about some day somehow, and perhaps we should be pointing our present techniques, however gingerly, in their direction.

If, on the other hand, none of these directions is correct, and TV news is destined not to have a very large audience by comparison with other types of shows, then perhaps we should be pruning our TV news concepts to fit the cost and audience equations.

* The newspapers, of course, would raise cain about such a procedure until such time as, when and if television is in a position to override their objections.

Now you're more than half finished — yes or no?

AG

Long Lines Information Department
American Telephone and Telegraph Company
32 Avenue of the Americas
New York 13, New York

FOR RELEASE, in afternoon papers of
Tuesday, March 1, 1949

Please address questions to R. B. Williams
EXchange 3-9700, Ext. 5533, or Ext. 6688

RECEIVED
NEWS & SPECIAL EVENTS
MAR 1 1949
WILLIAM F. BROOKS

BELL SYSTEM ANNOUNCES
1949 TELEVISION NETWORK PROGRAM

In 1949 the Bell System will double the number of miles of television network channels now available and will bring its network service to thirteen additional cities, according to the Long Lines Department of the American Telephone & Telegraph Company. By the end of this year there will be some 8,200 miles of television channels in operation, spread over a Bell System inter-city network which will then extend 2,850 miles and link 27 cities.

By summer, under present plans, the fourteen cities already on the Bell System's television network will be joined by Providence, R.I., and Wilmington, Del. By Fall it is expected that the following cities will be linked: Lancaster and Erie, Pa., and Rochester, N.Y., and Dayton, Columbus, and Cincinnati, Ohio. Toward the end of the year, it is planned to equip the existing coaxial route between New York City and Albany, N.Y. for television transmission and to extend it, by radio relay, to Syracuse, which would permit Bell System service to Schenectady, Utica and Rome as well.

Finally, all through 1949 work will go forward on the important radio relay project which is to provide long distance telephone and television service between New York and Chicago and several intermediate points next year, and for which the Long Lines Department of the A.T. & T. Company filed plans with the Federal Communications Commission last year.

Both radio relay and coaxial cable facilities will be utilized by the Bell System for its 1949 television program, which will include about 450 route miles

(more)

of radio relay and some 300 route miles of coaxial cable facilities. The cities listed above will be linked to the network in the following manner:

1. The coaxial cable being constructed between Toledo and Dayton will be equipped for television transmission, but from Dayton radio relay will be used to make the connections beyond to Columbus and Cincinnati.

2. Both Lancaster and Erie will be added to the present coaxial circuits in Pennsylvania but the link from Buffalo to Rochester, N.Y. will make use of radio relay.

3. Radio relay will also be relied upon for the Philadelphia-Wilmington and the Boston-Providence additions to the Bell System network.

4. Coaxial cable will form the link between New York City to Albany, N.Y. but the additions beyond to Syracuse, N.Y. will be via radio relay.

The 1949 construction program also makes provision for additional channels along certain existing main routes on the inter-city network. An accelerated program to increase the number of circuits between Philadelphia and Chicago by about May 1, for example, has already been announced by the A.T. & T. Company. However, it is also planned to add three additional television channels between New York and Philadelphia and one extra channel to those already in operation between Philadelphia and Washington, D.C.

As its share in the Bell System television network program, the Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Company has announced a project of its own, intended to provide both long distance telephone and television channels between Los Angeles and San Francisco. Initially, one radio relay circuit will travel northward over a series of eight or nine towers to be constructed on mountain ridges overlooking the San Joaquin Valley from the West side. Service is expected in about a year.

(more)

New York-Chicago Radio Relay

The radio relay system between New York and Chicago now under way will at first provide two television channels, one in each direction, according to the latest information on the project, released by the Long Lines Department of the A. T. & T. Company. Later it is planned to secure additional channels by installing extra equipment in the stations along the route. In addition to terminals in key cities, there are 31 intermediate towers.

Improved equipment, built around a new vacuum tube developed by the Bell Telephone Laboratories, will mark the New York-Chicago radio relay system, making it an advance over the facilities between New York and Boston introduced in November, 1947. In addition to benefiting from the experience already gained in operating other Bell System radio relay systems, the new system will be simpler to maintain, more reliable and ultimately provide more channels than any other micro-wave system in service.

As with other radio relay systems, this one will use super high frequencies, called micro-waves, which travel in straight lines and do not follow the curvature of the earth. The relay towers, therefore, must be located so they can direct the micro-waves along an unobstructed, line-of-sight path from one tower to the next. (The other type of inter-city facility that carries television programs over the Bell System networks is coaxial cable--which transmits high frequency electrical signals in copper tubes about the size of a pencil. Usually, eight of these coaxial tubes are included in the cable, which is about as big around as a man's wrist.)

The New York terminal of this system will be erected atop the 450-foot Long Lines Headquarters at 32 Avenue of the Americas while the Chicago terminal will be located on the roof of the new toll building of the Illinois Bell Company at New Congress Street. Already three relay towers have been erected

(more)

between New York and Philadelphia: at Martinsville, N.J., and Buckingham and Wyndmoor, Pa., while two others are under way at Thomas Hill and Hallam between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh. West of this point field tests have been completed to make sure that each prospective station site has a good transmission path to the sites on both sides. By late Fall all the other towers will have gone up along the route, which ultimately will permit radio relay transmission to travel from Boston as far as Milwaukee, Wis.

Depending on where they are built, the intermediate towers will range in height from 60 to 200 feet. Between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, they will be placed on hill-tops and will be built from 60 to 80 feet high. Along the flat land in Ohio and Indiana, however, the towers will be constructed about 150 to 200 feet tall. (The towers in the other radio relay projects in Ohio will be about this high too.)

Except for their varying height, each of the intermediate towers is about the same in design--a square, concrete structure with space for emergency power equipment and storage batteries on the first floor, and radio equipment on the second. The special micro-wave antennas which beam and receive the communications signal are on the roof.

# # # # # # # # # #

2-24-49

RADIO AS AN EDUCATIVE FORCE

I The Measure of Radio as a Social Institution

(Broadcasting as an instrument of entertainment, information, instruction, politics, war. etc.)

II The Role of Education in a Democracy

1. The Importance of individual and group participation in a democratic society

2. Preparation of children and youth

3. In-service training (continuous) of adult citizens

III Education and the Mass Media of Communication

Print

Radio

Film

Transportation (mobility)

IV The Educative Effects of Radio

1. Radio and the Principles of Learning

"It has long been known that meaningful material is more readily understood and better retained than non-meaningful material. Further, the more vivid the original impression, the longer learning will be retained. When educational material is presented with the proper showmanship, it is likely to be more meaningful to the listener and to create a more vivid impression. Consequently, it should follow that under these conditions, the listener will understand the material better and retain it longer.

"Thus, it may be seen that radio listeners do not only prefer education in entertaining form, but, in addition, they are probably more likely to learn under such conditions." (Katz and Eisenberg)

Application of Showmanship to Educational Programs

a. Educational Programs should have unity

b. Educational programs should be related to everyday problems

c. Educational programs should offer opportunities for listener involvement

d. Educational programs should stress human interest material

Teaching By Telling a Good Story (Katz, Eisenberg) (APR Journal)

Structural unity

Identification with character

Dramatic conflict

Teaching integrated with plot action

IV 2. Children and Youth — In-school

(Tyler and Stevenson in Evaluation of School Broadcasts)

a. Communicator of information and ideas

b. Motivator enlivening and enriching the materials and methods of classrooms

c. Subject matter worthy of serious and sometime defensive study

3. Children and Youth — Out-of-school

(The amount and kind of learning which takes place outside of the classroom. Behavior patterns, social attitudes, personal involvement through self-interest, identification, and suspense)

4. Adults

(same as 3. Radio makes "cultural goods" the property of the broad masses of the population, with certain inevitable changes in the quality of such goods)

List for ad in New York Times

Mr and Mrs. R. C. Murrow
903, 13th Street
Bellingham, Washington

Mr and Mrs. George Lawson
Blanchard, Washington

Mr. and Mrs Dewey J. Murrow
724. East 33rd Avenue
Spokane, Washington

Mr and Mrs. Charles H. Brewster
152. Mount Vernon Street
Middletown, Conn.

Mr. Earl Foster
Gold Beach, Oregon

please write on this compliments of Mrs. M. as Mr. M. might be embarrassed.

Mr and Mrs. Fred Trumbull
Ione, Washington

3 copies please

Mrs. E. R Murrow
130, East 74th Street
New York, 21, N. Y.

List for ad in New York Times

Mr and Mrs. C. Dart Brewster
930, Asylum Avenue
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Washington Boulevard
Springfield, Massachusetts

Mrs. Howard C. Brewster
18, Vassar Street
Springfield, Massachusetts.

Mr and Mrs. Charles S. Henshaw
45, Dwight Street
Brookline, Massachusetts

Mr and Mrs. Leon M. Cornwell
17, Monmouth Street
Somerville, Massachusetts.

And thank you
JM.

7-6-17

TELEVISION NEWS

Edward R. Murrow

Television news has made more progress in the past two years than was achieved by radio news during the first ten years of netowrk broadcasting. TV news has not so far been subjected to the artificial restraints from press associations and newspapers that impeded the development of radio news. Television news has demonstrated that it is a salable commodity. Sponsors will pay for it. The briefest glance at the deficit financing of TV operations is sufficient to indicate that anything that can be paid for will find a place in the TV schedule. The interesting area of speculation is not whether TV news is here to stay, it is, but rather what form is it likely to take after the shakedown cruise; what will be its effect upon newspapers and sound broadcasting. Once the novelty has worn off, will it become a truly competitive medium, or will it remain supplementary--the equivalent of a picture magazine or the newsreel? Will the citizen turn to TV for his news rather than to sound and print? As familiarity breeds selectivity in viewing, will TV news be able to hold its own with the other items on the schedule?

I hold the opinion that TV news must before long arrive at certain fundamental decisions. Is it to be a medium of entertainment or information? Do bathing girls on surf boards get preference over a firstclass but simple chart of the Middle East; or a polar presentation of the areas covered by the North Atlantic alliance? Where is the editorial control to reside? So far it has rested very largely with the visual side. There has been a strong tendency to tailor the news to fit the pictorial and animation possibilities rather than to give the news, as such, priority and try to tailor up such pictorial support as may be possible. A cameraman or producer must make pictorial judgments, but those judgments need not be sound news judgments. TV news is probably

going to require a new kind of animal--a reporter-broadcaster-producer, with a combination of talents not required in print or sound. If the editorial selection is based upon largely visual values, TV news will become an animated picture magazine or a newsreel, and who turns to such sources to find out what is going on in the world? Whether in regular studio news shows or in the covering of great spectacles such as political conventions, editorial control must be exercised by the man who knows news, not just pictures. It ought to be exercised by one who knows both. For example; at the Democratic convention in Philadelphia, a reporter spent a great deal of time learning just what the Alabama delegation was going to do when they walked out--who would ask the chair for recognition, what he would say, what other delegations would go with them. At the appropriate moment, the camera came down on a closeup of the Alabama delegation. The reporter started telling his story which was news. While he was talking--while the issue was still in doubt--the camera panned up to the balcony for a closeup of a woman wearing an exotic and ridiculous hat. That was the end of the story about the Alabama delegation; you can't talk politics while the camera gives you a closeup shot of a funny hat. The pictorial judgment may have been impeccable, but it wasn't news judgment. Television producers will probably have to simplify their treatment of such events; stop doing tricks with angle shots, fades and dissolves just because such tricks are possible. Their attitude toward the viewer should be: "If you were here in the hall, had a good seat, maybe two of them, this is what you would see and hear". Due care will have to be exercised to avoid unconscious editorializing with the camera. A closeup of a man asleep with his mouth open, transmitted while a politician is in full cry, will do as much to distract attention as would a shower of over-ripe fruit in the hall. The man who is doing the talking--and the less he does the better--must work shoulder to shoulder with the man selecting the picture to be transmitted; it will require a partnership more intimate and immediate than is demanded in any other medium.

What is going to be done about the violation of privacy I do not know. Maybe

private citizens attending a public gathering where they may come under the gaze of a TV camera will start wearing makeup; perhaps the courts will eventually have their say on this subject. The night President Truman accepted the nomination in Philadelphia he sat together with some friends on folding chairs outside the hall in what could properly be described as a blind alley. The party was drinking something that looked very much like bourbon and branchwater. The Secret Service had neglected to close a window on the second floor; it overlooked the Presidential party and there was probably enough light for a fair television picture. A camera was placed on a dolly and cable was being connected. Would the transmission of such a picture have been in good taste? would it have tended to ridicule the high office of President of the United States? I do not know, but it would have been done had not the Secret Service intervened before the camera was in place.

Television news in the studio, if it is to become truly competitive with the older media, must develop a recognizable format; charts and maps that can be used over and over again, something in the nature of a war room. The type and legends must be constant and familiar. The NEW YORK TIMES wouldn't change its type face every few days for that represents one of its assets. Increased mobility of the television camera for remote pickups is essential and will come. Film, however hot, will not replace the immediate impact of direct transmission. TV news from the studio will probably never have the speed and flexibility of sound broadcasting and certainly it will never approach print in detailed treatment of major news stories. And if TV news is ever to be more than a picture supplement, it must put the news, not the picture first; it must recognize that much of today's news is made up of what goes on in mens' minds as reflected in what they say. If it is possible to get the participants to actually make news, break their story on TV, that would be one thing. But I have an idea that those with a serious interest in news would still want to read it, contemplate it, and become aware of certain background material concerning the story. For example; if the top story of the day has to do with

high echelon changes in the Soviet government the TV newsroom has little pictorial or annimation support for such a story. But if it takes two minutes to tell that story, then it must be told even if the audience has to look at a picture of Stalin, or even the reporter for that length of time. The alternative is to try to tell the story in thirty seconds andifill the other minute and a half with bathing beauties or film of a recent acquisition at the zoo, and such treatment is not calculated to leave the viewer with the feeling that he has been exposed to the top news of the day.

One could wish that TV news might develop the variety of treatment of the news that is to be found in New York so that the viewer might take his choice between the TV equivalent of the NEW YORK TIMES, the MIRROW and the SUN, but such a development seems unlikely since economic pressure is likely, for several years at least, to force all stations to reach for maximum circulation in their TV news shows.

Will television produce more accuracy, restraint and responsibility than in the presentation of news by the spoken word? It probably will where live pickups of predictable events predictable events are concerned. But I see no reason to expect any substantial improvement in studio presentations; no reason to think that the viewer will sort out the phonies any better with the aid of sight. An abrasive voice, a trick manner of delivery, a seething note of hysteria or omnipotence in the voice has contributed to the success of certain broadcasters. Is it not possible that an unruly head of hair, an infectious smile, eyes that seem remarkable for the depths of their sincerity, a general cultivated air of authority may attract huge television audiences, regardless of the violence that may be done to truth or objectivity?

It is of course true that no one is going to listen to the news on the radio while looking at his television set. Radio news broadcasts will probably be reduced in number and scheduled at times when TV competition is not overwhelming but the speed and flexibility of sound broadcasting will continue to insure its survival as a major instrument of information.

Unless our educators decide to teach students to operate a television set before they teach them to read, which could happen, I cannot see that television news will become more than a supplement to the daily newspaper.

One thing is certain: television news, when it reaches maturity, will require men with better furnished minds, greater breadth of information, than is demanded by print or radio for to talk with conviction and authority on television the reporter--or if you prefer, the performer--can't rely on a script writer, won't have time perhaps to study the clips. He will have to recognize faces at public events, have to know his way around maps and names andissues for the studio presentations. In short, be a combination of Trout, Kieran, Lippman, and Howe. He will have to be a "quick study", a good conversationalist--why go on? He will just have to work with maps and people and ideas in front of several million people; no introverts need apply.

The nub of this business of television news--the thing from which all else will stem, the thing that will decide whether it is to be entertainment or indoctrination or an honest effort to reflect the world in which we live is to be found in one word. That word will really determine the use to which this powerful, pervasive medium will be put; until we get an answer to this all speculation about the future of television news is futile. The word is: CONTROL. Until we know who is going to control the output--who is going to be responsible for it--we can't tell what sort of shape it will assume. Television news is expensive; and it's going to become more expensive. Under our system it will have to be supported by advertising, by sponsorship. It becomes a salable commodity designed to inform the public and to sell goods and services. If the TV licensees abdicate their responsibility, turn the editorial control over to the sponsor, the advertising agency or an individual, then we will see TV news reaching for the greatest possible audience and the devil or radio or print can take care of those who want to find out--as near as human frailty can produce it--just what is going on in the world. One of the

One of the greatest mistakes made by many, though not all sound broadcasters, was to lose control over their own medium, to permit program content to be controlled by anyone other than those who are legally responsible for it namely; the licensee. I maintain that the law places responsibility for program content and for service squarely upon the corporation or individual licensed to operate ~~XXXX~~ and that responsibility cannot be passed on to anyone.

The financial pressures to which television as a whole will be subjected during this formative period will be enormous. The temptation to sacrifice control for revenue may well be considerable. The power of this medium is so great; its potency for good or evil so incalculable; its future uses so shrouded in mystery that those of us who may receive some of our news from television are entitled to know--indeed we have an obligation to know--the source of control and responsibility. Why would it not be possible for those who have received a license to operate TV stations to state publicly, in the proper corporate language of course: "We shall sell time for news programs; we shall hold ourselves responsible for the content of those programs; we shall, under no circumstances, attempt to escape or assign those responsibilities. If you see and hear a picture of our country or the world that just isn't so, we are culpable not the sponsor, not the advertising agency, and not the individual; but we, the lisensee. A certain portion of these news programs will be devoted to selling goods and services, but beyond that we are going to lay it on the line with pictures and voice and film and all the other devices we can command because ours is the responsibility and we don't want to duck it.

I would suggest that whatever television may do to our patterns of behavior, to the economy of the entertainment industry, to newspapers or radio or magazines, that we may have occasion to regret the giant strides of this medium only if we--as beneficiary or victim--fail to insist that responsibility for what comes into our homes be clearly established in order that our praise, our blame, or our indifference may be registered in the proper quarter.

PUBLIC OPINION AND FOREIGN POLICY

By LESTER MARKEL

AND

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ARNALDO CORTESI
W. PHILLIPS DAVISON
C. D. JACKSON
MARTIN KRIESBERG
CABELL PHILLIPS
JAMES RESTON
SHEPARD STONE

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PUBLIC OPINION AND FOREIGN POLICY
by Lester Markel and others

Reviewed by: EDWARD R. MURROW

Can we, as a nation, sell anything other than goods and services? Have we anything to offer, any saleable commodity in the area of ideas? Do we, in fact, think that ideas are important; and, if so, are they items for export? In the space of a few short years we have reversed the course of our ship of state in the mid-stream of our history. We have turned from contemplating the great west, from laying waste our own natural resources; and have decided under dire compulsion that our foreign policy is our only insurance policy. But this country depends, unlike other democracies, upon the solid and substantial support of Public Opinion to sustain a given foreign policy...How are we doing?...The answer, given in this book, is that we are not doing too well. We are not telling our own people what our foreing policy is - or what it is intended to achieve. We are not telling our friends abroad what we purpose to do with their destiny, if they choose to go with us. We are confronted, as Lester Markel, who edited this volume, says, with seizing the opportunity of informing the public, or of encountering disaster.

This book is a symposium. Hanson Baldwin offers a piece on the military mind. Arnaldo Cortesi discusses the Italian Election. James Reston writes persuasively about the President's privileged position in forming and shaping American policy and opinion. Shepard Stone writes as good a piece as I have seen about the export of American ideas to the rest of the world. Lester Markel has done his best in a chapter - fore and aft- to tie the thing together. The sum total is a cry of despair. We are losing the battle of words and the battle of ideas, because we are not speaking an idea that is meaningful to people who are hungry. Most of the terrible dilemma that confronts this nation, that of having been thrust unwillingly into the position of world leadership, is in this volume. The question is: how do we export an idea we don't understand to a people, (Western Europe, for instance), which has grown tired of words and easy solutions...to this problem, PUBLIC OPINION AND FOREIGN POLICY addresses itself. If you will read Shepard Stone's chapter you may well conclude that we aren't even trying; and you wouldn't be far wrong. This is a volume, conceived in liesure; brought forth into the light of day after due deliberation. Its purpose is to persuade all of us that public opinion is the only argument admissable in this area. If I find one fault with the book, it is that some of the authors seem to be persuaded of the omnipotence and the value of the

public opinion poll. There are times when they seem not to have heard of the recent election...

As a broadcaster, it seems fair to point out that this discussion of U. S. projection abroad is done entirely by those who work in print. Mr. Markel is an editor of wide and varied experience. Even broadcasters respect his critical judgment. But in the end of the day he leaves us where we were. If the public is to understand our foreign policy, he maintains that the State Department must tell Congress and the rest of us what it's doing. The Department must have a coordinator who can make its policies meaningful to the average citizen and the average member of Congress. But here he seems to me to destroy the meaning of coordinator. How can such a one persuade us of a meaning that does not exist? Mr. Markel wants one man who, in his words "is a single highly paid official who would be, the head of a public opinion desk". He would be in charge of the public opinion desk at home and of the information propaganda desk abroad. For my part, I would rather ride with the present confusion than go with the single highly paid character who would tell me and the folks abroad what we are up to, if we are up to anything.

This is one of the most stimulating books I have read in many a day. It takes off from the wholly valid premise that we are regarded abroad with a mixture of fear and admiration. In it you will find first-hand reports from men whose experience should command your respect. A great deal of research and money went into this job. This is a publication of the Council on Foreign Relations, but don't let that persuade you that it is a book of interest only to the stratosphere boys who are above reality. The people who wrote these chapters have credentials that would give them a commission in the field in any campaign of political warfare. They promise no easy path down which we may lead American ideals. They explain why in many areas we are more feared than admired abroad.

This volume isn't going to hit the best-seller list, but those of us who claim to be concerned about our nation's relations with the rest of the world cannot afford to ignore it. If some minor philanthropist should decide to send a copy to each member of Congress and somehow those members could be persuaded to read it, there might be a better story to tell about the relation between public opinion and foreign policy when the second edition of this study comes from the press. It is still possible that we, as a nation, may conclude that ideas are important; that we can sell those ideas as effectively as we have sold goods and services. However, the evidence

in this book indicates that that time is not yet.

PUBLIC OPINION AND FOREIGN POLICY.....ER MURROW....

Can we, as a nation sell anything other than goods and services? Have we anything to offer, any saleable commodity in the area of ideas? Do we in fact think that ideas are important; and, if so, are they items for export? In the space of a few short years we have reversed the course of our ship of state in the mid stream of our history. We have turned from contemplating the great west, from laying waste our own natural resources, and have decided under dire compulsion that our foreign policy is our only insurance policy. But this country depends, unlike other democrasies, upon the solid and substantial support of Public Opinion to sustain a given foreign policy...How are we doing?...The answer, given in this book, is ~~none too well~~ that we are not doing too well. We are not telling our own people what ~~that~~ our foreign policy is, or what it is intended to achieve. We are not telling our friends abroad what we purpose to do with their destiny if they choose to go with us. We are confronted, as Lester Markell, who ~~put~~ edited this volume ~~together~~ says, with seizing the opportunity of informing the public or encountering ~~or~~ disaster. ~~and the only permissable conclusion is that our relations with the public must lead it to belive that we have no workable alternative to offer.~~ This book is a symposium written by nine. Hanson Baldwin offers a piece on the military mind. Arnaldo Cortesi discusses the ITALIAN Election. James Reston writes persuasively about the president's privilidged position ~~the president has~~ in forming and shaping American policy and opinion. Shepard Stone writes as good a piece as I have seen about the export of American ideas to the rest of the world. ~~This book is a symposium written by six men...name them...and suffers from all the built-in troubles of one of these things.~~ Lester Markell has done his best in a Chapter fore and aft to tie the thing together. But the sum total is a cry of dispair. We are loosing the battle of words and the battle of ideas, because we are not speaking an idea that is meaningful to people who are hungry. Most of the terrible dilemma that confronts this nation, that of having been thrust unwillingly into the position of world leadership, is in this volume. The question is: how do we export an idea we dont understand to a people, western europe, for instance, which has ~~gone~~ now tired of words and easy solutions.. ~~that is the~~ To this problem ~~to which this volume~~ PUBLIC OPINION AND FOREIGN POLICY adresses itself. If you will read Sheppard Stone's chapter you may well conclude that we arent even trying; and you wouldnt be far wrong. This is a volume conceived in leisure; brought forth into the light of day after due deliberation. Its purpose is to persuade all of us that public opinion is the only argument ~~that is~~ admissable in this area. If I find one fault with ~~this volume~~ the book it is that some of the authors seem to be persuaded of the omnipotence and the value of the public opini on poll -

There ~~here~~ are times when they seem not to have heard of the recent election...

...

...As a broadcaster it seems fair to point out that this discussion of US rejection abroad is done entirely by those who work in print. ~~It is of course possible that those who work in the field of the spoken word are unable to write the english the english language.....~~

Mr Markell ~~who has put together this volume~~ is an editor of wide and varied experience. Even broadcasters respect his critical judgement. But in the end of the day he leaves us where we were. If the public ~~opinion~~ is to understand ~~and~~ our foreign policy. he maintains that the State Department must tell Congress and the rest of us what it's doing. The Department must have a cordinator who can make its policies meaningful to the average citizen and the average member of Congress. ..But here he seems to me to destroy the meaning of co-ordinator. How can such a one persuade us of a meaning that does not exist? Mr Markell wants one man who ~~he~~ in his words "is a single highly paid official who would be, ~~in effect,~~ the head of a public opinion desk." He would be in charge of the public opinion desk at home and of the information propaganda desk abroad. For my part I would rather ride with the present confusion than to go with the single highly paid character who would tell me and the folks abroad what we are up to if we are up to anything.....

This is one of the most stimulating books I have read in many a day....It takes off from the wholly valid premise that we are regarded abroad with a mixture of fear and admiration. In it you will find first hand reports from men whose experience should command your respect. ~~A whole of a lot of~~ great deal of research and money went into this job. ~~trying to find out what happens to public opinion in this country and abroad, about American public opinion regarding American foreign policy.~~ This is a publication of the ~~foreign~~ Council on Foreign Relations, but dont let that ~~lead you to believe~~ persuade you that ~~its one of those~~ it is a book ~~that is~~ of interest only to the stratosphere boys who are above reality. The ~~and~~ people who wrote these chapters have credentials that would give them a commission ~~omission~~ in the field in any campaign of political warfare. They promise ~~you~~ no easy path down ~~wich~~ which we may lead American ideals. They explain why in many areas ~~reas~~ we are more feared ~~fered~~ than admired abroad. ~~I would guess that this book wont lead the best seller list. It's just a steady serious discussion of what public opinion has to do with American foreign policy..here and abroad.....~~

~~There are no easy answers to this question. Not even the columnists or broadcasters can produce one. But if you want a careful cool look at what is being done to inform us and our friends abroad as to what we are doing~~

~~to inform public opinion as to what we are doing in the field of foreign policy, you will find it there.~~

This volume isnt going to hit the best seller list, but those of us who claim to be concerned about our nation's relations with the rest of the world cannot afford to ignore it. If some minor philanthropist ~~would~~ should decide to send a copy to each member of Congress ~~it~~ ~~might~~ and if ~~they~~ those members could be somehow persuaded to read it, there might be a better story to tell about the relations between public opinion and foreign ~~relation~~ policy when the second edition of this study comes from the press. It is still possible that we as a nation may conclude that ideas are important; that we can sell those ideas as effectively as we we have sold goods and services. However, ~~but~~ the evidence in this book indicates that that time is not yet.

Eng Part

May 4th

Dear Ed:

In a moment when you probably were off your guard, you promised to write a foreword for my book "Techniques of Magnetic Recording." I have had the accompanying material prepared so that writing the forward may be as painless as possible.

I began to think of writing the book in 1949. It is going to the printer this week. About one thousand copies have already been ordered, five hundred from Europe. The MacMillan Company is the publisher.

Some notes regarding the book: It is written in as plain English as I could muster. It starts with the history of magnetic recording, beginning with its invention in 1898 by Valdemar Paulsen of Denmark. Theory is discussed, and the various processes of recording, reproduction and erasure are explained. After that there are chapters on editing recording, re-recording and spurious printing. Methods of application of magnetic recording, including wire, tape, film and other forms, are explained in detail. The techniques used industrially and professionally (automatic control of machine operations, telemetering recording, use in computers, use in recording body sounds, heart sounds are included.)

There is a chapter devoted to techniques employed in motion pictures and television, with a section devoted to methods used by Ed Gille in your See It Now program. There is a chapter on educational uses, well illustrated, and one devoted to exposing the danger of allowing recorded evidence in courts.

I hope you will not be too critical of the ~~xxxxx~~ copy I have furnished. It is not edited but was the only copy available.

Gratefully,

Joel Tall

Man has been called the two-legged, tool-using animal. The legs have not changed much. But the tools are always changing. The spear has been outmoded by atomic cannon, the caveman's ax by the power saw, and the goose quill by the ball-point pen. If diseases are being routed, our progress in dealing out death is also considerable.

Besides an inquiring mind, the reporter's basic tool has been the lead pencil. Matthew Brady added the camera, during the War Between the States. Now we have the magnetic recorder to preserve the promises of politicians (in their own voices), a bird's song, or the indecent noises of a nuclear blast. Tape recording earned its spurs as a reporting tool in the war in Korea. Some of us tried to catch the sounds of history with mobile recording toward the end of World War II.

Joel Tall describes the techniques of magnetic recording. Modern-day reporters, and the legion of those who have taken to tape recording professionally and for pleasure, will find it a most useful book.

Edward R. Murrow

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ooo E. R. M.

Television News.

The New York Times

TIMES SQUARE, NEW YORK 18, N. Y.
LACKAWANNA 4-1000

April 27, 1949.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Here is the ill-fated piece as copied from our galley proofs. You will see that we did some slight reorganizing as per our talk. Your original copy is lost in the depths of the Composing Room.

As you know, I feel very badly that we have to return this piece. I still think it should see the light of day some place.

Sincerely,

Jack

JACK GOULD
Radio-Television Editor.

JG*JAW
Enclosure.

TELEVISION NEWS

Edward R. Murrow

Television news has made more progress in the past two years than was achieved by radio news during the first ten years of network broadcasting. TV news has not so far been subjected to the artificial restraints from press associations and newspapers that impeded the development of radio news. Television news has demonstrated that it is a salable commodity. Sponsors will pay for it. The briefest glance at the deficit financing of TV operations is sufficient to indicate that anything that can be paid for will find a place in the TV schedule. The interesting area of speculation is not whether TV news is here to stay, it is, but rather what form is it likely to take after the shakedown cruise; what will be its effect upon newspapers and sound broadcasting. Once the novelty has worn off, will it become a truly competitive medium, or will it remain supplementary--the equivalent of a picture magazine or the newsreel? Will the citizen turn to TV for his news rather than to sound and print? As familiarity breeds selectivity in viewing, will TV news be able to hold its own with the other items on the schedule?

I hold the opinion that TV news must before long arrive at certain fundamental decisions. Is it to be a medium of entertainment or information? Do bathing girls on surf boards get preference over a firstclass but simple chart of the Middle East; or a polar presentation of the areas covered by the North Atlantic alliance? Where is the editorial control to reside? So far it has rested very largely with the visual side. There has been a strong tendency to tailor the news to fit the pictorial and animation possibilities rather than to give the news, as such, priority and try to tailor up such pictorial support as may be possible. A cameraman or producer must make pictorial judgments, but those judgments need not be sound news judgments. TV news is probably

going to require a new kind of animal--a reporter-broadcaster-producer, with a combination of talents not required in print or sound. If the editorial selection is based upon largely visual values, TV news will become an animated picture magazine or a newsreel, and who turns to such sources to find out what is going on in the world? Whether in regular studio news shows or in the covering of great spectacles such as political conventions, editorial control must be exercised by the man who knows news, not just pictures. It ought to be exercised by one who knows both. For example; at the Democratic convention in Philadelphia, a reporter spent a great deal of time learning just what the Alabama delegation was going to do when they walked out--who would ask the chair for recognition, what he would say, what other delegations would go with them. At the appropriate moment, the camera came down on a closeup of the Alabama delegation. The reporter started telling his story which was news. While he was talking--while the issue was still in doubt--the camera panned up to the balcony for a closeup of a woman wearing an exotic and ridiculous hat. That was the end of the story about the Alabama delegation; you can't talk politics while the camera gives you a closeup shot of a funny hat. The pictorial judgment may have been impeccable, but it wasn't news judgment. Television producers will probably have to simplify their treatment of such events; stop doing tricks with angle shots, fades and dissolves just because such tricks are possible. Their attitude toward the viewer should be: "If you were here in the hall, had a good seat, maybe two of them, this is what you would see and hear". Due care will have to be exercised to avoid unconscious editorializing with the camera. A closeup of a man asleep with his mouth open, transmitted while a politician is in full cry, will do as much to distract attention as would a shower of over-ripe fruit in the hall. The man who is doing the talking--and the less he does the better--must work shoulder to shoulder with the man selecting the picture to be transmitted; it will require a partnership more intimate and immediate than is demanded in any other medium.

What is going to be done about the violation of privacy I do not know. Maybe

private citizens attending a public gathering where they may come under the gaze of a TV camera will start wearing makeup; perhaps the courts will eventually have their say on this subject. The night President Truman accepted the nomination in Philadelphia he sat together with some friends on folding chairs outside the hall in what could properly be described as a blind alley. The party was drinking something that looked very much like bourbon and branchwater. The Secret Service had neglected to close a window on the second floor; it overlooked the Presidential party and there was probably enough light for a fair television picture. A camera was placed on a dolly and cable was being connected. Would the transmission of such a picture have been in good taste? would it have tended to ridicule the high office of President of the United States? I do not know, but it would have been done had not the Secret Service intervened before the camera was in place.

Television news in the studio, if it is to become truly competitive with the older media, must develop a recognizable format; charts and maps that can be used over and over again, something in the nature of a war room. The type and legends must be constant and familiar. The NEW YORK TIMES wouldn't change its type face every few days for that represents one of its assets. Increased mobility of the television camera for remote pickups is essential and will come. Film, however hot, will not replace the immediate impact of direct transmission. TV news from the studio will probably never have the speed and flexibility of sound broadcasting and certainly it will never approach print in detailed treatment of major news stories. And if TV news is ever to be more than a picture supplement, it must put the news, not the picture first; it must recognize that much of today's news is made up of what goes on in men's minds as reflected in what they say. If it is possible to get the participants to actually make news, break their story on TV, that would be one thing. But I have an idea that those with a serious interest in news would still want to read it, contemplate it, and become aware of certain background material concerning the story. For example; if the top story of the day has to do with

high echelon changes in the Soviet government the TV newsroom has little pictorial or animation support for such a story. But if it takes two minutes to tell that story, then it must be told even if the audience has to look at a picture of Stalin, or even the reporter for that length of time. The alternative is to try to tell the story in thirty seconds and fill the other minute and a half with bathing beauties or film of a recent acquisition at the zoo, and such treatment is not calculated to leave the viewer with the feeling that he has been exposed to the top news of the day.

One could wish that TV news might develop the variety of treatment of the news that is to be found in New York so that the viewer might take his choice between the TV equivalent of the NEW YORK TIMES, the MIRROR and the SUN, but such a development seems unlikely since economic pressure is likely, for several years at least, to force all stations to reach for maximum circulation in their TV news shows.

Will television produce more accuracy, restraint and responsibility than in the presentation of news by the spoken word? It probably will where live pickups of predictable events predictable events are concerned. But I see no reason to expect any substantial improvement in studio presentations; no reason to think that the viewer will sort out the phonies any better with the aid of sight. An abrasive voice, a trick manner of delivery, a seething note of hysteria or omnipotence in the voice has contributed to the success of certain broadcasters. Is it not possible that an unruly head of hair, an infectious smile, eyes that seem remarkable for the depths of their sincerity, a general cultivated air of authority may attract huge television audiences, regardless of the violence that may be done to truth or objectivity?

It is of course true that no one is going to listen to the news on the radio while looking at his television set. Radio news broadcasts will probably be reduced in number and scheduled at times when TV competition is not overwhelming but the speed and flexibility of sound broadcasting will continue to insure its survival as a major instrument of information.

Unless our educators decide to teach students to operate a television set before they teach them to read, which could happen, I cannot see that television news will become more than a supplement to the daily newspaper.

One thing is certain: television news, when it reaches maturity, will require men with better furnished minds, greater breadth of information, than is demanded by print or radio for to talk with conviction and authority on television the reporter--or if you prefer, the performer--can't rely on a script writer, won't have time perhaps to study the clips. He will have to recognize faces at public events, have to know his way around maps and names andissues for the studio presentations. In short, be a combination of Trout, Kieran, Lippman, and Howe. He will have to be a "quick study", a good conversationalist--why go on? He will just have to work with maps and people and ideas in front of several million people; no introverts need apply.

The nub of this business of television news--the thing from which all else will stem, the thing that will decide whether it is to be entertainment or indoctrination or an honest effort to reflect the world in which we live is to be found in one word. That word will really determine the use to which this powerful, pervasive medium will be put; until we get an answer to this all speculation about the future of television news is futile. The word is: CONTROL. Until we know who is going to control the output--who is going to be responsible for it--we can't tell what sort of shape it will assume. Television news is expensive; and it's going to become more expensive. Under our system it will have to be supported by advertising, by sponsorship. It becomes a salable commodity designed to inform the public and to sell goods and services. If the TV licensees abdicate their responsibility, turn the editorial control over to the sponsor, the advertising agency or an individual, then we will see TV news reaching for the greatest possible audience and the devil or radio or print can take care of those who want to find out--as near as human frailty can produce it--just what is going on in the world. One of the

One of the greatest mistakes made by many, though not all sound broadcasters, was to lose control over their own medium, to permit program content to be controlled by anyone other than those who are legally responsible for it namely; the licensee. I maintain that the law places responsibility for program content and for service squarely upon the corporation or individual licensed to operate ~~XXXX~~ and that responsibility cannot be passed on to anyone.

The financial pressures to which television as a whole will be subjected during this formative period will be enormous. The temptation to sacrifice control for revenue may well be considerable. The power of this medium is so great; its potency for good or evil so incalculable; its future uses so shrouded in mystery that those of us who may receive some of our news from television are entitled to know--indeed we have an obligation to know--the source of control and responsibility. Why would it not be possible for those who have received a license to operate TV stations to state publicly, in the proper corporate language of course: "We shall sell time for news programs; we shall hold ourselves responsible for the content of those programs; we shall, under no circumstances, attempt to escape or assign those responsibilities. If you see and hear a picture of our country or the world that just isn't so, we are culpable not the sponsor, not the advertising agency, and not the individual; but we, the licensee. A certain portion of these news programs will be devoted to selling goods and services, but beyond that we are going to lay it on the line with pictures and voice and film and all the other devices we can command because ours is the responsibility and we don't want to duck it.

I would suggest that whatever television may do to our patterns of behavior, to the economy of the entertainment industry, to newspapers or radio or magazines, that we may have occasion to regret the giant strides of this medium only if we--as beneficiary or victim--fail to insist that responsibility for what comes into our homes be clearly established in order that our praise, our blame, or our indifference may be registered in the proper quarter.

Draft

Sent to J. Gould 3/22/49

April 1

Picture News....

Television News has made more progress in the past two years than was achieved by Radio News during the first ten years of network broadcasting... TV news has not so far been subjected to the artificial restraints from press associations and newspapers that impeded the development of Radio News.. Television news has demonstrated that it is a saleable commodity...Sponsors will pay for it...The briefest glance at the deficit financing of TV operations is sufficient to indicate that anything that can be paid for will find a place in the TV schedule.....The interesting area of speculation is not whether TV news is here to stay..it is..but rather what form is it likely to take after the shake down cruise;..what will be its effect upon Newspapers and sound broadcasting...Once the novelty has worn off will it become a truly competitive medium or will it remain supplementary...the equivalent of a picture magazine or the newsreel?. Will the citizen turn to TV for his news rather than to sound and print?..As familiarity breeds selectivity in viewing will TV news be able to hold its own with the other items on the schedule?...

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camera came down on a close up of the Alabama delegation..the reporter started telling his story.,.which was news,..While he was talking--while the issue was still in doubt,--the camera panned up to the balcony for a close up of a woman wearing an exotic and riduculous hat,..that was the end of the story about the Alabama delegation...You can't talk politics while the camera gives you a close up shot of a funny hat,..The pictorial judgment may have been impeccable but it wasn't news judgment,..Television producers will probably have to simplify their treatment of such events...stop doing tricks with angle shots,fades and dissolves ~~and~~ just because such tricks are possible..Their attitude toward the viewer should be:"If you were here in the hall,had a good seat,maybe two of them,this is what you would see and hear"...Due care will have to be exercised to avoid unconscious editorializing with the camera,... A close up of a man asleep,with his mouth open,transmitted while a politician is in full cry,will do as much to distract attention as would a shower of overripe fruit in the hall,...The man who is doing the talking--and the less he does the better--must work shoulder to shoulder with the man selecting the picture to be transmitted,..it will require a partnership more intimate and immediate than is demanded in any other medium... ([redacted])

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By: EDWARD R. MURROW.

Television news has made more progress in the past two years than was achieved by radio news during the first ten years of network broadcasting. So far it has not been subjected to the artificial restraints from press associations and newspapers that impeded the early development of radio news. It has demonstrated that it is a salable commodity. Sponsors will pay for it.

The interesting area of speculation is not, then whether television news is here to stay; of that there is no question. Rather, a consideration of news on television raises these questions: (1) What form and format is it likely to take after its first few years of trial-and-error? (2) What are the problems of television news? (3) What will be the effects of its coverage on radio news programs and on newspapers? And, finally, (4) Who must assume the responsibility for the dissemination of news on television?

I. FORM AND FORMAT.

Television news will probably never have the speed and flexibility of sound broadcasting and certainly will never approach print in detailed treatment of major news stories. Nonetheless, if TV news is ever to be more than a picture supplement, it must put the news, not the picture, first. It must recognize that much of today's news is made up of what goes on in men's minds as reflected in what they say.

Increased mobility of the television camera for remote pick-ups is essential in this regard; it will come. Film, no matter how "hot," cannot replace the immediate aspect of direct transmission.

Most television news will emanate from the studios' news rooms, however. News in the studio must have a recognizable format: something in the nature of a war room, with charts and maps that can be used over and over again. The type, legends and other visual aids must be constant and familiar. THE NEW YORK TIMES would not change its type face every few days, for its typography represents one of its assets. Television must handle its news "props" in similar fashion.

There will be cases, no doubt, where the "props" will be inadequate. Suppose,

for example, the top story of the day has to do with high-echelon changes in the Soviet Government. The TV news room will probably have little pictorial or animation support for such a story. But it will have the facts; and whether it takes two or ten minutes to tell them, they must be told, even if the audience has to look at a picture of Stalin or at the commentator for that long.

One could wish that TV news might develop the variety of treatment of the news that is to be found in the New York newspapers, so that the viewer might take his choice between TV equivalent of THE NEW YORK TIMES, The Mirror and The Sun, but such a development seems unlikely. Economic pressure will probably force all stations to reach for a mass audience for their television news shows, at least during the next few years.

II. PROBLEMS.

The fundamental problem confronting television news is this: What kind of news is it going to cover? Are its news programs to be a medium of entertainment or of information? Do bathing girls on surf boards get preference over a first-class but simple chart of the Middle East or a polar projection of the areas covered by the North Atlantic alliance? Where is the editorial control to reside? So far it has rested very largely with the visual side. There has been a strong tendency to tailor the news to fit the pictorial and animation possibilities rather than to give the news, as such, priority and try to tailor up such pictorial support as may be possible.

A camera man or producer must make pictorial judgments, but those judgments are not necessarily sound news judgments. TV news is probably going to require a new kind of animal---a reporter-broadcaster-producer, with a combination of talents not required in print or sound. If the editorial selection is based upon largely visual values, TV news will become merely an animated picture magazine or newsreel, and who turns to such sources to find out what is going on in the world?

At the Democratic Convention in Philadelphia a reporter spent a great deal of time learning just what the Alabama delegation was going to do when they walked out: Who would ask the chair for recognition, what he would say, what other delegations would

go with them. At the appropriate moment the camera came down on a close-up of the Alabama delegation. The reporter started telling the story, which was news. While he was talking---while the issue was still in doubt---the camera panned up to the balcony for a close-up of a woman wearing an exotic and ridiculous hat. That was the end of the story about the Alabama delegation. You can't talk politics while the camera gives you a close-up shot of a funny hat.

Whether in regular studio news shows, or in the covering of great spectacles such as political conventions, editorial supervision, editorial supervision must be exercised by the man who knows news, not just pictures. It ought to be exercised by someone who knows both.

Another problem faced by television news is what is going to be done about the violation of privacy. It is a difficult question to answer. Possibly private citizens attending a public gathering where they may come under the gaze of a TV camera will start wearing make-up; perhaps the courts will eventually have their say on this subject.

The night President Truman accepted the nomination in Philadelphia he sat together with some friends on folding chairs outside the hall in what could properly be described as a blind alley. The party was drinking something that looked very much like bourbon and branch water. The Secret Service men had neglected to close a window on the second floor; it overlooked the Presidential party, and there was probably enought light for a fair television picture. A camera was placed on a dolly and cable was connected. Would the transmission of such a picture have been in good taste? Would it have tended to ridicule the high office of President of the United States? I do not know. But it would have been done had not the Secret Service intervened before the camera was in place.

III. EFFECTS ON RADIO AND NEWSPAPERS.

No matter how and to what extent television news solves the problems that face it, I have an idea that those with a serious interest in news will still want to read it, contemplate it and become aware of certain background material concerning each story. Unless our educators decide to teach students to operate a television set before teaching

to read---which could happen---I cannot see that television news will become more than a supplement to the daily newspaper.

Will television news be produced with more accuracy and restraint than in the presentations of news by the written or spoken word? It probably will where live pick-ups of predictable events are concerned. But I see no reason to expect any substantial improvement in studio presentation---no reason to think that the viewer will sort out the phonies any better with the aid of sight.

An abrasive voice, a trick manner of delivery, a seething note of hysteria or omnipotence in the voice has contributed to the success of certain broadcasters. Is it not possible that an unruly head of hair, an infectious smile, eyes that seem remarkable for the depths of their sincerity, a general cultivated air of authority may attract a huge television audience, regardless of the violence that may be done to truth or objectivity?

IV. RESPONSIBILITIES.

The nub of this business of television news---the thing from which all else will step and which will decide whether it is to be entertainment or indoctrination or an honest effort to reflect the world in which we live---is to be found in one word: The word is: CONTROL. Until we know who is going to control the output---who is going to be responsible for it---we cannot tell what sort of shape it will assume.

Television news is expensive, and it will become more expensive. Under our system it will have to be supported by advertising sponsorship. It then becomes a salable commodity designed to inform the public and to sell goods and services. If the TV licenses abdicate their responsibility and turn the editorial control over to the sponsor, the advertising agency, or an individual, then we will see TV news reaching for the greatest possible audience, with little regard for accuracy and little restraint; and then the devil, or radio, or print can take care of those who want to find out, as near as human frailty can produce it, just what is going on in the world.

One of the greatest mistakes made by many, though not all, sound broadcasters, was to lose control over their own medium, to permit program content to be controlled by any-

one other than those who are legally responsible for it---namely, the licensee. I maintain that the law places responsibility for program content and for service squarely upon the corporation or individual licensed to operate and that responsibility cannot be passed on to anyone.

Why would it not be possible for those who have received a license to operate TV stations to state publicly---in the proper corporate language, of course---"We shall sell time for news programs; we shall hold ourselves responsible for the content of those programs; we shall, under no circumstances attempt to escape or assign those responsibilities. If you see and hear a picture of our country or the world that just isn't so, we are culpable, not the sponsor, not the advertising agency, and not the individual, but we, the licensee. A certain portion of these news programs will be devoted to selling goods and services, but beyond that we are going to lay it on the line with pictures and voice and film and all the other devices we can command because ours is the responsibility, and we don't want to duck it."

The financial pressure to which television as a whole will be subjected during this formative period will be enormous. The temptation to sacrifice control for revenue may well be considerable. The power of this medium is so great, its potency for good or evil so incalculable, its future uses so shrouded in mystery that those of us who may receive some of our news from television are entitled to know---indeed, we have an obligation to know---the source of control and responsibility.

* * *

Ten Men Down

Jack F

TEN MEN DOWN

"All right men, at ease," the Major interrupting the briefing, looked over the roomful of pilots, co-pilots, and navigators as though attempting to forecast some reaction to what he had to say. "A B-24, flying directly here to Dakar from Natal just ran out of gas and was forced to ditch somewhere off the coast." "We have a general idea of where they are, and need volunteer crews to start a search." The Major went on, "Anyone whose ship is ready to go and who wants to volunteer, report to me immediately at the end of this briefing." "That's all", and with that he left the room as quickly as he had entered.

Now the Captain, in charge of the briefing, abrubtly finished giving us the details of our course, weather, and recognition signals necessary for our next day's flight to Marrakech. We were combat air crews flying our B-26 Marauders from the States to the battle areas of Europe and had been at Dakar just long enough to have had lunch and attend this briefing. The Captain quickly dismissed the group and as I glanced at Lt. "Lenny" Reeves, my co-pilot, and Lt. Mike Hawrylak, my bombardier-navigator, it was pretty obvious they would go along with me in breaking the old unwritten military rule of, "Never Volunteer". We filed out to see the Major and found other crews already there being assigned their coordinates of longitude and latitude for the search area. There are no road maps or highway signs in the South Atlantic and all waves look the same. Lenny, leaving Mike and I to pick up the necessary charts, went to collect the rest of the crew and ready the plane for the search. Sgt. Tom Connolley, radioman-gunner and Sgt. Carl Dalaba, engineer-gunner were already checking the ship and squeezing every last drop of gas possible into the tanks. They had beaten Lenny to the plane having picked up the rumor of a search mission and taken it for granted we'd be going. This was my crew! Mike and I joined them in about twenty minutes; gave them as much of the plan as we knew and

climbed aboard for take-off. Our search area was to be the most north-west sector assigned; some one-hundred miles out to sea. As we sat in the steaming airplane, already overheated by the tropical sun, sweat soaked through every shred of flying clothes and still we waited for the tower to clear us for take-off. Now we started guessing about the B-24 crew and their chances of having successfully ditched. The B-24 wasn't made for water landings and didn't have a reputation for staying afloat. Had the pilot been able to get the plane, with four dead engines, down in one piece? If they were that lucky, had fate dealt them a good enough hand to survive the jolting crash of a water landing; to get them and their life rafts out, or were they even now being watched by curious fish as they settled from their last flight. We didn't know and no one else did either. No one, that is, except the men of the B-24 crew themselves and they hadn't been heard from since their last frantic message, "We're out of gas; gotta ditch." No chance to pick up a reliable position report on them and nothing since then. The search was being carried out on the chance they'd made it. "Army 486, Dakar tower here, you're clear number one to runway and take-off". This was it; our turn to go. One last check of the engine and propeller temperatures, pressures, and operation as we opened the throttles for take-off. Everything was hot -- but okay. Lenny, checking the instruments, gave the thumb and finger highball sign and brakes released, we started to roll. Slowly the airspeed began to build up, but too slowly. The "Marauder" never did like to leave the ground but with the heat robbing the power of our engines, it looked like we'd never make it. A quick glance at the air-speed indicater confirmed my suspicions, but by now we'd gone past the point-of-no-return on the runway. We had to make it one way or another or wind up in the scrub-brush and sand at the end of the runway. Nothing to do but try a stunt we'd picked up getting out of the short jungle strips of South America. Bounce her off! With Lenny's help,

we yanked back roughly on the control column. The ship's nose came up and the wheels left the ground for a fraction of a second; back down again and then another yank back. Up in the air again, this time a little longer and a little higher, but now the end of the runway was almost under our nose so the next one had to do it. Down we went and hit with a jolt that shook the ship from one end to the other. Bouncing back up, we retracted the gear and prayed we'd make it. The ship was fighting as hard as we for altitude, hanging on her propellers while the engines blasted away with every ounce of power they had. Still the ship began to settle back to earth forcing Lenny and I to ease the control column as far back as we dared without putting the plane into a stall. Slowly, foot by foot, we began to climb. It was the weight of the extra 210 gallons of gas in the bomb-bay ferry tank that joined with the heat in an effort to keep us on the ground. That gas, however, we learned later was worth its weight in human life. Now, Mike was arranging his charts, calling out the first heading to the search area and settling down to scan the ocean from his vantage point in the Marauders plexiglass nose. Dalaba and Connolly left their seats to take up stations in the rear of the ship and the plane still fought, foot by foot, for altitude. Suddenly, Lenny and I realized the engines were in trouble. Too hot! All airplanes have indications marked on the face of the pilots engine instruments showing the safe operating limits of temperature and pressure. The danger area is boldly marked in red. Every engine indicator staring back at Lenny and I was right on that red line! Before I could move, Lenny had snapped the switches throwing the cowl flaps around the engines wide open. For a man to undo his tie and open his collar on a hot day does the same thing for him as opening the cowl flaps does for the engine. More cooling. We stared at the cylinder head temperature; the gauge to the heat in the heart of the engine, straining to catch some flicker of movement

showing they were cooling down. Instead of relief, we found more trouble. By opening the cowl flaps into the air flowing around the engines, we had created more wind resistance and the plane was slowing down. Still fighting for altitude even a small reduction of speed could send us down into the empty ocean below us. Sure, we could add a bit more power to hold us up but more power meant even higher engine temperatures. Now the heat became a real enemy. Heat, sapping the power of our engines; constantly waiting for us to make one slip that would put us on the other end of the search mission. That started the long battle of maintaining a delicate balance of airspeed, engine heat, and power with our ship as the pawn; gaining a little here and giving a bit there. Our flight to the search area had begun.

A half hour later, Mike called to say we had reached our assigned sector and gave me the first compass reading to start our criss-cross pattern of searching. Now Mike really had his hands full, for, as navigator, he had to constantly watch the airspeed, wind drift, time, and heading. His was the job of making sure we covered every square inch of our section. This all in addition to scrutinizing the ocean for any tell-tale sign of the downed B-24 or its crew. Dalaba came forward one last time to check on his engines and, finding Lenny battling with the heat, returned to his lookout post in the rear. Connolly had long since adjusted his radio sets for any emergency and he too stood watching now from somewhere in the aft end.

East to west, west to east and back again; all eyes straining to catch a glimpse of floating wreckage, a life jacket, or a raft. Eyes that in their eagerness began to see B-24's and crews in every swell. Too many times we dove to wave top height checking on a definite sighting to find only the foam of a cresting wave. Minutes dragged by into half-hours and the half-hours into hours with still no sign of hope. No one was having better luck than we for periodically the radio would crackle into

life with the report of another search plane. "Nothing found, returning to base." Finally, we too had to admit defeat and calling the Dakar tower reluctantly informed them we had covered the area with no success and were returning. Mike gave me the inbound heading and Lenny heaved a sigh of relief as the end of the battle with the over-heated engines was now no more than an hour away. Dalaba and Connolly, stretching their tired and cramped muscles, rubbing the strain from their eyes, came forward for a quick check of their "offices". Everything inspected they returned to their lookout posts for the flight back to Dakar.

Unexplainably, thoughts of my brother, a B-17 bomber pilot flying out of England and shot down over Germany only a few months before, crept into my mind. Would I be returning to base now if I knew it were he and his crew down there in that empty ocean hoping to be found? Caught up in my day-dreams, I stared out my window and must have caused the plane to drift, with my stare, to the left of our course. With a jolt that snapped me back to the job at hand, Mike yelled over the intercom, "If you want to reach Dakar today, get back on my heading or else we'll wind up in the Sahara Desert. That did it! Mike was one of the best navigators in the business and he wasn't fooling.

Suddenly, out of the corner of my left eye came the sight of a small red flash! A red flash in the middle of the ocean? A red flash! A distress signal. The B-24 crew! Standing the bomber on its left wing tip, we made a tight turn and there they were right underneath us. "There they are! There they are! We're right on top of them," I hollared into the intercom. Now the rest of the crew spotted them and as we passed low beside them gave the thumbs-up signal of "Everything's Okay." Two yellow life rafts tied together. Five men in each raft. Ten men; that was the whole crew. They'd all made it and were they happy! They waved everything they had in the

rafts; paddles, life jackets, and caps as we swung around for another pass.

Now to call Dakar telling them the B-24 crew had been found. "Dakar radio, Dakar radio, Army 486 calling Dakar radio." "Army 486, this is Dakar radio; go ahead." Mike took over and gave the details of our exact location and condition of the ocean and men in the life rafts. The excitement of the crew was clearly audible in Mike's voice as he tried to tell Dakar radio there were ten oceans in two life rafts on the men. Dakar understood however and took our position fix. Back came a reply that a rescue boat had been standing by and would shortly come out to pick up the men. Dakar also wanted to know if we'd stand by, circling the rafts until the boat arrived. Would we! After that search we weren't going to take a chance on losing them due to wind drift or shifting currents. Sure we'd stand by. We'd found them; we'd stick with them. Connolly was hopping from one waist window to the other and Dalaba had the top turret, his "crows nest", swinging like a pendulum keeping their eyes on the men below. Mike, in the nose, reported every movement they made. No, we wouldn't leave them as long as we could still fly. Fly! With a shattering thud, our thoughts flashed back to our own airplane. Did we have enough gas to continue circling until the boat reached us? When would it reach us? We didn't know how fast the boat was nor exactly how far out we were. Now we were thankful for the added weight of those extra gallons of gas in the bomb-bay tank. We'd only been flying for three hours and were sure of enough gas for at least another three. Gas was no problem. But the heat was! In our first minutes of finding the downed crew, we'd all but forgotten the battle still being waged with the overheated engines. Staying with the rafts only meant continuing that fight and we didn't know how much punishment from the heat those engines would take. So far, so good, but for how much longer? Getting a plane to come out and relieve us! That was the one smart solution. Calling Dakar tower, I

explained our trouble but said we'd stay there until a relief plane came out. Dakar assured us that someone would be out as soon as possible. Now all we had to do was keep the rafts in sight and our ship flying for another hour or so and we'd be all set.

Around and around we went. Five circles to the right, five circles to the left and start all over again. Eyes weary from the long search now fought to maintain focus on the rafts, and around and around some more. Lenny, took over the controls on the turns to the right, giving me a chance to relieve him in his fight against the heat. Fifteen minutes, twenty-five minutes, a half-hour and still no word of any relief plane. "Dakar tower, Dakar tower, this is Army 486. Come in please." "Army 486, this is Dakar tower, go ahead." "Dakar tower, this is Army 486. What's the latest word on the relief ship?" "Our engines are still too hot and we want to get out of here." "Army 486, this is Dakar tower." "Your relief ship, a Charlie 47, is enroute now." "Took off thirty minutes ago and should be in your area in one-half hour. Dakar tower Army 486. Thanks, over and out." Well at least we knew our relief was coming but a C-47 is not too fast. Still the circling; first one way and then the other and as if wanting to beat us at the last minute the daylight started to fade into a rapidly enveloping dusk. It became constantly harder to keep the rafts in sight as the wave top shadows lengthened hiding the rafts for longer and longer periods. One of the men down there must have realized our trouble for suddenly there appeared a broadening patch of very light green color. Sea dye, surrounding the rafts, held them in clear relief against the dark green sea as long as the daylight lasted. But the daylight didn't last. As in most tropical areas, daylight faded very rapidly into the blue-black of night. The sea dye no longer helped and again someone in the rafts fearing to snap the thin thread of help found an answer. A light!

Small, only the size of a pen flash light; but a light! Now eyes that had strained to see two life rafts had only the merest pin point to watch for, and in a field of starlight reflected by the black sea. The relief plane. Where was it? It should have been here ten minutes ago. And then we spotted it. Red, white, and green lights approaching from the direction of land. It would be only a matter of minutes now and we'd be on our way home. We tried contacting him directly. No luck. His radios were set for different channels. The only way to contact him was through the Dakar radio. This we did, reporting that the relief plane was headed directly for us. Surely, he must see us for our navigation lights were all on, but as he passed directly over our heads we realized he had no idea where we were. A quick call to Dakar tower and the C-47 made a turn to come back in another attempt to find us. This time we'd make sure he saw us. We'd flash our landing lights. He couldn't miss those! Back he came straight for us. Every light on our plane blazed out for him to see but once again he passed over with no sign of having seen us. We called Dakar to have them tell the plane to come around for another pass at us and wasted no words telling them what we thought of anyone who could miss the flying neon sign we thought ourselves to be. This time we watched him closely and timing our flight path and altitude flew directly at him, veering off only at the last minute to avoid a collison. He must have seen us! He couldn't miss us; if we'd been any closer we could have tapped him on the shoulder! He made one more pass before Dakar radio called to say the relief plane had failed to locate us and was returning to base. It was impossible; he can't go back; he was right here with us, but as these thoughts flashed through our minds we watched his lights disappear in the night leaving us to our lonely vigil. Returning to the job again, we attempted once more to locate the rafts. All the maneuvering to attract the attention of the relief plane had taken

us some distance from the downed crew and now we had to find them in the dark. Impossible? Yes, except that again someone in the rafts realized we'd lost them and fired a flare. Quickly we resumed our orbiting around the sinking flare and that pin hole of light from the rafts. Once again, the Dakar radio broke into life asking if we still could continue to circle until the rescue boat reached us, but this time the reply was not so readily forthcoming. All of us knew the problems confronting us. If the relief plane couldn't spot us would the rescue boat be able to find us? Would we have enough gas? Would the engines hold out, and above all how about my crew? By now they'd been there circling those rafts for better than three hours. Their eyes were blodshot from the strain and each had to weigh this decision in his own mind. The boat must have a pretty good idea of where we were so the rescue might not be too difficult and after all we'd stuck our necks out pretty far to stay as long as we had. Each man had his own thoughts to square away. I looked over at Lenny working with the hot engines. Lenny was about my height, six feet, had black "butch" haircut and brown eyes that often belied the seriousness of his nature. He had grown up in a small town outside Boston, had been married while in the service and his wife, Barbara, was even now awaiting the birth of their first child. How much more would Lenny be willing to risk for those men down there. Mike, the short bombardier-navigator in whose hands rested the job of guiding us safely back home from this spot in the middle of nowhere. Which way would his scales of thought balance out? And Dalaba; the Pennsylvania farm boy, slow but sure thinking and very deliberate in his actions. His home and family must have been factors bearing heavily on his decision. Connolly, "T.J.", as we called him, taller than the rest of us, usually was considered to be the comic of the crew but right now he was in no mood for humor. This was a game for keeps and the bets would be high. For myself, I was twenty, the

youngest of the crew and had made a practice of allowing my crew as much leeway as possible still maintaining a form of discipline necessary as the ship's Captain and pilot. My own thoughts flashed to my family and to the young girl I'd become engaged to just before leaving the States and then back to that brother again. What would this crew of mine do? The decision wasn't long in coming. The crew had "passed the buck" to me. Now I had to balance the chances of my crew against those in the water below. "We'll stick". This was my crew and I hoped I was right! After the call to Dakar informing them of our decision, we settled down once again to the long tedious job of circling. Five to the right, five to the left, eyes glued to the speck of light and losing it, drawn back to the rafts by the light of their rapidly dwindling supply of flares. Where was that boat? They must be dragging their anchor but we kept circling. Lenny was still working with the engines, but at least we were getting a break there for as the night air cooled, the engine temperatures had started to drop. A half-hour later, the lights of the boat were sighted and this time we made sure they'd find us. All lights on, we dove directly at them and their searchlight catching and holding us left us no room for doubt they'd seen us. Five minutes later, we finally radioed Dakar we were returning and as the lights of the rescue boat settled on the two life rafts, we started back. Mike called out a new compass heading and a little less than an hour later, we spotted the coastal lights. Now to find the field. That shouldn't be hard for Dakar is a seaport and the airfield should be easy to spot. Nothing looked the same though and our remembering how it had looked for the first time only that morning was no help. In spite of this two paralled lines of lights appeared magically and we were sure they were the runway. Lining ourselves up to land between the light lines we dropped wheels and flaps and secured the ship for landing; just a few seconds now and we'd be on the ground. Some sixth sense must have warned Lenny for he called

the tower and asked them to blink the runway lights. These lights didn't blink! Ramming the throttles open and retracting the landing gear and flaps we again asked Dakar radio to blink their lights. Again nothing happened to the lights we were watching so we circled higher until we found two lines of lights blinking furiously five miles to the east. This time we made it and as the wheels touched down, the strain and fatigue of the morning flight into Dakar and the tense search through the long afternoon and night set in. We'd had enough for one day!

The commanding officer met us and after a quick discussion of the flight led us to the mess hall for a cup of coffee and a sandwich. There the colonel informed us that the lines of lights we originally started to land on were the lights of the two lines of live submarine net mines across the mouth of the Dakar harbor. And we'd almost landed on them! We'd forgotten how hungry we were and proceeded to eat everything in sight. Finishing that, we returned to our assigned tents amid the calls of our friends about the "big medal boys" and "little tin heroes". If they hadn't been kidding, we'd have known they didn't mean it. Then the lights were out and as we lay on our cots during that period just before sleep comes, we wondered what the feelings of that B-24 crew must have been. The knowledge, as their gas ran out that they couldn't make land, the apprehension as their ship settled to the water and then the lonely, hopeful waiting. How had they felt as the lone Army bomber came out of an empty sky to pass unseeing right over their heads, to turn only at the last minute as their distress flare dove into the sea? What were their feelings as our ship circled hour after hour assuring them they'd been found and help was on the way. And then the final rescue.

We never knew for although they were within a hundred yards of us for the next twenty-four hours, they never came to tell us and we didn't go ask them.

But maybe you know.

Perhaps you're one of those ten men down!

FAREWELL TO AMERICA

J. Purnal

In mist and driving snow the towers of New York fade from view. The great ship slides down the river. Already the dark, broad seas gloom before her. Good bye most beautiful of modern cities ! Good bye to glimmering spires and lighted bastions, dreamlike as the castles and cathedrals of a romantic vision though mainly devoted to commerce and finance ! Good bye to thin films of white steam that issue from central furnaces and flit in dissolving wreaths around those precipitous heights ! Good bye to heaven piled offices, so clean, so warm, where lovely stenograph with silk stockings and powdered faces, sit leisurely at work or converse in charming ease ! Good bye NewzYork ! I am going home. I am going to an ancient city of mean and mouldering streets, of ignoble converts of mankind, extended monotonously over many miles; of grimy smoke clinger closer than a blanket; of smudgy typists who know something of powder but little of silk, and less of leisure and charming ease. Goodbye America ! I am going home.

Good bye to beautiful apartments and homes ! Goodbye to windows looking far over the city as from a mountain peak '-. Goodbye to central heating and radiators, fit symbols of the hearts they warm! Goodbye to frequent and well appointed bathrooms, the glory of America's art ! Goodbye to suburban gardens running into each other without hedge or fence to separate friend from friend or enemy from enemy ! Goodbye to shady verandahs where rocking chairs stand ranged in rows, ready for reading the voluminous Sunday papers and "The Saturday Evening Post" ! Goodbye America ! I am going home. I am going to a land where every mans' house is his prison-- a land of open fires and chilly rooms and frozen water pipes, of washing stands and slop pails, and one bath per household at the most; a land of fences and hedges and walls, where people sit aloof, and see no reason to make themselves sea-sick by rocking upon shore. Good bye America !- I am going home.

Good bye to the copious meals-- the early grape fruit, the cereals, the egg broken in a glass ! Good bye to oysters, large and small, to celery and olives beside the soup, to "sea food", to sublimated viands, to bleeding duck, to the salad course, to the "individual pie" or the thick wedge of apple pie, to the invariable slab of ice-cream, to iced water and home brewed alcohol ! I am going to the land of joints and roots and solid pudding; the land of ham and eggs and violent tea; the land where oysters are good for suicides alone, and where cream is seldom seen; the land where mustard grows and whisky ~~grows~~ flows. Good bye America !- I am going home.

od bye to the long stream of motors--"Limousines" or "flivvers" !

Good bye to the signal lights upon Fifth Avenue, gold, crimson, and green; the sudden halt when the green light shines, as though at the magic word an enchanted princess had fallen asleep; the hurried rush for the leisurely lunch at noon, the deliberate appearance of hustle and bustle in business however little is accomplished, the Jews, innumerable as the red sea sand '-. good bye to outside stair cases for escape from fire ! good bye to scrappy suburbs littered with rubbish of old boards, tin pails, empty cans,and boots! Good bye to standardised villages and small towns, alike in litter,in ropes of electric wires along the streets, in clanking trolleys, in chapels, stores railway stations, Main streets and isolated wooden Houses flung at random over the country side. Good bye to miles of advertisement imploring me in ten foot latters to eat somebody's cod fish, or smoke somebody's cigarrett (They satisfy) or sleep with innocence in the "Faultless nightgown" ! Good bye to the long trains where one smoke in a lavatory, and sleeps at nigh upon a shelf screened with heavy green curtains and heated with stifling air, while over your head or under your back a baby yells and the mother tosses moaning, until atlast you reach your "stopping off place", and a semi negro sweeps you down with a lttle broom, as in a supreme right of unction ! Good bye to the house that is labelled "One hundred years old", for the amazement of mortality ! Good bye to thin woods, and fields enclosed with casual pales, old hoops and lengths of wire ! I am going to a land of the policemans finger, where the horse and the bicycle still drag out a lingering life; a land of persistant and silent toil; a land of old villages and towns as little like each other as one woman is like the next; a land where trains are short, and one seldom sleeps in them, for in any direction within a day they will reach a sea; a land of vast and ancient trees, of houses time honored three centuries ago, of cathedrals that have been growing for a thousand years, of village churches built while people believed in God. Good bye America ! I am going home.

Good bye to ~~the new~~ the land of a new language in growth, of split infinitives and cross bred words; the land where a dinner jacket is a "tuxedo", a spittoon a "cuspidor; where your opinion is called your "reaction", and where "vamp" instead of meaning an improvised accompaniment to a song, means a dangerous female ! Good bye to the land where grotesque exaggeration is called humor, and people gape in bewilderment at irony, as a bullock gapes at a dog straying in his field ! Good bye to the land where strangers say "Glad to meet you Sir", and really seem glad; where children incessantly whine and wail their little desires, and never grow much older; where men keep their trousers up with belts that run through loops, and women have to bathe in stockings. I am going to a land of ancient speech, where we still say"record" and "concord" for "recud" and "concud"; where "unnecessarily" and "extraordinarily" must be taken at one rush, as a hedge ditch and rail

in the hunting field; where we do mot "commute" or "check" or "page", but "take a season" and "register" and "send a boy round"; where we ##### never say we are glad to meet a stranger, and seldom are; where humour is understatement, and irony is our habitual resourse in danger or distress; where children are told they are meant to be seen and not heard; where it is bad form to express emotion, and suspenders are a strictly feminine article of attire. Good bye America ! I am going home.

Good bye to the multitudinous papers, indefinite of opinion, crammed with insignificant news, and asking you to continue a first #### page article on page 23 column 5 ! Good bye to the weary platitude, accepted as wisdom's latest revalation! Good bye to the docile audiences that lap rhetoris for sustenance ! Good bye to politicians contending for aims more practical than principles ! Goodbye to Republicans and Democrats, distinguishable only by mutual hatred ! Good bye to the land where Liberals are thought # dangerous, and Radicals show red! Where Mr. Gompers is called a Socialist and Mr. Asquith woud seem advanced ! a land too large for concentrated indignation; a land where wealth beyond the dreams of British profiteers dwells, dresses, gorges,and luxurates, emulated and unashamed ! I am going to a land of polities violently divergent; a land where even Coalitions cannot coalesce; where meetings break up in turbulent disorder, and no platitude avails to soothe the savage breast; a land fierce for personal freedom, and indignant with rage for justice; a land where wealth is taxed out of sight, or for very shame strives to disguise its luxury; a land where an ancient order of feudal families is passing away, and--Labour leaders whom Wall Street would shudder at are hailed by Lord Chancellors as the very fortifications of security. Good bye America ! I am going Home.

Good bye to prose chopped up to look like verse ! Good bye to the indiscriminating appetite which gulps lectures as opiates, and "printed matter" as literature ! Good bye to the wizards and witches who claim to psycho-analyze my complexes, inhibitions, and silly dreams! Good bye to the exuberant religious or fantastic beliefs by which unsatisfied mankind still strives desperately to penetrate beyond the flaming bulwarks of the world ! Good bye Americans ! I am going to your spiritual home.

New York Times, Sunday May 30, 1948

The Rescue-Fleet at Dunkirk--and the Men Who Sailed It

DUNKIRK. By A. D. Divine. 311 pp. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co. $4.50.

By EDWARD R. MURROW

ONE day during the third week of May, 1940, when the silver barrage balloons over London all faced into the light breeze like well-trained fish in a bottomless pool, I said to a friend of mine who had served with great distinction in the Black Watch during the last war, "Did you know that the 'War House' has been out of touch with the BEF for twenty-four hours?" He replied, "Laddie, that's the best news for many days. It means the Brigadiers will bring the boys back to the beaches and the Navy will go over and bring them home." For days the battle reports from France had sounded like the reports of motorcycle bandits appearing in one town after another. The German spearheads had axed through to the Channel. The Belgians were out of the war. The whole British Expeditionary Force and certain elements of the French were caught in the bag and the Germans were tightening the draw strings on Dunkirk.

On May 14 the BBC announcer, in well-modulated tones, had said, "The Admiralty have made an order requesting all owners of self-propelled pleasure craft between thirty and one hundred feet in length to send all particulars to the Admiralty within fourteen days from today." That was the first call for the "little ships" to stand by. On May 28 the House of Commons was told it should "prepare for hard and heavy tidings."

THE Germans were less than a score of miles from Dunkirk. Their bombers had destroyed the docks. A pall of smoke hung over the city. Left alone was the East Mole, a short lighthouse at the end of it, and just wide enough for three men to walk abreast. The rest of the great port was twisted steel and flame and smoke. The East Mole and the naked beaches were all that remained — and nearly 400,000 men to be lifted.

Vice Admiral Bertram Ramsay, a cold, aloof sailor, with a staff of sixteen men, was in charge of "Operation Dynamo." His headquarters were in a big room carved out of the chalk under Dover Castle. There above the port used by Caesar's galleys when they ran the cross channel ferry, in a room where the words scrawled by prisoners taken from Napoleon's ships are still visible, Ramsay ran the show and demonstrated again the British genius for improvisation.

This story of Dunkirk—the story that began eight years ago last week—is incomplete, almost fragmentary, for many of the skippers died before they had time to write reports. Some of them went out with no more than a few bearings penciled on the back of an envelope. They steered by the flames that rose from Dunkirk. Some of the ships were cut in two by destroyers in the night. Some were caught by the German guns mounted on the rising ground between Calais and the perimeter of Dunkirk. German bombers and fighters got others, and some were lost through collision.

The B. E. F. Comes Home From Dunkirk.

A. D. Divine, the well-known English military commentator, tells most of his story through the words of men who commanded the ships. Their language is clear and cold, and about as sentimental as a depth charge. Occasionally he gives us a glimpse of men wading, swimming out to a ship that had been holed, beached and abandoned; or of what happened when the wind swept the smoke back from the harbor and the German bombers could see their targets again. But mainly the men who fought the ships tell the story.

Here is the Master of the Monas Queen: "I joined the Monas Queen on May twenty-eighth. On the evening of that date I received orders to leave Dover on the morning of the twenty-ninth to carry fresh water to Dunkirk and return with troops. Everything was uneventful until we reached to within about half a mile off Dunkirk, when the ship was mined and sank within two minutes, the survivors being rescued by the destroyer Vanquisher." And here the skipper of the Shamrock: "* * * we were just making for our destroyer when I was brought to a standstill; my engine stopped, the propeller had fouled, I believe a human obstruction. There were many in the shallow water." Adjectives and the purple prose of war correspondents could add nothing to that kind of reporting.

THE destroyers did most of the work. Most of them were old, constructed about the same time as our four-stackers. They were not built to have their thin skins slammed against that East Mole. They came into Dover listing at crazy angles, laden with men; and then turned round and went back again. There were drifters and paddle steamers, lifeboats, tugs, pleasure craft from the Thames, minesweepers, Dutch Skoots, hospital ships, French and Polish destroyers—surely the strangest armada ever to take part in war upon the sea.

The Royal Air Force was providing cover, from fields in Kent, at maximum range. They were credited with the destruction of 262 German planes, while ships' fire brought down another thirty-five. The RAF might have put a thicker umbrella over Dunkirk, but they were saving planes for the Battle of Britain. Let the historians argue about the wisdom of that decision.

At the end of nine days 338,000 men had been lifted, 100,000 from the naked beach and the rest from that five-foot-wide Mole. When they reached England's shore there were trains to carry them away. At all the ports on the south coast there was hot tea, and small boys with postcards so that a note might be scribbled to family or friends. An astonishing number brought their rifles with them and, it seemed, half the canine population of Belgium and France. Some of the dogs were shellshocked; they whimpered; but the men didn't. It was the greatest evacuation in military history. Winston Churchill, who had first-hand knowledge of the evacuation of Gallipoli and was an expert on Sir John Moore's withdrawal to the safety of the sea from Corunna, had estimated that 20,000 or perhaps 30,000 men could be brought off. The achievement was so great that there were many in Britain who were disposed to regard it as a victory.

THERE were those who called it a miracle, but it was not so. It was a combination of seamanship, of good weather (though not as universally good as most think), of men who stand steady in their shoes on any kind of deck and of the kind watchfulness of whatever Gods may be who look after men who cross salt water in order to stand and fight again as their heritage demands they must.

Mr. Divine says this was Dunkirk:

> It was the rescue of an army. . . . It was not a withdrawal, long contemplated, meticulously prepared. It was not a strategic conception made desirable by extraneous needs. It was a brutal, desperate adventure forced upon us by the most dire disaster, carried out under the eyes of an enemy flushed with victory, elated with the certainty of conquest. It was carried out in defiance of time, of circumstance, of death itself. There was no secure perimeter in the days that led to it, but only an army falling back in hot battle, with its flanks open and its allies broken upon either hand: an army cut off from its bases, lacking the very essentials of modern war: an army outclassed by its enemy, inferior in everything save courage and determination: an army designed for principles of war that were outmoded, facing an enemy who had forged a weapon to fight a strategy unknown.
>
> It came to the beaches after desperate weeks, battered, bruised and infinitely weary. It marched to its evacuation over bitter miles, and every yard of those miles was challenged by the enemy, and every hour was made brutal by the enormous strength of the Luftwaffe in the air.
>
> And when it reached the tidemark there waited for it the armada of fantastic improvisation. Here were no troopships long prepared; here was no careful withdrawal. Here was only a fleet of ships' lifeboats and motor yachts, of Dutch skoots and French fishing boats, British coasters and Channel ferries, of drifters, minesweepers, sloops, destroyers—the strangest fleet in the history of war upon the sea; battered from the air and from the shore, bruised, broken, and in ceaseless peril—only these and the spirit of an awakened England.

IT'S regrettable that Mr. Divine had to spoil that summary by saying England instead of Britain, because at about the time of Dunkirk they were saying, up north of the Tweed: "If England has to give in, it will be a long war."

This book might have been more exciting. It might have been better organized. It might have avoided an island man's condemnation of the French. But if you weren't at Dunkirk it will take you there as nearly as words can.

Ashton

May 13, 1947

To: Mr. Heller cc: Mr. Murrow, Mr. Pfeiffer

From: Miss Ashton

The following six pages constitute a preface to my actual report which I feel I must submit. They are also written in attempt to express what to me is the feeling of the story:

I have been asked to organize the results of my trip in terms of the categories of human living and problems to which atomic energy and its by-products are being applied--as a researchists report. In a strict sense, I cannot. If I could approach the subject as a cold series of facts, perhaps I could. But each one of them--each fact--has overtones so transcendant that I as one human being cannot scan them and really say: "this one belongs here, and this one belongs here." I could, perhaps, sort out a few and put them in some sort of order.

Unfortunately, I do not feel like Alice - or Ginger. From where I am standing, this whole subject means: man has not learned a basic cosmic secret. He has unleashed a power so great, he is in danger of being completely <u>over</u>-powered. Unless the Brotherhood of Man, and all its locals, get together and direct this knowledge, they'd might as well lock the doors and quit. God truly will come down with his bunch of keys and inform them: "closing time, boys." If "the boys" can, however, use this power--the power of the atom--as wisely as Nature has used it...for light, power, heat, life, food; and by using it, even correct a few of the mistakes and

fill in a few of the blanks, God instead might say: "okay fellows, you're the men for the job. We tried out quite a few before we got to you; but you've caught on. In fact, you take the keys; the business is yours."

Right now, God - or whoever - is probably just waiting. He sees that our secret-finders--the scientists--already have tapped a part of this universal power; so far our destructive use of it has outweighed our constructive application. And we're even learning more. We're continuing to unveil this secret, transmute elements, make more elements... It's all a big game. The scientists keep on tapping away, some of them not caring what use their findings are put to; it's such fun learning things. Other little creatures continue to fight among themselves, grab here and there, push the other fellow aside. Some big boys, knowing about the power, think they may be able to use it to destroy the other kids they disagree with; they're still playing the old game...don't know they'll destroy themselves with the same toy this time. God - or again whoever or whatever - might even be sorting the keys; the way things are going, he may as well have the one to this door ready.

But then...those boys in the back room--the ones in the dull little laboratories--are learning how to use the cosmic secret for their brother's benefit; and we all are in the same family in a rather large universe. They're showing us we can use this power to survive - in fact, to progress.

But if no one gives a damn whether or not the sick are well, the hungry have food, the homeless have homes, the children have a future, why are they working.

That, of course, is a very interesting question. A few of the scientists are answering it. They have at least reasonable faith that human beings are going to wake up; that they are going to realize before it's too late that they are all part of the same crew, they are all working for the same things, and if they don't start working together and respecting each other a little bit, they're all going to get blown to bits by their own hands. Some of the scientists are work ng to the limit of human endurance on the basis of this however flimsy faith.

Oppenheimer is talking before everyone he can... trying to put the tremendous, though hard-to-grasp, fact of a last chance across. Higgenbotham and Rush in Washington have stopped their own work, cut off most of their working income (Higgenbotham anyway) to lobby for enlightened legislation concerning science and atomic energy. Urey in Chicago has been trying to bring the facts of the age to human consciousness. He has given so much of himself, he was in a state of very ill health when I was in that city. Pauling, Szilard, and others of the very top workmen in the scientific field have cut their working time in half, or in smaller pieces than that, to try and raise funds to support the spread of atom information. If I knew more - and God I wish I did - I could

make this list longer of people who are sacrificing something to bring about some change in the pattern of human behavior--the pattern which brings forth the repetition of so many destructive results. "Of course there'll be another war; there have always been wars." That has been said too often, it's indicative of fatal ignorance. It's got to be changed.

Radio is a mass medium. The message so few have tried so hard to spread can be carried great distances by it. And if it doesn't get across one way, maybe it will another. But most of all, it's the truth that has to be told; the right impressions.

I write all this, because I have encountered no attitude toward this show which in any way comes up to the job to be done. If anyone concerned would say just once: "We've got to get this whole story across. How?" Instead of: "We've got to get a terrific Hooper. How?" I'd retire gracefully. Right now, however, I am inclined to agree with Einstein...but I don't think he has to be right!

We come now to Chapter two of this unsolicited preface to the report of my trip. If the facts and their meanings are not dramatic enough by themselves, I suggest that we try not to becloud the issues with phantasy or over-dramatization. "Alice in Wonderland" has indeed been called a literary masterpiece; but as has also been said...many times...who got the point?

Instead, I suggest that we take a firm grip on ourselves, size up the job, and do it in its just proportions. The scientists know what is at stake; they're trying desperately to send out an S.O.S.. Why don't we get them together and find out what they're trying to say--Oppenheimer, Urey, Szilard, Lilienthal, the whole bunch. Then why can't we mobilize every name in the entertainment field, every sincere human being who would like to perform one of the greatest services in history, Kostelanetz, the Philharmonic, the whole cast of the Met. if need be. And if we really want to do a job, bring in the four nets.. Use everything at our command to take the message from the scientists and put it across. Why not Bing Crosby telling what a cyclotron is - from the cyclotron;..telling what it means; He has a wife and four children, and he'd like a future. Why not Kate Smith surveying what is being done in agriculture with radio isotopes. It isn't over her head; she'd like to see some of the world problems solves...she says. Why not

Henry Morgan interviewing Congressmen to find out what they're doing...learning...thinking about the most critical phase of world history yet. Why not the Philharmonic reminding us why we care whether or not there is a world; and why not Bill Downs telling us what Hiroshima now informs us about what kind of a world it will be if we don't care. This is a job. This is a challenge to radio. If we are even going to discuss this subject, and for an hour, let's somehow figure out how to do it right.

Now, I will quiet down and do generally what I was asked to do. I will write a report of my trip. This will not be complete in detail in as much as I delved into petroleum engineering, physics, chemistry, agriculture, biology, biochemistry, biophysics, bacteriology, medicine, and a few more things. I know how to fill in the details...with further work and study with my supplementary material, but if I were really to spell out the explanations of everything right here, this wouldn't be ready until some time next December. When a decision is made regarding how to narrow down the material, any necessary details can be filled in accurately.

This will necessarily be long and quite dull, because I shall at least try to supply descriptions, quotations, and impressions from which whoever uses the material may choose.

THE ATOMIC TRIP

The first stop on the trip was the UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA. There among the hills overlooking San Francisco Bay, you find the whole picture of atomic science in microcosm. The most advanced work in nuclear physics is being carried on with the help of three cyclotrons - one the 184", the largest in the world. Use of atomic energy for beneficial power purposes is being theorized. Radioactive "tracers" are being used to tackle basic research problems in chemistry, biology, botany, bacteriology, and medicine. And you find an inspired group of scientists who not only are mastering atomic science themselves but trying to spread its significance to "the real world."

The scientists have many problems--all of which stem from the fact that no one understands what they're really trying to do. In science, there is a manpower shortage. A whole generation of scientists was lost by the war--actually and through lack of continuous scientific training in all the fundamental fields. The work underway cannot be carried to completion unless national impetus and money are given to train more young men...and to help ensure their futures (their futures to work and continue to exist that is) in a non-profit field. This, of course, is a by-problem of the whole big one. Strong support of the Atomic Energy Commission, and also passage of a National Science Foundation bill would provide a solution. Another problem - seriously discussed at Cal. - is when and to where should the scientists move their families

if civilization doesn't get big wind of the atomic development, and decide to be wise about it.

Engaged in nuclear research, you will find chemists and physicists who retire to "the hill" with the cold and mighty cyclotron--retire to actually a haven which many a pedestrian soul would give his life's earnings for as a site for a home, among rolling hills, surrounded by the California variety of God's trees, and overlooking the total bay region. There, in utter serenity, these masters of concentration delve into the greatest secret of all--how the nucleus of the atom is put together in the cases of the respective elements; and they experiment with making new elements by shooting known component particles into the heretofore locked doors of the universe, the nuclei of basic metals. As they work, some of the scientists dream of a day which may come, when they "make the atom disintegrate completely." Perhaps, they say, "we'll be able to do this with the new machines (Linear accelerator, synchrotron under construction, 184" in existence). It would be an interesting thing to observe." Yes indeed.

The object of nuclear affection right now is the steel Gargantua of"the hill"--the cyclotron which can shoot a proton beam 80-thousand miles a second...roughly. Its address is Building 6, Charter Hill. It's a white corrugated structure, shaped somewhat like an observatory. No furnishings inside except for a concrete shielding, oyster white, used this year to keep neutrons and gamma rays within

close proximity to their source--outside even distant atmosphere of beings. The only real touch of home is one sign; it reads: "For the convenience of those working from 10 a.m. to noon...coffee." Otherwise there are just steel ribs and windows high above, offices around the side, workmen working. Occasionally they add a few more blocks to the shield...30 tons a piece.

Of course the whole thing remains a very ordinary, completely harmless machine shop until the little room at the side gets to work. From the outside, it looks like a place for the foreman to take a nap. Inside, you see the world of Buck Rogers...without Buck. The technicians wear slacks and shirts; you pass men just like them every day. But multiply the lights of Broadway by two, fit them into neat banks around a room, mix with meters, switches, and radar-like screens, and you have the picture of an atomic control room. This, the scientists, the cyclotron outside--this trio is writing a whole new explanation of the world...the world in terms of atoms. We'd better read all about it.

In the shade of Charter Hill, other mental workmen find a few millicuries of unstable atoms rather dangerous, but more than that, valuable. Dr. Hardin Jones, large, round, with slow rather hesitant speech, directs one phase of "tracer" work in the biology department. He is working with carbon 14, an atom of carbon rendered unstable by the addition of one extra neutron. In its state of instability,

it gives off physical properties which are traceable by special mechanical equipment. Chemically, it reacts identically with any other carbon atom. It is therefore possible to synthesize an ordinary carbon compound--a compound known to occur in the human body or in plant life--inject that compound into an object to be studied, and trace its course...find out how much is taken up by which cells, how it is used within the cell, how the compound is transformed - and into what. This, essentially, is what is meant by "tracer work." A normal compound which goes about its work in the usual way can now be spied on. This means that the process of growth and change can now be studied in minute detail. When the mechanisms have been uncovered, ways can be devised for setting them straight when they go haywire, and the processes can eventually be duplicated in the laboratory.

But Dr. Jones - to get back to Dr. Jones - was working on the other major use for radioactive isotopes. He had five very sick - and getting sicker - white mice trapped in five pyrex glass cages. With the assistance of various laboratory tools, tubes, etc., he was pouring in carbon dioxide to them. He was trying to find out how CO_2 is used in the tissues in ordinary physiology--the ultimate purpose being to find out what compounds will localize in abnormal cells such as cancerous cells. If the compound responsible for cancerous growth can be found, and then synthesized with radioactive atoms, that compound can be injected into a body; it will find its habitat, and the physical properties

of the unstable atoms may be able to destroy the malignant cells selectively. In short, this is one line of attack on the cancer problem. You can see how near it is to success. The action of body compounds has not even been determined yet; but the way is open...and for the first time.

Another purpose of the research going on in the laboratories under Dr. Jones is to find out the effect of radiation in general on specific cells of tissues. Little is known about it; working with radiation, therefore, in whatever quantity or variety is not the most healthful of occupations in itself...thus extreme precaution in all the laboratories. Dr. Jones speculated that he didn't know but what the tips of his fingers would be gone by the time he was sixty.

I explain this particular project in some detail for several reasons; first of all, to make the story as it is now more understandable. Also, I'd like to show that in presenting the story of atomic energy in so much as it is a world problem, a determined effort must be made to stay pretty much up on top side; talking to an atom or a cell could easily lead you into something you couldn't very well get out of...if true representation were to be any object.

Dr. Melvin Calvin, professor of chemistry on the Cal. campus, probably comprehends the specific use of "tracers" in basic research as well as anyone in the

country. He is also as hard to find as anyone. In fact, so busy is he, after tracking him down for hours, in laboratory after laboratory and office after office, you expect to find a small, haggard little man with dark circles, deeply furrowed brow, thick glasses, and badly in need of a hair cut.

I sat in Dr. Calvin's office. It consists of three chairs and a desk in a remote corner of a chemistry lab.. Before me was the elusive Doctor, looking very much like a well-groomed business man...less harried perhaps. He wore a neat blue pin-striped suit, green tie, and a small red rose in his buttonhole. He spoke simply and clearly about even the most complicated subjects. His smiling brown eyes and kindness made it a pleasure to listen.

He commenced with a general discussion of commercial power from atomic energy. He explained that the real problem holding up this development is a chemical one (this was reiterated across the country...followed by no explanation at any time). This problem could be solved, said Dr. Calvin, as the scientists direct. That is, if there were enough clear-cut need, and enough driving spirit spurred by support of atomic development, atomic power for beneficial purposes could be realized much faster than it now appears that it will be.

Under the circumstances, however, the greatest boon to science brought forth by new atomic knowledge has been in the form of the radioactive isotopes. Of them, the one performing greatest service is carbon. Scientists, society

in general, have long known that there were certain fundamental, predetermined (somehow) arrangements. For instance, hay is fed to a cow; something happens, and the cow gives milk. How? Why do we have to use a cow to do it? Why can't we do it in a laboratory? Or another one, general metabolism and nutrition. We eat certain foods; some go to build bones, teeth, eye pigment; others contribute energy. How? How do all these things really work? Then finally, there is the growth of plants; all life depends on this. The hay for the cow; the milk and meat for the human; the other foods for the human. Plants take in carbon in its lowest energy form--in the form of carbon dioxide; mix it with water; utilize energy from the sun...and store it. If that mysterious process did not go on, we wouldn't worry about our weekly check, about out-doing the Joneses, or about anything else. The checks and the Joneses wouldn't be...and neither would we. That process upon which we all depend is known by the given and frighteningly complicated name of...photosynthesis. Photosynthesis has never been understood. It, along with the nuclei of atoms has been a mysterious cosmic secret. But now - one following another - the way is open to discover what happens.

Radioactive carbon can be used; the atom of carbon in the original CO_2 can be tagged, and the growth can be traced. Incidentally, heavy hydrogen--traceable hydrogen--has been made available in large quantities this month; and it too might play a part in this research.

The photosynthesis laboratory proper looks like an ordinary chem. lab.--tubes, Bunsen burners, pyrex containers, bottles with the letter language that considerably antedates the New Deal. But in the ante room...there you find the new world. This...is the farm. The furrow - there's only one - is metal. In it stand thirteen jars - big jars... ten gallons a piece. Their green liquid contents bubble furiously into a green foam on top. It's being agitated by a fan and a tank of CO_2 that stands before the first bottle. Overhead sun shines down from fluorescent lights. Monocellular algae from beet and barley plants is being looked at...from the inside. "Tomorrow," Dr. Calvin said, "we'll harvest." In a manner understandable only to scientists this experiment would be analyzed. Another fragment of knowledge would be added to the results so far. Eventually, block on block--from this laboratory--and others across the country, the pieces will fit into place. The process of photosynthesis will be an open book. By tireless effort another cosmic secret will be kown to men.

"What good will it be? How will this new knowledge be used," I asked Dr. Calvin. Not seriously at all, he said: "We don't answer that." We supply the information; the need for it...therefore the use...comes from outside." But then he went on to reason. "If we know the problems the plant encounters in all its stages, we should be able to produce more of it on farms. It's like an automobile engine. If we didn't know how THAT worked, we wouldn't be able to fix it when it breaks down." Very simple. Thus...photosynthesis.

Dr. Calvin also harked back to the mouse experiment to illustrate another truism of science. He explained that one of the radioactive compounds fed to the mice in the hope of selectively irradiating a tumor was tyrosene, one of the very important amino acids. For the purpose used, the tyrosene didn't work. But the results did show how it was used in normal physiology, and that phase of research took another step forwards. This was told to emphasize that scientists not only don't know for what their knowledge will be used; they are never even sure what true course their research will take. An unexpected result might reveal new paths they had not even considered pursuing. As Dr. Calvin said: "The original experiment is often overwhelmed by the by-product." This again indicates how difficult is the problem of valid speculation at this stage of the game in atomic science.

Dr. Wendell Latimer, head of the Chemistry Department, again reminded me that many scientists are now profoundly concerned with what happens in a world which they have helped to make at once dangerous and wonderful in prospect. He considers it America's job to be an imperialist for peace and enlightenment, a role which imposes terrific responsibility on every citizen--a responsibility to know and help direct our political, enonmic, and idealistic course in the world. He expressed a unique idea--that what is really needed is some religious leader to incorporate modern concepts

of science. He thought that if in the light of stark reality and necessity, our noses could be pulled out of the mud into some fresh air, we might observe a few real principles of human conduct and decency. By using our heads and our hearts, we might be able to save both. Dr. Latimer and I had a fine talk. We had several things in common. We'd probably both been inside a church about twice. Neither one of us thinks that human beings will ever consider anything more important than themselves. What a price for a future!

"Not everyone likes bacteria," Dr. A. P. Krueger assured my guide who preferred to stay behind. It was the majestic, Grecian styled building called Life Sciences. The office was an ordinary faculty cubby hole. The prospect was "quarters" where the Navy still supports the pursuit of bacteria and viruses in their acquired habitats. A key unlocks the elevator. "Quarters" is for only the invited. Along the corridor leading to this work with death, there are other rooms--rooms where dishes are washed, animals are kept, and drawing boards are drawn on.

"Quarters" was locked. My guide, and the head of the bacteriological project during the war and now - Dr. A. P. Krueger - unlocked the door. The light as you entered was subdued. A signal light was on. It merely indicated that one of the women technicians was changing into her fatigue shirt and trousers in the dressing room to the

right. The light blinked off. Dr. Krueger and I entered. I, as a guest, had only to don a white coat over my regular clothes. I sat on a bench, swung my feet over it into huge black overshoes. From here to there - somewhere across the room - shoes that touched the floor remained there. A danger area, but harmless and colorful to look at. There were white ice boxes, white tables, but all of them with either blue or red splashed across them somewhere--blue to indicate safety and red to warn of danger. Precaution ruled everything. Personnel working with something hot, wore gowns, face masks and rubber gloves. All autopsies on the animals are performed with glass shielding between the object and the face of the worker.

Thanks to the extreme care taken, not one case of laboratory infection has occurred - not since the war nor during the five years of intensive wartime research. If an accident should happen, it would be confined to this part of the laboratory. The air circulates in only one direction. None of it ever mixes with the general atmosphere of the Life Sciences Building. The air is drawn into the laboratory, and before it leaves, it is forced through a unit of electrostatic precipitators on the roof which separates all foreign matter. The air is then passed through a bank of ultra-violtet lights, and this irradiation kills any agents not caught by the

precipitron. A further precaution covers all air from the air-tight chambers where animals are infected or immunized. All such air is burned in hgge gas flames before reaching the precipitron. Having been told all this before you go into the laboratory, you find that you are not moved by any great desire to remain there very long.

The most critical operations take place in a hollow-sounding room which is sort of a combination machine shop, hospital laundry, office, and ice box showroom. Tools of assorted varieties are gathered together at one side; there are sterilizers here and there, several sets of files, and several ice boxes where viruses are kept on dry ice. The central attractions are the death chambers --actually, large autoclaves about five feet long and three feet in circumference, mounted horizontally. Having been sealed in them, experimental animals are exposed to measured amounts of potent disease bacteria or viruses. Their transfer is affected to other containers without exposure to air, and the autopsies, as stated previously, are performed by workers with rubber gloves standing behind a glass shielding.

The diseases being worked with are influenza, encephamiolitis, cat distemper, silicosis, bubonic and pneumonic plague. None is designed to ensure a "long life and a merry one," but pneumonic plague leads the death

race by a good several lengths. A victim has less than one chance out of a hundred of recovering.

I cite this laboratory - and explain it at length - not because it is engaged in extensive "tracer" work nor because the results with "tracers" have been extraordinary. I cite it to show that even against the most dread scourges of all, radioactive tracers have opened up new avenues of approach. Bubonic, and pneumonic, plague and flu have been tagged. It has never been known for certain just where the bacteria or virus went in the body nor how it acted. There have been good ideas, but no proof or disproof. Now there is a way to trace these diseases for certain, thereby to create more effective anti-serum.

Dr. Krueger was just getting underway with "tracer" research when I was at Cal., but he is forwarding to me further material regarding the results his group has had subsequently.

Only occasionally does a person feel that he's in the presence of a true genius--one who comprehends the world, feels what he knows, and acts on what he feels. To me, talking with Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer was an awesome experience. In appearance, he is tall, slender, has the kindest blue eyes in the world; his hair is wavy and greying. I saw him on the third floor of the Science Administration Building. He ushered me into

his office, offered me a chair in front of his desk, pulled up another for himself...in front of his desk. The room was the room of a poet-scientist...which he is. It had a sloping white ceiling, bare walls, a blackboard at one end...with some equations on it. There were files, a sink, a standard typewriter. The Oppehheimer hat was thrown carelessly upside down on a small table. The Oppenheimer pipe rested on the largest ash tray ever seen--a huge, unpolished piece of metal that looked like somethi g out of a machine shop.

As he talked, Oppenheimer looked through the small French doors which provided the only light for the room. He looked out upon the single view--the tops of trees. "The thing that is lacking is a sense of time. The chain reacting piles have opened up great promise. Pfofessor Calvin has used amounts of radioactive materials which would have been impossible without sustained release of atomic energy. That does open up prospects which are somewhat dizzying. People have said, the problems of China and Asia are hopeless. It might be possible to solve them. It might be possible to solve many hopeless problems. The solutions are there; they'll come; they'll change the face of the world. Not now. It's kind of a race as I see it." As he talked - and he talked rather slowly in a kind of rhythm--as he talked he paced back and forth across the room. He looked out of the window

often...and far away. "The real problem is to try to see that something grows even in a very unfriendly climate." And by that he meant not only scientific developments but international institutions, policies, and understanding. "I fear you find me in a mood, a mood of not very great optimism," he said. It was easy to see why. Oppenheimer has in his mind the experience of being director of the Los Alamos project... of directing the work which lead to the first atomic bomb explosion. He has in his mind the great possibilities and the great dangers of this age; he is also a top nuclear physicist, engaged as much as possible in current research into the atom. He has observed closely the currents of the atmosphere in which the knowledge he comprehends so well will be directed. He has seen no alteration of their course. As he spoke, I tried to imagine what such a man would feel. I asked him: "with things as they are, and with the possibilities from not turning around, not reaoning, so utterly disastrous, what can any one person do." He answered that. "The only advice I can give myself," he said, "is to kind of keep my head - not take anything for granted."

I asked Oppenheimer what we could do to help. He spoke of the Atomic Energy Commission, the responsibility it has to steer atomic development, and attempt to stress its importance. He answered, "one could hardly do anything more useful than to tell the

truth so that their efforts could be understood in the real world."

On the campus of ice plant and early California architecture, California Institute of Technology, you find not too much work going on with "tracers;" but plans are being made, possibilities expolored; and scientists tell you about them.

Dr. Joseph Koepfly works in the field of organic chemistry. He looks like a country gentleman out of one of the better British films. His interest is the disposition of drugs. He talked about how the "tracer" tool can help clear up a mystery which most of us probably never thought existed. It can answer the questions: "Why are some drugs effective? Why are others not so effective? What action really transpired in the body when drugs are taken in?" For years, he said, we have known that quinine was a good thing to use against malaria. We have never known exactly why. There is now no reason why we can't find out. We have the tool.

Or another mystery. When we get frightened, the adrenal glands get to work. There is an increase in our blood pressure, our faces blanch. Blood is taken away from the face, and from a lot of other places to get ready for work--to supply the muscles. "We have long tried to

find out," said Dr. Koepfly, "what it is about this particular - and simple - compound, adrenolin, that does all this. Much has been done, but we don't really know much more about it than the action it causes. That is, after all, fundamental for life processes. And take vitamins, hormones, the pituatary--all enormously active. But why are they?" Those problems formed the valid bases on which Dr. Koepfly will employ radioactive isotopes. And The reason for finding the answers? In this scientists words: "More chance for effective therapy and more effective drugs if we know the mechanism of drug action."

Of course, none of the experimentalists is working outside close reach of a chemical lab.. Cal. Tech. has a very active chemical department working on "tracer" problems of its own, but descriptions of those reach the height of complexity. Their significance will be found in the success of all the other research we have been talking about.

I had to wait for one of the world's leading chemists for two important reasons. One was that he was speaking before a meeting of Pasadena businessmen, trying to raise funds for the Emergency Committee which supportsthe spread of atomic education. The other was that his wife had to confer with him by phone and in person to get him organized to have his picture taken. Both

reasons are important because they tell a great deal about what kind of man he is. He is passionately aware of the scientists' responsibility in the atomic era -- the responsibility to try and direct social thinking onto the same plane as its physical development. And he appears to be an extraordinarily kind man; I should say...a sentimentalist. He had not quite recovered from a recent illness when I saw him.

Dr. Linus Pauling is a tall man - and slender-- generally speaking, a professional characteristic ; his face is made of angles and kind eyes; and when he invites you into his office, it is as though he were inviting you into his home. His office is a very large combination personal laboratory and business workshop. The venetian blinds were drawn against the sun; there were bottles on the tables, and molecular arrangements out of orange, green, and black wooden balls that looked like tinker toys. The Story of Chemical Pigment Colors was on a board of multi-colored tubes...not unlike some modern art. In the corner a sink; on the sink a jar of lilacs.

"I think in general people underestimate nuclear energy," Dr. Pauling said slowly, and in a very exact way. To him, it is an "unbelievably great discovery." And he said, "I feel that our duty to our fellow men requires that this great discovery be used for the benefit of man, and not allowed to be used as a private monopoly."

Dr. Pauling stated a basis for most of the political views - of whatever variety - held by the socially active scientists. "All scientists agree that the only hope for the world is to abolish war," he said. "The atomic bomb must be turned over to an international authority." In his opinion, "it might be necessary to compromise. We can't afford to be adamant. We have to listen to the other side too.

I asked him what could be done to keep the country - or the world - away from war...not that war is imminent but in as much as it is customary to think of it as inevitable. His answer was: "I don't know what can be done to keep the country from a path toward war. But we must recognize that a war has become just impossible. The only solution is to make an effective, peaceable settlement with Russia. Now the way to make this settlement is to work toward it - to handle Russia firmly, but not belligerently." Dr. Pauling's political views are probably fairly representative of the very active scientists. Only the basis for them could be said to be unanimous.

Dr. Lee A. DuBridge presides at Cal. Tech. and serves as a scientific advisor to the Atomic Energy Commission. He is a man of medium height - has gray hair and blue eyes, is gaaerally serious in countenance and demeanor. In fact, he is the sort who utters such profound statements, he

is quite sure he hasn't said a thing.

Dr. DuBridge again emphasized the continuous progress of science. "We built a great weapon on a little knowledge," he said. "Our knowledge of the nuclei is very small; but scientists in nuclear studies are working hard to increase that knowledge; and they are progressing. New radioactive isotopes have been made; and we have a better understanding of their properties."

To this serious thinker, this has significant meaning. It means: "man's ingenuity has increased tremendously. Our knowledge of the physical world has outrun our knowledge of the human world. Now we have to catch up. Some say, stop knowledge of the physical world. I think that is going about it backwards."

"Is there time to catch up before we destroy ourselves," I asked Dr. DuBridge. "Well there's a danger," he said. "There's no question but that it's very uggent. If one were sure that civilization was going to be destroyed in twenty-five years, then the situation would indeed be hopeless; you don't make much progress in twenty-five years. And there's a great chance there won't be longer. But at the same time, we shouldn't be too pessimistic. We have to keep plugging away - keep trying."

The campus of the University of California at Los Angeles is as yet atomically inactive. But it is

a place where great plans are inspired, and are being made. Chief among the plan-makers is Dr. Stafford L. Warren, wartime chief of the Manhattan District's medical section, now dean of the projected medical school at U.C.L.A.. Dr. Warren is large in several dimensions - in height, width, knowledge, understanding, and common sense. He poses a new problem for an interviewer if the subject is beneficial uses of atomic energy. He himself talks continually in public on the effects of an atomic war if it should occur. He feels it cannot be overdone; because he does not feel that people Yet comprehend the seriousness of what they face. In the first few minutes of an interview - despite maneuvering - you hear his views on the destructive side.

"We've got to bring the realization of how bad a next war would be. It would not only kill; it would make resources unuseable." As Dr. Warren sees it, an atomic war would bring about contamination of the stratosphere which would serve to contaminate food, and everything we use...if not immediately, progressively through the years. "The big problem then is, no more war...however you do it."

Dr. Warren does feel that besides bringing about a conversion in thinking by talk of the destructive side, you can also do some good by revealing the other aspects...and on those he is also prepared to talk at length.

"I think these things (tracers and tools brought forth by atomic energy in general) will change our whole pattern of society," he said. "Like the gas engine and telephone," both of which we'd often like to get rid of, he ventured. The parenthetical allusion contained another reason for concerning ourselves with the development of atomic science.

Dr. Warren's specific interest is the bone on which he is going to use tracer techniques. He illuminated the fact that bone research influences all of industrial medicine. Lead poisoning has never been solved. Too little is known about the cells that make up the bone, and what they do with compounds in general. He thinks that when the problem of the bone marrow is solved, a great deal of light will be cast on the cause of cancer. What stimulates a cell to grow malignantly... of normally in fact. "We always knew we could find out," Dr. Warren said. "Now we have the means to do it."

And psychiatric changes. That also interests this scientist. We know there are buttons and electric charges in the brain--"electrical circuits;" but we don't know too much about them. "We want to tackle that problem too." Dr. Warren cited reasons for the intense interest he has in getting to work.

"A couple of spastic cases came in here the other day. They asked me, what's going to happen to us.

What's our future? I had to tell them I didn't know."

"Sautelle (hospital for disabled veterans) is right over there," the Doctor said, and pointed out the window. "There are 2-thousand new boys there. Something has got to be done about those boys...and the thousands more." Dr. Warren referred to all the work he expects to undertake with tracers in his as yet to be built new medical laboratories--work on chronic hopeless diseases like cancer, arthritis, and others.

But again a problem - another by-problem of unenlightenment. "There's no profit in this long range stuff," he said. "We have to have support, and some assurance of a future for the boys who work here." He cited that Bethesda and Rockefeller are about the only places where a scientist or technician can get a lifetime job. His project is slow in getting started for two reasons.

One, the manpower shortage. "It's the current crop of G.I.s who have to get through with college work and get into these special fields. There's that and the fact that you need a team." Dr. Warren explained how tracer work requires specialists of all sorts on a single project, and with no assurance of support in the future to offer, he is having difficulty rounding up enough men. He is getting them, though; and when I asked how, he said: "I just tell them they'll have to have faith and ideals - and hope that the money will be there."

To come:

Actual use of radioactivity in oil production.

Chicago U. - largely biology and good medicine mat.

Argonne Lab. - General power...and top level scientists.

Notre Dame - chemical experiment. for industry

Oak Ridge - pile, isotopes, Henshaw on stages through which Hiroshima Japanese going...also opinion on "clever biology" now made possible.

Yale Review

SP

January 30, 1950

Dear Mr. Pickrel:

Please forgive this belated reply to your letter of December 21st.

I had hoped to be able to write the review of Howard K. Smith's book which you requested, but I regret that I am tied up with plans for covering the British elections and will not be able to do the piece.

I am sorry. Thank you for writing as you did.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Paul Pickrel
The Yale Review
Box 1729
New Haven 7, Connecticut

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DAVID M. POTTER
Editor
PAUL PICKREL
Managing Editor

Editorial Board
WILLIAM CLYDE DEVANE
EDGAR S. FURNISS
ARNOLD WOLFERS

December 21, 1949.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave.
New York City.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The Editors of The Yale Review hope that you can review Howard K. Smith's THE STATE OF EUROPE for the Spring issue. We would have to have the copy (about 750 words) by the end of January. The fee is fifteen dollars, payable on publication.

It would be a great privilege for us to be able to present our readers with your comments on this volume.

Hoping to hear from you soon, I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

Paul Pickrel

Regrets
N.Y.

TELEPHONE
NARRAGANSETT 147-R

LEONARD BACON
THE ACORNS, PEACE DALE
RHODE ISLAND

Yale Review

July 15, 1949

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Thank you with all my heart for your check for $5.00, whose receipt I hereby acknowledge.

I am sure it will please you to know that twenty-six of the thirty-nine people to whom I have written have contributed toward the gift for Miss MacAfee. We have consulted her sister, Mrs. Perry, sub rosa to find out what might be especially likely to please Miss MacAfee, and we are working on these ideas.

With best wishes and renewed thanks, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Leonard Bacon

Leonard Bacon

Edward R. Murrow, Esq.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Yale Review.

May 16, 1949

Dear Miss MacAfee:

Of course I shall be pleased and honored to continue my association with "The Yale Review" until such time as I am flung off for non-performance of duty.

Since my early youth I have been an ardent reader of the Quarterlies. I hope that when you retire from the editorship you will look back upon your work with the Review with as much pleasure and satisfaction as those of us who have read it regularly.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Helen MacAfee
THE YALE REVIEW
P. O. Box 1729
New Haven 7, Connecticut

THE
YALE
REVIEW
A National Quarterly

EDITORS
HELEN MACAFEE, *Managing Editor*
WILLIAM CLYDE DEVANE
EDGAR S. FURNISS
ARNOLD WOLFERS

P.O. BOX 1729
NEW HAVEN 7
CONNECTICUT

April 11, 1949.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Ave.
New York City, 22.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

If you have seen Arnold Wolfers lately, you will perhaps have learned that Yale Review plans have recently been in a state of flux--somewhat like that of the country at large. Uncertainty of health, too great for a job involving deadlines that must be met, has led me to ask for release and for the appointment of new executive editors, who have, happily, now been found. This will explain our not having called the Council meeting earlier proposed. I am to retire on the first of July, and shall take it as a favor not only to The Yale Review but to myself if you will still allow your name to continue to stand on our masthead until that time, although we have been unable to get together this spring as we had hoped to do.

As an observer and admirer of your work for C.B.S. through the war and postwar years it has given me--as well as the other editors--very great pleasure to have this association with you, despite your heavy commitments elsewhere, and to know that we could come to you in a pinch for helpful advice.

With all good wishes and, again, many thanks,

Very sincerely yours,

Helen MacAfee

December 23, 1948

Dear Miss Macafee:

Thank you for your letter of the 6th.

I assure you that I shall be delighted to serve another year as a member of the Advisory Council and will hope that in the future I will be able to do more than I have in the past.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Helen Macafee
THE YALE REVIEW
Box 1729
New Haven 7, Connecticut

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ADVISORY COUNCIL
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EDWARD R. MURROW
CHARLES SEYMOUR

BOX 1729, NEW HAVEN 7, CONNECTICUT

December 6, 1948.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
130 East 74th St.
New York City.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I am enclosing with this letter an advance proof of the memorial page to Mr. Cross which we are going to publish next week in the Winter issue of The Yale Review.

Of course we miss him in many ways not easy to indicate, and it is difficult for us to see our way without him. However, we can look ahead far enough to know that we shall particularly need your aid as a member of our Advisory Council during the new year which is now close upon us. Would you be willing to serve again upon it giving us the benefit of your advice—and, if other engagements permit, of your pen—through the complicated problems the year bids fair to present? Dr. Wolfers, Dean Furniss, and Dean DeVane join me in the heartiest hope that you may be able to do so.

With the Christmas holidays so near it seems best for us to postpone any meeting of editors and councillors until 1949. If we can persuade you to stay with us, would March or May seem to you a better month for another talk about our plans? So far as the editors are concerned, the earlier we can meet, the better, after our March make-up, upon which we have already started work, is out of our hands and in those of the printers.

EDITORS
WILBUR L. CROSS, *Editor Emeritus*
HELEN MACAFEE, *Managing Editor*
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BOX 1729, NEW HAVEN 7, CONNECTICUT

With very warm thanks for the help you have generously given us in the past--including the radio broadcasts, which we all find increasingly useful--and with best wishes for the holiday season,

Very sincerely yours,

Helen McAfee
for The Editors

EDITORS
WILBUR L. CROSS, *Editor Emeritus*
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ADVISORY COUNCIL
ALVIN JOHNSON
CHARLES MERZ
EDWARD R. MURROW
CHARLES SEYMOUR

May 28, 1948.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Ave.
New York City.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Many thanks for the suggestions you kindly sent us, all of which we are delighted to have. I expect Dr. Wolfers to drop in on me today to talk them over in the light of our other plans.

Our SUMMER issue of The Yale Review should arrive at your home, with our compliments, on or very shortly after June 15th. Any criticisms you may have on it would be welcome. We like to hear what our advisers and critical readers think we should not do as well as what we should.

Very sincerely yours,

Helen MacAfee

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

December 11, 1947

Dear Miss McAfee:

Since Mr. Murrow is out of town this week I am acknowledging your letter of December 8th. Mr. Murrow has been refusing any writing engagements since he started his present series of broadcasts, but I know that he is very much interested in doing a piece for the Review although I don't know his plans concerning it. I will call your letter to his attention when he returns to the office on Monday so that he can get a definite answer off to you right away.

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy McDonough
Secretary

Miss Helen McAfee
THE YALE REVIEW
Box 1729
New Haven 7, Connecticut

E. R. M.
F. 1155

THE
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CHARLES SEYMOUR

BOX 1729, NEW HAVEN 7, CONNECTICUT

December 8, 1947.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave.
New York City, 22.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

A week from today Dr. Wolfers is going to be in town, and the other members of our Editorial Board and I are going to talk over with him the plans for our mid-March number. As you have probably been thinking, we are extremely anxious if possible to have your article for that issue, for which copy would be due the first of February. It would be very pleasant if I could report at our meeting on the 15th that you see a good chance of doing it. I am certain that as a result of your recent trip abroad you will have now even more material in your hands for the article than you had last spring.

With all good wishes,

Very sincerely yours,

Helen McAfee
for the Editors

May 4, 1948

Dear Miss McAfee:

Many thanks for the reminder. As things stand now, I expect to be present at the meeting on the 12th, and will try to stay for the lunch afterward.

As ever yours,

Miss Helen McAfee
THE YALE REVIEW
Box 1729
New Haven 7, Connecticut

THE YALE REVIEW

A National Quarterly

EDITOR EMERITUS
WILBUR CROSS
EDITORS
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NEW HAVEN · CONNECTICUT

April 29, 1948

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

This is just a reminder of our Council meeting Wednesday, May 12, at eleven o'clock in Dean Furniss' Graduate School office, 320 York Street. It would be a pleasure to hear that you could stay over for an informal lunch at Mory's immediately afterward.

Doubtless the first question before the house, which we expect will be a full one this time, will be what The Yale Review should aim to do in its Mid-September issue to be of special use in the presidential campaign. But there will be many other questions, national and international, on which we shall also need advice looking to the future.

Before thinking of those you may like to know of the articles we now have coming through for our mid-June issue. They will be upon the kind of military establishment we ought to have; the outlook for international trade; the Presidency, its significance and tasks today with some suggestions for bettering the organization of the Chief Executive's work; Brazil with a discussion of the Communist line in South America; and observations of life in the U.S.S.R. as recently noted.

Mr. Cross is still a little feeble but fully expects to join us week after next.

With best wishes,

Helen McAfee

P.S. I see that by an error in our office, which has at the moment a substitute secretary, a very old letterhead not carrying your name as Councillor has been used here, but I'm sure you will not hold that against us. May I also add that we are hoping to hear about your experience in Italy and wonder whether it has suggested a subject which you would prefer to substitute for the one we have down for you — though that still sounds very good to us. H.M.

May 11, 1948

MISS HELEN MCAFEE
THE YALEREVIEW
BOX 1729
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT

REGRET EXCEEDINGLY HAVE BEEN CALLED TO PHILADELPHIA THIS EVENING

UNABLE TO ATTEND MEETING TOMORROW.

E.R.MURROW

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

May 12th

March 2, 1948

Dear Miss McAfee:

Thank you for yours of the 27th.

As things stand now, I think May 12th will be the best date for me.

As ever yours,

Miss Helen McAfee
The Yale Review
Box 1729
New Haven 7, Connecticut

COPY

E. R. M.
F. 1155

THE
YALE
REVIEW
A National Quarterly

BOX 1729, NEW HAVEN 7, CONNECTICUT

EDITORS
WILBUR L. CROSS, *Editor Emeritus*
HELEN MACAFEE, *Managing Editor*
WILLIAM CLYDE DEVANE
EDGAR S. FURNISS
ARNOLD WOLFERS

ADVISORY COUNCIL
ALVIN JOHNSON
CHARLES MERZ
EDWARD R. MURROW
CHARLES SEYMOUR

February 27, 1948.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Ave.
New York City, 22.

Mar'

Dear Mr. Murrow:

As you know, we had hoped to have a meeting with you early in March. Unfortunately, however, this will be impossible owing to the fact that Mr. Cross has not yet recovered fully from his attack of pneumonia, Dean DeVane is still ill with the grippe and President Seymour has had to go on a speaking tour for the university.

In the circumstances, it seems advisable to postpone our meeting until the early part of May--when we shall doubtless have the advantage of knowing more about our campaign situation than we do now. The members of our board would all be free to meet with you in our usual way at eleven in the morning in Dean Furniss's office on any one of the following dates:

Wednesday, May 12 — yes
Thursday, May 13
or Friday, May 14

Will you kindly let me hear as soon as possible whether any or all of the dates would be convenient for you so far as you can now foresee?

You will be pleased, as we are, that Mr. Fodor, whom you suggested to us, has come through with his article for the mid-March Yale Review, going to press today.

Very sincerely yours,

Helen MacAfee

May, 2

March 26, 1948

Dear Miss Macafee:

I have noted the May 12th meeting on my calendar and will make it somehow.

There is a possibility that one of these days my broadcasting schedule will be reduced, and when and if it is I hope to undertake some additional writing.

The proposed article by Dr. Johnson strikes me as a very good idea.

As ever yours,

Miss Helen Macafee
THE YALE REVIEW
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New Haven 7, Connecticut

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BOX 1729, NEW HAVEN 7, CONNECTICUT

March 10, 1948.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Ave.
New York City.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Happily the majority of our Councillors are agreed upon May 12th, at 11:00 in the morning, as the date for our next Council meeting, which we are glad to hear is, so far as you can see, a good time for you. We shall meet as usual in Dean Furniss' office in the Graduate School and then adjourn to Mory's for lunch at 1:00 o'clock, hoping that you can stay for this as well as for our discussion period.

Yesterday when our board got together for a talk about our June issue, for which we should make arrangements very soon, it was proposed that in addition to our held-over arrangements we should ask Dr. Johnson to prepare one of his lively and philosophical articles for us on the prerequisites a President should have to fit him properly for the next term of office. We imagine that this will strike you as a good idea, but should be very glad to have your reaction to it and any special suggestions that occur to you with regard to development of the subject.

It was also agreed at our meeting that we should draft Dr. Wolfers for an article on the efforts towards Western-European union, and what the Western democratic states mean by looking, as they seem to do, towards the United States for "leadership" in their world. Dr. Wolfers has brought back some ideas on this subject from his recent trip abroad.

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BOX 1729, NEW HAVEN 7, CONNECTICUT

Of course we shall be glad to hear of any other suggestions that occur to you as especially good for the June issue.

We are keeping on our docket of things hoped for your article, feeling that the subject would be even better this year than it seemed last year when we talked it over. We understand how very busy you must be, but we hope that if any possible chance comes to you for writing it this spring you will let us hear from you.

Very sincerely yours,

Helen McAfee

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CHARLES SEYMOUR

BOX 1729 · NEW HAVEN · 7 · CONNECTICUT

May 14, 1948.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Ave.
New York City.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

We all missed your voice so much in our Council discussion on Wednesday that we hesitate to try to execute the plans proposed without consulting you about them--particularly about the plan for an article on Italy for which we should like to obtain an author who writes English well and would be in Italy, or in very close touch, during the next two months while the new government is starting to discharge the responsibilities it has assumed.

As to our political campaign on which we want, of course, to do something useful in our issue of September 20, the only decision we made was to accept Dr. Johnson's offer to write on the underlying issues on which the two major parties will be likely to move, or must move, in substantial agreement. When we see what the Republican ticket and platform are, it was thought that we might then arrange for a second and more specific article which would consider the personalities of candidates, party managers, etc., and the reactions of public opinion in our different regional groups. Such an article could perhaps best be written by a fair-minded journalist with a good grasp of Congressional and other Washington affairs. We should also greatly value your suggestions here, either now or directly after the Republican convention. Among your C.B.S. Washington men, I have been impressed by the growing acuteness of Harsch's Capitoline comment. Do you know him?

On a separate sheet for your convenience I am listing our proposed topics with author's so far suggested and shall be greatly obliged if you will return it with a pencilled jotting as to each with any comment or further suggestion that occurs to you.

With greetings from all of us and the hope that it will not be too long now before we may have an article from you,

Very sincerely yours,

Helen MacAfee

Managing Editor
for The Editors

May 25, 1948

Mr. Arnold Wolfers
Pierson College
Yale University
New Haven, Connecticut

Dear Arnold:

I was as disappointed as you were that I couldn't get up to Yale, and I'm sorry that the schedule here interfered with my visit.

I will be glad to send Miss McAfee whatever suggestions I can offer, so let her fire away.

The way things are shaping up now, it seems as if there will probably be some sort of hiatus in June and July, and if I should get time off perhaps we can make a rendezvous then. I'm looking forward to seeing you.

Best regards.

As ever yours,

YALE UNIVERSITY
NEW HAVEN CONNECTICUT

PIERSON COLLEGE
THE MASTER AND FELLOWS

May 15th
1 9 4 8

Dear Ed:

I don't know whether you realize what a disappointment it was, not to me only but to the whole Yale Review board, that you should have had to cancel your visit here. Your presence would have electrified a somewhat tired and, I am afraid, not too imaginative group of elder statesmen. But I can see why CBS would not be much impressed by the needs of a magazine which cannot hope to reach a one-thousandth part of the audience to which your company is used to address itself.

I think Helen McAfee is going to write to you and get your advice about men who might write on Italy. I thought of Cortesi , but there may be others who are observing the developments there. Perhaps she will also ask you whether you can think of somebody who, with a little detachment, could discuss both the Democratic and the Republican conventions, as well as the candidates for the Presidential election. I wish you could find time to write such an article, but I am under no illusions. When will there ever be a let-up in the demands CBS makes on you? We still have a rain check for a Murrows' visit to New Haven and Pierson! Or are you going to look us up in Brooklin, Maine, this summer to see what a really modern, Gropius-style house looks like. It should be ready for us by June.

With kindest regards and best wishes to both of you,

As ever yours,

Arnold

Arnold Wolfers

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

January 22, 1948

Miss Helen McAfee
The Yale Review
Box 1729
New Haven 7, Connecticut

Dear Miss McAfee:

Please forgive the delay in answering your letter of January 8 which was received during my absence in Washington.

I think Dick Hottelet would do an admirable job on the article suggested. I enclose herewith a few details concerning his background.

I am still trying to get around to writing the article I promised you for the Yale Review but with two broadcasts a day to be done, five days a week, the outlook is not too promising.

Very sincerely,

Edward R. Murrow

ERM:ER

Graduated Brooklyn College with B.A. in 1937. Went to Europe shortly thereafter for graduate study in psychology at University of Berlin. Soon gave that up as hopeless job - quality of graduate work there being lower than undergraduate here, not to mention complete ideological perversion. Established contact with UP that winter, joined UP as staff correspondent in 1938. Worked out of Berlin during the next three years, was finally expelled in July 1941.

Jan 1 1942 joined Office of War Information to work on psycholoigcal warfare against Germany, assigned for this purpose to London where worked with British Foreign Office.

1 Jan 1944 joined CBS.

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BOX 1729, NEW HAVEN 7, CONNECTICUT

January 8, 1948.

Mr. Edward B. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave.
New York City.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Dean Furniss and I talked over yesterday the proposal from Mr. Hottelet made in a letter of January 5th, of which I am enclosing a copy for your attention. We both thought the subject a good one deserving of a good author. Since you know much more about Mr. Hottelet through your association with him on CBS than we do, we should be very grateful for your opinion as to his general competence for undertaking the subject he mentions.

Don't forget that we are waiting very eagerly to hear whether you think it will be possible for you to write your article for The Yale Review. Mr. Cross, who is now in the hospital recovering from an attack of pneumonia, will be glad of a word about the article, and will be as pleased as we all are to see your letter when he returns to the office saying that you will serve on our Council for 1948. You may be interested to know that the other members of the Council have also consented to serve again. Soon after Dr. Wolfers' return from Europe--probably early in March--we shall try to arrange a date for a meeting between the editors and the Council for discussion of the many problems ahead of us.

Very sincerely yours,

Helen McAfee

FROM
Yale Review Editorial Office,
BOX 1729
NEW HAVEN, CONN.

COPY

Chestnut Hill
Wilton, Conn.
5 January 1948

Dear Miss McAfee:

Would you be interested in a piece on the ethics and problems of Foreign Correspondence?

The men who report foreign news are the extension of our five senses - and that at a time when integrity, accuracy and balance are probably more necessary than ever before. It seems to me to be high time to hold up for review the process (or absence thereof) by which they are chosen, their qualifications, the difficulties under which they work and which act to color their outlook and their reporting. Much can be said of the influences that can be and are brought to bear upon them to espouse causes.

Should a correspondent hold strong opinions? Is there a definite standard against which to measure his ability - if not, should there be? How have the various kinds of censorship, the different kinds of public relations officers, the political techniques of rumor and deception challenged the foreign reporter? How has he met this challenge? Could he have done better? Can the next crop be taught to do better?

A good deal of this can be made clear in terms of concrete situations. In general, though, I propose not to deal with specific personalities (although the temptation is great).

Sincerely,

(Signed) Richard C. Hottelet

[illegible]

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

March 18, 1947

Dear Miss Macafee:

Please forgive me for the delay in answering your letter of February 26th.

First: I should be grateful if you would send the "Review" to my home address, 150 East 74th Street.

Second: I would be delighted to come to New Haven for a meeting of the Council in May, but I must be in the middle and far west until May 15th.

Third: I wonder if it might not be a sound idea to invite Marcel Fodor of the "Chicago Daily News" and author of "South of Hitler", to contribute an article on the political and economical complexion of south-east Europe. He has just recently returned and is, without question, the ablest American correspondent on that area.

Fourth: Perhaps we could delay the decision about my own article until after the May meeting. The thought of writing for such a distinguished journal still rather frightens me.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Helen Macafee
"The Yale Review"
Box 1729
New Haven 7, Conn.

E. R. M.
F. 1155

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BOX 1729, NEW HAVEN 7, CONNECTICUT

February 26, 1947.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
c/o Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave.
New York City, 22.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

We have just read our proofs for the Spring issue of The Yale Review, of which I am enclosing a proof of the contents. The complete copy of the magazine should come to you March 15th if mail deliveries are on time--as they rarely seem to be in these days. We have addressed it to your office. Would you prefer to have us send copies in future to your home, where they may be in less danger of getting mixed up with other people's mail? Please let me know about this at your convenience.

We had hoped to be able early in March to arrange with you and our other Councillors and the editors for a discussion of plans for our future issues. However, it is now going to be impossible for us to get a full gathering at that time because President Seymour has had to go off on a long speech-making tour taking him all the way to Honolulu. Will you kindly let me know whether it now seems probable to you that you will be near enough to us so that we could count on finding some date in May that would be a convenient one on which to come up to New Haven?

In the meantime, our editorial board will be greatly pleased if you can make a suggestion or two as to subjects and authors whom we should discuss when we are making plans, as we shall do, tentatively, at least, the first week in March for our mid-June issue--in the field of either national or international affairs.

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BOX 1729, NEW HAVEN 7, CONNECTICUT

Now, about the article we hope to have from you. For our purposes, we think our mid-September issue, for which copy is due the middle of August, would be a good time for your article, as we like to make our Autumn issue an especially notable one. Would this seem practicable to you? We shall be very glad to have you propose the subject yourself, of course, and will work out our other plans around it. If you would much prefer to write for another issue, of course we could adjust our schedule to yours.

Very sincerely yours,

Helen MacAfee

THE YALE REVIEW

A National Quarterly

SPRING 1947

Issues and Leaders in Washington . . . *Marquis Childs*
Places for Displaced Persons . . . . *Alvin Johnson*
The Old and the New Diplomacy . . *E. L. Woodward*
The Sun Moves North. *Verse* . . . *John Dillon Husband*
Trollope . . . . . *Chauncey Brewster Tinker*
The Mediterranean Way of Life . *Kent Roberts Greenfield*
Men with Their Big Shoes. *A Story* . . . *Shirley Jackson*
The Layman and Libraries . . . *Wilmarth S. Lewis*
Improvisation for Spring. *Verse* . . . *Joan Murray*
The Heritage of Symbolism in Modern Poetry *Richmond C. Beatty*
Cultural Handicaps in the Northwest . *Joseph Kinsey Howard*
This Ever-Homing Time. *Verse* . *Elbridge Gerry Anderson*
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The Complex Problem of China . *Paul M. A. Linebarger*
When They Cast Their Leaves. *A Story* . *Catharine Barrett*
New Books in Review . . . . . *S. Bayne-Jones, Brand Blanshard, Philip E. Mosely, Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Eugene Davidson, George W. Corner, Helen Hill Miller, William C. DeVane, David M. Potter, Edmund W. Sinnott, Marc Slonim, Oscar James Campbell, Gordon S. Haight, George Kubler, Robert Livingston Schuyler, Lewis E. York, Kenneth N. Douglas, Richard F. Humphreys, Louis L. Martz, Thomas C. Mendenhall.*
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The Library of the Quarter . . *The Editors* VIII–XXXIV

YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Yale Review Editorial Office
BOX 1729
NEW HAVEN, CONN.

Yale Review

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BOX 1729, NEW HAVEN 7, CONNECTICUT

June 20, 1947.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave.
New York City, 22.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

It was very generous of you to contribute your cheque for expenses back to The Yale Review's treasury. Perhaps when our September issue comes out with your article in it you will let us send out for you ten extra complimentary marked copies of that issue to your friends. We will have them mailed directly from the printers with the first copies to go out if you will give us a list of names and addresses of persons to whom you will like to have them go when you send us the draft of your article.

I read your letter to Arnold Wolfers yesterday and he was as pleased as I am at the prospect of our having it by the first of August.

Very sincerely yours,

Helen MacAfee

CBS TELEVISION NETWORK

A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

485 MADISON AVENUE, NEW YORK 22, NEW YORK · PLAZA 1-2345

December 29, 1960

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS Television Network
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

This is the outline of the Von Rintelen story. Please read it and make any corrections on it you may care to.

I know you will want to do any re-writing of the opening and closing statements that may seem necessary to you. The author has written them here more as a matter of form, so please feel free to change or add or re-write completely.

Please let me know when you will be ready so that I can complete the mimeo.

Thanks very much.

Best,

Herbert H. Brodkin

Herbert Brodkin

HB/jn
enc.

PILOT SCENARIO

"VON RINTELEN"

by Peter Stone

Note:

The following carefully detailed scenario indicates the form of presentation to be generally followed by the series "ESPIONAGE -- WITH EDWARD R. MURROW." There will, however, be other stories smaller in scope which will be presented with continuous and uninterrupted dramatic flow so that we can present every range of story small or large.

Please note that in this scenario Mr. Murrow's narration is exceedingly long. When the dialogue scenes are written, it will be possible to cut this narration down to less than half of its present length. Much information presented by Mr. Murrow's narration here will be brought out in the dramatized scenes. We have left it as is at the moment in order to clearly disclose the entire story of Von Rintelen's activities.

HERBERT BRODKIN

"ESPIONAGE! WITH EDWARD R. MURROW"

An Outline

By

Peter Stone

EPISODE: "Von Rintelen"

PROLOGUE

ED MURROW ON MANHATTAN'S HUDSON WATERFRONT. Behind him: the docks, the river, the never-ending activity of water traffic.

"When it happened, it happened right here where I'm standing: the docks and pers of New York's waterfront. It happened during war-time. Not the last war, which wasn't even called a war, or the one before that. It was the one before that. At the time, it wasn't even our war -- not yet. In those days it was possible for it to be somebody else's war. There was an ocean -- one that wouldn't be flown across for another ten years."

"It was the last day of March, 1915. England, France and Tsarist Russia had been at war with the Central Powers of Germany, Austria and Hungary for the better part of a year, and though the pressures on President Wilson to make a decision were mounting daily, the United States was still two full years away from joining it."

"The official position of the United States was 'neutrality'. There would be no aid to either side. But business was another matter and there was a good deal of business to be done -- the

most profitable business known to man: munitions. Practically overnight a new industry was born."

"The British, French and Russians wasted no time in buying all the American arms they could afford. The Germans, however, had another problem: their U-boat fleets were still on dry land being built. The allies maintained absolute control of the seas. German purchasing agents could buy, but German Captains were unable to deliver."

"In the War Ministry in Berlin an order went out. It was brief and, in the manner of German commands, precise; yet it contained no plan or procedure. It read simply: 'We are powerless to defend ourselves against the flow of American ammunition to the Allies. See that it stops.' The methods were left entirely to the invention of a brilliant Naval Captain to whom the order was handed. Captain Franz Von Rintelen had distinguished himself only a few months before by tricking the American Military Attache in Berlin into revealing his official diplomatic code. Now, working entirely alone, Von Rintelen was sent off to tackle and solve the most serious problem besetting the entire German war machine."

"On the last day of March, 1915, aboard the Norwegian steamer 'Kristianiafjord', Captain Von Rintelen caught his first sight of the New York waterfront. For the next one hundred and twenty-three days he would have more influence on its operation than any man before or since."

ACT I

DISSOLVE TO a N.Y. steamship pier. March, 1915. We follow Von Rintelen as he clears customs, immigration, etc., gaining many close perspectives of the man -- his unblinking, cool eyes, his set mouth, his frozen expression of indifference.

Murrow continues with a voice-over narration: "Von Rintelen entered the country as Swiss citizen Emile V. Gache, with a handsomely forged passport to prove it. Also in his possession: shapshots of his non-existant family in their little non-existant snow-covered cottage high in the Swiss Alps; a complete wardrobe with his new initials sewn into each article of clothing; an expert knowledge of the English language, spoken without any trace of an accent; two tiny capsules, small enough to swallow should the situation have warranted it, containing a completely new diplomatic code for delivery to the German Embassy; and a bank transfer for half a million dollars. His plan was a painfully simple one: to buy, at any cost, large amounts of American munitions. Even if the Allied naval blockade made the transporting of these arms to Germany impossible, Von Rintelen nevertheless made up his mind that Germany's enemies wouldn't have them, either. They would rust on the New York docks if necessary. Money would be no object."

"To this end he had, before he left Germany, secured the promose of aid from an American named Malvin Rice who was sympathetic to the German cause and who claimed close connections with U,S. munition factories."

Von Rintelen has finished the formalities and leaves the confines of quarrentine, passing through a gate behind which a handful of greeters wait for their friends and relatives. Von Rintelen looks at each face, but approaches no one.

Murrow's voice: "But Malvin Rice never materialized. Von Rintelen was never to discover a single trace of him. With only a bare idea of how to proceed, German Naval Captain Von Rintelen, completely alone, walked unnoticed into the United States, determined to attack it single-handedly."

1.

Von Rintelen is seen entering a building in A N.Y. SIDESTREET. The bronze plaque next to the door reads: "GERMAN CLUB".

Murrow: "Von Rintelen's first order of business was the delivery of the new German diplomatic code. He went directly from the pier to the German Club where his real name was presented to the Naval and Military Attaches."

A chasseur has taken Von Rintelen's card and we follow him to a door. He knocks and enters.

Captain Boy-Ed, the Naval Attache, and Captain Franz Von Papen, his military counterpart -- both splendidly uniformed -- receive the card and examine it. From their brief exchange it is evident that newcomers from the Fatherland are not particularly welcome; such visitors invariably pose a threat to the order of things, to the relegation of authority, to the cheain of command and the

precarious distribution of responsibility. Boy-Ed is quick to notice from the card that Von Rintelen's rank is a few stripes lower; and Von Papen distrusts the Captain's social background.

Then Von Rintelen enters, bowing formally to the two attaches. He is instantly aware of the coolness shown him and does his best to ignore it. He hands over the two small capsules containing the code. When the two officers ask about his mission, he answers them in the vaguest of terms. They must be aware of what effect the American munition shipments are having on the progress of the war. The German Army is so short of ammunition that special orders from Corps Headquarters are required before field batteries are allowed to open fire, and even then, only on targets with known ranges. But the Allies, who would normally be in equally short supply, have the benefit of American production and "Yankee ingenuity". The Americans have even produced a revolutionary new artillery shell -- its steel casing, unlike the conventional cast-iron variety produced in Europe, is designed to burst on contact into thousands of small, deadly fragments. The British, French and Russians are buying all they can get their hands on. German ground-troops are being decimated by the new shell. Berlin has appealed to the U.S. to stop production on munitions, claiming a violation of the existing state of neutrality. But the Americans refuse, maintaining that Germany, like the Allies, is welcome to buy all the arms it wants, knowing full well that the Germans are unable to transport it across the Atlantic. The situation having arrived at its present impasse, Von Rintelen has been assigned the task of finding some solution to the urgent problem.

The two attaches persist in their questioning, asking for more specific details, but Von Rintelen artfully changes the subject. He brings good news from Berlin for both of them. Boy-Ed has been awareded the Order of the House of Hohenzollern and Von Papen the Iron Cross.

Watching the two men's faces light up and listening to their exchanges of congratulations, Von Rintelen uses the moment to leave.

Murrow: "Von Rintelen's eyes were sharp enough to see that his first contact with his own countrymen in American would be fruitless. He would have neither the time nor the stomach for petty jealousies and wounded egos. He would have to look elsewhere for the help he needed. His first decision would turn out to be his first and only mistake."

A SMALL HOTEL ROOM. The door opens and Von Rintelen, followed by a bellboy carrying the Captain's bag, enters. During the ritual of opening the windows and turning on the light in the bathroom, Murrow continues: "Von Rintelen decided on the Hotel Great Northern on 57th Street near Sixth Avenue as his temporary headquarters."

Von Rintelen, having given the bellboy a coin, waits patiently to be left alone. Then, opening his briefcase, he removes a sheet of paper containing a neatly typed list: the names of a dozen or so munitions producers.

A rapid series of scenes begins showing Von Rintelen entering <u>various offices</u> and conferring with various men seated behind

desks.

Murrow: "But if the meeting with Boy-Ed and Von Papen had been a disappointment, Von Rintelen's next discovery was a castastrophe. Calling on the several firms on his list, the Captain begain to realize that he, as well as the entire German High Command, had sadly underestimated the indistrial capacities of the United States. Mass production, the revolutionary concept that was eventually to defeat the German armies -- not once, but twice -- was already a reality. Von Rintelen discovered that his plans for buying up huge quantities of explosives was doomed to failure. Even if he had succeeded in obtaining the entire supply available, on any given day, American production was so vast that a new, equally large supply would be available the following day. It was an impossible situation."

THE NEW YORK WATERFRONT. Von Rintelen is walking aimlessly along the piers.

Murrow: "The German Captain was deeply depressed. In only a few hours of his first day in America he had seen his entire plan of operations frustrated. Unless he could come up with something else, he would be forced to return to Berlin in failure. And this could mean the end of his brilliant career. He headed back to the docks along the Hudson -- without purpose, but somehow realizing that if the munition traffic was to be stopped, here was the place to do it. As he walked he watched everything -- and listened -- and finally he heard something that made him stop."

A group of three or four sailors are standing together, talking.

Their conversation is in German.

Murrow: "The sailors were talking about home and the war and girls. But Von Rintelen was not interested in their words -- only their language."

THE GERMAN CONSULATE. Von Rintelen enters and talks to the receptionist.

Murrow: "The German Consulate was located at number 10 Broadway, near the battery. Von Rintelen had made an appointment with Consul-General Falcke and his Aide, Herr Hossenfelder."

Von Rintelen is ushered into the Consul-General's office. Falcke sits behind a great desk. Both he and Hossenfelder rise when the Captain enters, warmly shaking his hand.

Von Rintelen gets right to the point. He has a plan, he tells them, one which will, if successful, seriously curtail the shipment of armaments from America to the Allies.

The Consul and his aide are pleased by this news and ask how they can be of assistance. The Captain asks about the many German seamen he has seen on the docks. Falcke expalins that several German ships -- merchantmen, mostly -- are stranded all along the eastern harbors, faced with certain capture by British men-of-war should they venture out of the American harbors. Their captains, mates and crew hang around the docks with nothing to do.

And their loyalty, Von Rintelen asks.

Beyond question.

And can they speak English, the Captain asks hopefully.

Falcke shakes his head. Does it matter, he asks. Because if it does, he can recommend another group of men who speak English fairly well (this with an accompanying smile to Hossenfelder). When it is clear that Von Rintelen is very interested, Falcke tells him about the large proportion of Irish dock workers in New York. As the Captain must be well aware, Ireland is, at the present time, involved in their own quarrel with the English crown. And although they are not particularly pro-German OO they are pro-nothing except Ireland -- they are compulsively anti-British. The only fear Von Rintelen need have about their contribution to whatever plan the Captain has in mind would be concerning the fanaticism the Irishman might display. If the plan required subtlety --

Von Rintelen explains that he will handle the subtlety; he is in need of ordor. Does the Consul know of anyone who might assist him in making contact with the German seamen and Irish dockworkers?

But before Falcke suggests a name, he asks Von Rintelen why he has come to them. The Naval or Military Attaches would be the natural ones for a German Naval Captain to seek out.

Von Rintelen describes his first meeting with Boy-Ed and Von Papen, recounting his own reactions to the two men. His experience has taught him to be wary of placing too much faith in such types.

Again, Falcke and Hossenfelder exchange knowing looks and smile.

Boy-Ed is not so bad, Falcke confesses. He is narrow minded, but

not stupid. Von Papen, however, is more dangerous. When Von Rintelen asks why, Hossenfelder gives some of the Military Attache's background. He was a former cavalry officer, he was assigned to a post in Washington before the war. During those quieting times, the only qualifications required of a Military Attache were a string of fine horses, the ability to ride them smartly, and good address and an interest in social amenities. He had the added advantage of being rich, having married a provincial heiress. But with the coming of war, Von Papen's duties increased in importance until he was expected to fulfill the roles of diplomat, financier, merchant, engineer, mechanician, artilleryman and an expert in rifles and explosives. Is it any wonder the man is a dilettante?

Who can he to to for help, Von Rintelen asks.

Falcke writes a name on his desk-pad: Dr. Bünz, Hamburg-American Line. He is the only man in New York, the Consul explains, trusted by both the Germans and Irish.

Von Rintelen gets to his feet and, while shaking hands, thanks the two diplomats for their help.

Murrow: "Von Rintelen was in motion again, and moving forward. He had a plan and he had the contact necessary to carry it out. The only thing lacking was a base of operations. --

AN OLD OFFICE BUILDING IN DOWNTOWN NEW YORK.

Murrow: "For this purpose he took two rooms on Cedar Street, in the heart of downtown New York's financial district. He

established a firm called 'E.V. Gibbons, Inc.,' the initials being the same as those on his Swiss passport. The company was entered in the Commercial Register as an import-export business."

INSIDE THE OFFICE, the outer room. Two men sit near the door, waiting. A third sits behind a desk dictating to a secretary. We concentrate on the latter.

Murrow: "For his closest associate, Von Rintelen chose carefully. He decided on Max Weiser, a German born American and former export merchant whose business had suffered because of the war in Europe. It was Weiser's job to keep E.V. Gibbons, Inc. looking like a legitimate business enterprise that it wasn't. To this end he spent his days inviting various firms in New York to send if offers of wheat, shoe-polish, glassware, rice and other exportable goods. This left Von Rintelen free to handle E.V. Gibbon's primary business objective."

A door marked "private" opens and Von Rintelen appears. He invites Weiser and the two men waiting by the door to enter his office.

Inside, the three men sit as Von Rintelen goes back behind the desk. We examine the two unidentified men:

Murrow: "Dr. Bünz, the contact recommended by Falcke and Hossenfelder, had formerly been German Consul in New York. He now represented the Hamburg-America Line. He was firmly dedicated to the German war effort.

"Mr. Boniface was a lawyer specializing in international law.

He, too, was a dedicated man. But not to Germany or even the law. Boniface was dedicated to the highest bidder and Von Rintelen knew the necessity of maintaining that position."

The three assistants wait patiently for Von Rintelen to begin. Finally, the Captain tells them that the time has come to begin their primary activities. He apologizes for having been so secretive, but now they will learn everythin. E.V. Gibbon Inc. was founded so that he, Von Rintelen, and his three associates could go into business. The export business. Weiser was chosen for his knowledge of that business, Dr. Bunz for his excellent contacts on the waterfront, and Boniface to handle the legal snags which might pop up. Until now, Von Rintelen has been searching for the proper commodity to export, one which could help Germany's cause the most. At last he has found it.

Von Rintelen waits, allowing the three men's curiosity to build. Cigars, he announces finally, a slight smile beginning to form. They will export cigars.

The three associates look at one another, wondering whether their chief is joking or not. But before they can ask any questions there is a knock at the door and the secretary sticks her head into the room. A Dr. Scheele has arrived. Von Rintelen instructs her to show the doctor in.

Scheele, a small, middle-aged man wearing glasses and carrying a case, enters the room. Von Rintelen greets him, then introduces him to the three assistants. Scheele, it seems, is the inventor of a new type of cigar, and he has come to demonstrate

his invention. He produces a small metal tube from his pocket and hands it to Von Rintelen. The object is of approximately the same size and shape as a cigar.

The Captain has nott seen the "cigar" before and is anxious for a demonstration. Scheele asks if Von Rintelen has made all the preparations and the Captain instructs the four men to follow him.

On the roof of the building, Von Rintelen leads the four men to a corner where a sand-box has been placed. Next to it is a bucket of sand and a shovel.

Scheele sets to work, opening his case and taking out two bottles and some tools. He explains what he's doing as he does it. The "cigar" unscrews to form two halves. Into one half he carefully pours picric acid; into the other an equal amount of sulphuric acid. Strong plugs of wax with simple lead caps makes both ends airtight. Then, the doctor stretches a piece of copper coated paper over each open end, sealing in the two acids. He explains that another component part, a disc of copper (its thickness dependant on the amount of time desired for the acids to eat through it and join forced, is also necessary, but for this demonstration (in order to save time) the tube will be closed with only the coated paper separating the acids. In that way they will only have to wait a few seconds.

When Scheele is about to join the two halves of the cigar he asks someone to keep the bucket of sand ready. Then, his fingers moving quickly, he screws the tube together, throws it into the

sandbox and picks up the shovel.

After a few seconds, there is a hissing sound and the tube comes alive. Both ends are blown away and two white-hot jets of fire shoot out in opposite directions. The onlookers stare, fascinated while Scheele examines their faces for positive reactions. Finally, the fire grows too bright, hurting their eyes and forcing them to turn away.

Then Scheele orders the sand thrown on the fire-bomb and, using the shovel himself, smothers it carefully, making sure it has been rendered harmless.

Von Rintelen turns to his associates and asks them to wait downstairs in his office. When he is alone with Scheele, the Captain begins talking busines , offering the inventor a substantial sum to allow E.V, Gibbons, Inc. to be sole distributors of the "Cigar" and to allow them to us it in any way they see fit.

In Von Rintelen's office, Bunz, Weiser and Boniface wait for Von Rintelen to return. They are all impressed with the demonstration but no one is quite sure to what use it will be put/

Finally Von Rintelen returns, alone. He announces that E.V. Gibbons, Inc. has secured exclusive rights to export the incendiaries.

Export them where, Weiser, asks. To Germany?

The Captain smiles. No, not to Germany. To England, France and Russia -- though he doubts that any will actually reach those shores. Von Rintelen has at last found the means of stopping

the shipments of munitions to the Allies. And, what is more important, without violating the neutrality of the United States. The fire bombs, turned out by German sailors and placed in the holds of ships by the Irish dockworkers, would be set to go off when the ships reached the high seas.

The three associates are wildly enthusiastic over the plan. What is the next step, Bunz wants to know.

Production, Von Rintelen explains. They must find a suitable place to manufacture the "cigars" in sufficient quantity to handle the large amount of shipping, not only in New York, but all along the East coast.

Boniface looks worried. They cannot produce articles of saboTAge on United States soil without violating American neutrality. Article VIII of the Hague Convention.

Von Rintelen suggests that Boniface think a little harder, that perhaps he can discover a loophole. The right idea at the right time might be worth a healthy bonus.

Boniface's face lights up. There might be a solution after all, he says. A sovereign nation's territory extends outside its own geographic borders to include such places foreign embassies and sea-going vessels. Why not set up shop aboard one of the interned ships docked along the Hudson.

Germany within American territorial waters. The irony, as well as the practicality of the idea, appeals, to Von Rintelen enormously.

Murrow: "All that remained for Von Rintelen to do before placing the next step of his plan into operation was the selection of his floating factory."

A SMALL WATERFRONT BAR. Von Rintelen and Bunz enter and head for a corner table where an elderly man, his white hair toppped by a captain's cap, waits with a beer.

Murrow: "Dr. Bunz had arranged for Von Rintelen to meet with Karl Von Kleist, a seventy-year old German sea-captain with over fifty years service to his credit. His ship, like so many others, was destined to sit out the war at anchor in New York. Von Kleist knew the name, tonnage and whereabouts of every German ship on the Atlantic coast."

Von Rintelen and Bunz have joined Von Kleist and are filling him in on their needs. They require a ship whose captain would play the game, where the crew would abide by orders given and where, above all, everyone could be trusted to keep their mouths shut.

Von Kleist thinks for a moment. His first suggestion is Captain Hinsch of the Lloyd steamer "Neckar". But the ship is in Baltimore. Too far away. Next he suggests Commodore Ruser of the Vaterland", but the ship might too much of a floating hotel for their needs.

Suddenly, Von Kleist pounds the table. He has the perject ship: the "Friedrich der Grosse". It will be ideal. It is docked across the river in Hoboken at a lonely, out-of-the-way pier.

Von Rintelen is convinced. He instructs Von Kleist to contact

the master of the "Friedrich der Grosse" and inform him of the project. Von Kleist says that it's already been done; he's the master of the "Friedrich der Grosse". The three men laugh loudly.

Murrow: "Another hurdle was crossed. So far, Von Rintelen's plan was proceeding without a hitch. During the next days, working at night, lathes, chamicals, and large quantieties of lead tubing and copper (all purchased through the facilities of E.V. Gibbons, Inc.) were moved aboard the German steamer, the "Friedrich der Grosse."

A DARKENED SHIP ALONGSIDE A PIER. Inside, in a stateroom outfitted as an office, Von Rintelen sits behind a desk, going through some papers.

Murrow: "Von Rintelen, naval captain, had finally taken command of a ship -- one which would never leave its pier. But he had been watching the British, French and Russian freighters leaving New York everyday, their holds loaded with death for his countrymen, and wishing them all at the bottom of the ocean. Finally the time had come to do something about it."

A knock at the cabin door and Weiser enters, carrying a box, Von Rintelen looks inside and sees the rows of "cigar" fire-bombs/ Are they armed, he asks Weiser.

Yes, the assistant answers. For ten days.

And the Irishmen?

They're waiting for him in the ship's mess, Weiser announces.

Von Rintelen, with Weiser following and carrying the bombs, leaves the office and heads along the passageway to the mess.

Inside, ten or fifteen Irish dockworkers are waiting and drinking coffee. Von Rintelen stands at one end of the room and gives them their orders. A ship has beens selected for their first effort: A british Munition transport named "Phoebus", sailing in three days for the Russian port of Archangel. It will be carrying a cargo of high explosive shells in two of its three holds. Von Rintelen insists that the "cigars" be planted, not in the amunition lockers, but elsewhere aboard ship. When the fire breaks out the captain of the "Phoebus" will have the opportunity to flood the explosives before the fire reaches them. His mission, Von Rintelen explains, in not to kill seamen but to prevent the delivery of arms to the Allies. Is that clear?

The Irishmen agree that it is.

All right, the captain says, they will proceed immediately, but will exercise the utmost cuation. British agents will be everywhere. Nevertheless, some of the men loading the ship will find an opportunity to plant their "cigars" without being observed. Those who don't must not take chances. They can return the bombs to the "Friedrich der Grosse" and wait for the next ship to be loaded.

The Irishmen are then invited to step up and take their "cigars" from the box. As they do:

Murrow: "On May 7, 1915, only three days after a German submarine had sunk the British steamship 'Lusitania' with a loss

of almost twelve hundred English and American lives, Captain Von Rintelen's men succeeded in planting fifteen of their 'cigars' aboard the 'Phoebus'."

Von Rintelen's office at E.V. Gibbons, Inc. The Captain, Weiser, Bunz, Boniface and Von Kleist are sitting in silence, waiting.

Murrow: "For Von Rintelen and his associates, there was nothing to do but sweat it out. Each morning they gathered together to wait for the "Shipping News." And each morning, for twelve days, there had been nothing. By the thirteenth day they were convinced something had gone wrong."

The secretary enters with the newspaper. Von Rintelen takes it anxiously and opens it. His face lights up as he reads the report to the others: "Accidents. S.S. Phoebus from New York -- destination Archangel -- caught fire at sea. Brought into port of Liverpool, its holds flooded, by H.M.S. Ajax."

While his men congratulate him, Von Rintelen opens his desk drawer and removes a package. Opening it, he reveals the Imperial Naval Flag of Germany. Though it can never be flown from the mast, he explains, he wants it put aboard the "Friedrich der Grosse." The old tub will turn out to be the deadliest man-of-war in the German fleet!

* * *

ACT II

Murrow on the N.Y. waterfront: "There is no exact record of the number of munitions ships Von Rintelen's 'cigars' prevented from reaching their destinations during the first weeks of his operation. It is certain there were no less than ten, and some have placed the figure as high as twenty-five. But regardless of his success, the German naval captain was not satisfied. American arms were still getting through to the Allies."

Von Rintelen's office at E.V. Gibbons, Inc. The Captain sits behind his desk talking with Dr. Bunz. Bunz checks off the list of ships due to depart in the next few days. But Von Rintelen appears worried. British agents have begun tightening their security measures. Four ships left the week before without Von Rintelen's men being able to plant their fire-bombs aboard. The organization is going to have to find another way of operating.

Weiser enters. It is clear he brings bad news. Von Rintelen experiences a bad moment waiting for his colleague to explain what has happened. Well, Weiser begins slowly, in his efforts to establish E.V. Gibbon, Inc. as a respectable company, he has been conducting a series of correspondences with various firms, negotiating with them for the purchase of several innonuous items. Finally, Weiser would submit a ridiculously low bid and that would be that. But -- a firm in Canada has accepted Gibbon's bid on a shipment of claret wine.

Von Rintelen smiles with relief. The worst that can happen, he reassures his associate, is that they will all be enjoying some good red wine with their meals.

But Weiser isn't so happy. The Captain doesn't understand, he insists. The shipment is a rather large one. Thirty-five hundred cases -- 42,000 bottles. At almost two dollars a bottle, the sum owed by E.V. Gibbons is rather substantial.

Von Rintelen's smile fades. Surely there's a market for claret wine. But Weiser admits he's tried to find a buyer and failed. What are they going to do? They haven't even got warehouse space to accommodate the delivery.

The Captain asks where their lawyer, Boniface is. Weiser says he's outside. Von Rintelen wants to see him. When Boniface is appraised of the situation, Von Rintelen asks him if there is any way they can cancel the contract. Boniface, as usual, thinks about it and finally admits he doesn't see how. But when Von Rintelen promises him a bonus, Boniface confesses that something might be done and he leaves to take care of it.

But Von Rintelen is distracted. Something has rung a bell in his mind. Claret. Claret wine. He knows somebody who is quite an afficianado of claret. Who? Then he has it: Count Ignatieff, a colonel in the Russian Army and at present Military Attaché in Paris.

Weiser asks hopefully if this Ignatieff will buy the wine.

Buy it? Of course not. Von Rintelen instructs Weiser to write a letter to the Count in Paris informing him that the firm of E.V. Gibbons, Inc. desires to import claret into America.

Weiser is dumbfounded. Import? They already have 42,000 bottles. Von Rintelen must mean export. But the Captain smiles. He said import and that's exactly what he means. Weiser is to send the letter off immediately.

As the confused Weiser leaves the office, Captain Von Kleist enters, looking haggard and shaken. His right hand is encased in bandages. He explains what happened to him the night before as he was crossing the Hudson from Hoboken on the ferry, his pockets loaded with "cigars." He was standing by the rail, his hands in his coat pockets, when suddenly he felt one of the bombs comealive. There was nothing to do but grab it with his bare hand and throw it overboard. When the ferry docked he was able to get to a doctor he knew who treated his burns.

Von Rintelen is worried; did anyone on the boat see him? Von Kleist is sure he was unobserved. And the doctor, Von Rintelen persists; what did he tell the doctor?

Von Kleist tells Von Rintelen not to worry, that the doctor is completely trustworthy. He's a German naval doctor attached to the military mission in New York.

They are interrupted by the phone ringing. It is Military Attaché Von Papen's office. The Attaché wants to see Captain Von Rintelen right away at the German Club. Reisgned, Von Rintelen starts out of the office, pausing only to remind Weiser to get the letter off to Count Ignatieff about the claret immediately. On second thought, make it a cablegram. The matter is of the utmost importance.

The German Club. Von Papen greets Von Rintelen cooly as the Captain enters, then gets straight to the point: what exactly is Von Rintelen up to?

Von Rintelen eyes the Military Attaché warily. How much does he know already, the Captain wonders. He begins by explaining his mission in the simplest terms. The War Ministry has assigned him the task of stopping, or at least hindering, the flow of American arms to the enemy. Punkt. Alles.

Yes, of course, Von Papen answers stiffly, He understands all that. But Von Rintelen is a naval officer -- why has this assignment been given to the navy?

It was given to a loyal officer, Von Rintelen answers. The branch of service has no bearing on it whatsoever. Perhaps, Von Papen says icily. But why has it been necessary for the Captain to work in such utter secrecy? Aren't the Naval or Military Attachés the proper channels through which to direct his movements?

Von Rintelen shrugs. He has not found it necessary yet to move through any channels. His work is proceeding well enough on its own.

"Then why don't we know about it?" Von Papen shrieks, going into a rage. "Aren't we to be trusted? Captain Boy-Ed is your superior! I am the ranking representative of the War Ministry in this country!" Von Rintelen answers that he has his orders and he's been carrying them out.

"Orders! Your orders were to purchase war material, not to commit clumsy acts of sabotage!#

Von Rintelen raises his eyebrows. So Van Papen does know what's going on, after all. From the doctor who treated Von Kleist for burns.

"There is more than one loyal German officer, Herr ~~Kapitan~~* Kapitan," Von Papen says sarcastically. "This office is still trusted in some quarters. Hasn't it dawned on you that by violating your orders you have endangered the American status of neutrality?"

His orders, Von Rintelen maintains, were to "handle"the problem. His answer to the War Ministry was never countermanded: "Ich kaufe, was ich kann; alles andere schlage ich kaput." (I'll buy what I can, and blow up the rest.)

Von Papen eyes him carefully. "You realize that there are ways of verifying this."

Von Rintelen finds his patience running out. By all means, verify it. In the meanwhile, there is much work to be done.

"Your work will stop, Captain -- until this office receives word from Berlin."

Von Rintelen offers his apologies, but he must respectfully decline to accept any orders from the Military Attache. Every ship allowed to reach the Allies with its hold filled with munitions means thousands of German casualties. It is easy to forget, In New York, that a ware is more than coded messages and cocktail party intrigue. Men are dying and Von Rintelen won't have them on his conscience. Bowing slightly, he turns and leaves the room.

Von Papen continues to stare at the closed door, his eyes narrowed and his head nodding. "Achtung, Herr Kapitan," he mutters.

VON RINTELEN'S OFFICE AT E. V. GIBBONS. The Captain sits behind his desk, staring out the window, lost in thought.

Murrow: Von Rintelen had no time to worry about his new enemy at the German Club. His hunch concerning the Russian colonel, Count Ignateiff, and the claret wine had brought speedy results. The Russian replied immediately, delighted to be of assistance. Von Rintelen then lauched an incredibly daring plan. He cabled Count Ignatieff, suggesting that it might be advantageous for both parties if the Russian Army would employ the old and established firm of E. V. Gibbons Inc. for their purchases of war material in America. If Von Rintelen was being denied access to Allied shipping

in New York harbor he would charter his own fleet. Now he waited impatiently for the answer."

A knock at the door and Weiser enters, a letter in his hand. Von Rintelen takes it anxiously and tears it open. He smiles as he reads the contents to Weiser. Ignatieff has taken the bait; he instructs E. V. Gibbons to approach the Russian agents who are in New York for the purpose of negotiating with American firms for munitions and other military supplies. The Russian gies full permission to use his name for reference.

Von Rintelen instructs Weiser to contact Captain Von Kleist aboard the "Friedrich der Grosse". They will be needing a new supply of cigars.

Murrow: "The meeting between Von Rintelen and the Russian purchasing agents took place the following day in the Russians' hotel room."

THE HOTEL ROOM. Von Rintelen enters and greets the two Russians, introducing himself as E. V. Gibbons, and getting straight to the point. His firm is interested in obtaining military contacts to supply the Russian Army with anything and everything they need.

But the Russians are reserved. They have already given out all the contracts that were available. If Mr, Gibbons would care to return in about six weeks --

The Russians start to show Von Rintelen out, but the German Captain is in no hurry to leave. The unhappy news is going to sadden a good friend of his, Von Rintelen says, producing

Ignatieff's letter, but now showing it to them yet. Perhaps they know Count Ignatieff also, he suggests. In that case, they might be so kind as to give the Count his greetings the next time they pass through Paris and explain to him why they couldn't have been help to Gibbons.

When the Russians' show their astanishment, Von Rintelen hands them the letter and watches casually as they read it, a look of mild amusement on his face.

When they hand the letter back, the Russians are changed men. They beg "Gibbons" pardon and with embarrassed smiles, agree to place several orders with the American firm: saddles, tinned meat, bridles, mules, horses, field-kitchens, boots, shoes, underwear, gloves, and small arms ammunition. All in all, over a dozen contracts.

Murrow: "The Contracts, signed and bearing the official seal of the Imperial Russian Embassy in Washington, arrived at the offices of E. V. Gibbons the next day. Von Rintelen wasted no time in getting to the bank. Using the contracts ad collatoral, he had no difficulty in obtaining the loans he needed in order to buy the supplies the Russians had requested."

VON RINTELEN'S OFFICE. The Russian agents are there, beaming and shaking hands with the German Captain. They have chartered a steamer, the "Metropolis", and the loading can begin the next day. With an agreement to meet on the dock in the morning, the Russians start to leave.

Von Rintelen calls them back. He opens his desk and offers them

a box of cigars. The Russians each take a handful, then leave after several "Spasibos".

The Captain and Weiser can hardly wait for the outer door to close before they are confulsed with laughter. When he has recovered, Von Rintelen asks Weiser if Captain Von Kleist is in the office. Weiser nods, then leaves to fetch him.

When the old sea-captain enters, Von Rintelen outlines the procedure. The problem has been solved, he says happily. It will no longer be necessary to run the risk of being caught placing the "cigars" aboard ship. They can now put them in with the cargo before it is loaded. Foolproof.

Where will this be done, Von Kleist asks.

Weiser has leased a warehouse near the docks. The supplies are being delivered at this moment. Work can begin tonight. There are only two things, Von Rintelen cautions: make sure woodshavings, to feed the fire, are included in each case or barrel containing an incendiary; and there must be no less then thirty "cigars" placed on the ship. "You can imagine what we'll be accused of if this shipment reaches Russian intact. Aiding and supplying the enemy will be the least of it."

A N.Y. PIER. Von Rintelen and the two Russian agents are watching a freighter being pulled out into the river by tugboats.

Murrow: "The 'Metropolis', its holds filled with a cargo supplied solely by E. V. Gibbons Inc., sailed with the tide. It carried tinned meat, boots, filed-kitchens, rifle ammunition and thirty-

seven fire-bombs. The Russians, overjoyed at the dispatch with which the American firm delivered, handed over a substantial check for the purchases and a second check as a bonus."

VON RINTELEN'S OFFICE AT E.V. GIBBONS. The Captain paces the floor in a state of nervous agitation.

Murrow: "Von Rintelen spent the next four days suffering from a bad case of nerves. He had taken a big chance -- if the shipment of supplies got through undamaged his position would be irreparably compromised.

The door opens and Weiser appears with a copy of the shipping news. Opening it anxiously, Von Rontelen finds what he is looking for: the report of a fire aboard the "Metropolis", causing the ship to flood its cargo.

Von Rintelen's smile is more of an indication of relief than of success.

But before he can say anything, the door bursts open and the two Russian agents enter, their agitation apparent.

Von Rintelen manages somehow to calm them, expressing his regrets over the loss, but promising them a special effort to the part of E.V. Gibbons to supply the Russians, in record short order, with enough supplies to fill <u>two</u> ships, thereby making up in part for the lost time. He also promises them he'll hire the most reliable private detectives in the city to watch the ships and make sure no sabotage is attempted.

Mollified, the Russians gravely shake hands on the deal and leave.

Von Rintelen, obviously satisfied with himself, goes to the window and looks out at the city.

Murrow: "In all, Von Rintelen contracted to supply the Russians with twenty-one shiploads of war material. It is an incredible tribute to his charm and his pursuasiveness that, after twelve had caught fire at sea, the Russians still had no idea who was responsible for the disasters. Encouraged by his successes, Von Rintelen lost no time in organizing Irish dockworkers in Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and, gradually, in the southern ports of the United States, for the purpose of planting his fire-bombs aboard ships leaving those harbors with Allied munitions. All of this proceeded without the slightest hitch. It was ironic, therefore, that the only difficulties the German Captain encountered came, not from his enemies, but from his supposed allies. First, Von Papen, whom he knew he hadn't heard the last of. Then, one night in his hotel room he had a visitor.

VON RINTELEN'S ROOM AT THE GREAT NORTHERN. A knock at the door and Dr. Scheele, the inventor of the "cigar" fire-bombs, enters.

Scheele comes straight to the point, "If I don't have $10,000 this evening I am going to the police." It was blackmail.

Von Rintelen looks at the scientist for a long time without speaking. He has been expecting this, he says finally. He wondered who would be the first to try it. He confesses that he didn't think it would be Scheele. "Will a check be all right?" he asks calmly.

Scheele is pleasantly surprised. He didn't think it would be so

easy. A check will be fine, he stammers. Von Rintelen tells Scheele to come to the office first thing in the morning; the check will be ready. Scheele starts to say something, thinks better of it, then turns and goes.

THE CORRIDOR OF SCHEELE'S APARTMENT HOUSE. The doctor appears, heading toward the door to his rooms. Suddenly he stops, surprised.

Lying on the floor, near his door, is a girl, She is apparently unconscience. Scheele hesitates, then bends down beside her, ineffectually slapping her wrists and asking her if she's all right.

The girl, who is not unattractive, moans weakly, then manages to tell Scheele that she suddenly grew dizzy and must have fainted.

With some difficulty, the little doctor succeeds in helping the girl to her feet and escorting her inside his apartment. But she is still very weak and Scheele takes her to the sofa where she lies down. The girl then complains that she feels like she's burning up with fever. Scheele clumsily begins unbuttoning her coat and blouse.

Suddenly, without warning, the girl begins screaming. Scheele, surprised and terrified, is helpless. He tries to calm her, to quiet her down, but she continues shrieking at the top of her lungs.

Soon there is a pounding at the door. Scheele doesn't know what to do. He starts for the door, changes his mind, then changes it

back again. By this time the door has been broken down. A group of his neighbors peer curiously in.

Scheele tries to explain about what has happened, but the girl, who has broken into hysterics, prevents him. Finally, a man appears who tells the neighbors he's a policeman. He enters Scheele's room and closes the door. What's going on, he demands.

Scheele once more tries to explain what has happened. When the cop turns to the girl for confirmation, she appears hazy about it. All she knows is that she fainted or something and when she came to, she saw this old man leering down at her trying to undress her. Scheele cuts in saying that he was only trying to help her.

The cop thinks it over. Scheele certainly doesn't look like they type of man, he muses aloud. But it's not up to him to make that kind of evaluation. He'd better take Scheele down to the station.

Scheele pleads with him, saying that he's never been mixed up in anything like it before. Finally, the doctor calls the cop aside and, dipping into his pocket, offers him every cent he has -- about one hundred dollars.

The cop takes the money, then turns to the girl. Fortunately, he arrived in time to help out, he tells her, adding that he'll see her home personally. The girl starts to protest, but the cop quiets her down, takes her arm and leads her to the door.

The neighbors are still there. As the cop leads the girl through them, he tells them all to go home, that everything's all right.

VON RINTELEN'S OFFICE. The Captain sits behind his desk. There is a knock and Scheele, looking a little tired and haggard from his previous night's advantures, enters.

Von Rintelen greets him cordially, telling him to sit down. Then, without another word, Von Rintelen takes out a checkbook and writes out a check. Scheele watches him avidly.

Then, tearing out the check, Von Rintelen hands it to Scheele, who thanks him and then rises to leave.

But before he can get to the door, it opens and Boniface, the lawyer, enters. He appears surprised at seeing Scheele, then confesses that he was looking for the doctor.

What for, Scheele asks warily.

"You had yourself quite a night last night, didn't you?" the lawyer asks jauntily. He goes on to relate how it has come to his attention that a certain girl has consulted a very celebrated lawyer about an attempt by Dr. Scheele to assault her.

Scheele is astonished. How did Boniface learn of it?

Pure coincidence, the lawyer admits. He was employed by the big lawyer to find Scheele.

"But, I'm innocent!" Scheele cries, too worried to see the frame-up.

"Of assault, perhaps," Boniface concedes, "But what about bribing a policeman? The girl saw you."

What is Boniface going to do, the unhappy Scheele asks.

"Well -- because we're friends -- and working for the same cause -- it might just be that I won't ever be able to find you."

Scheele is gratitude itself. But before he can thank the lawyer too profusely, he receives a rude shock.

"If -- " Boniface adds. If what? "If you return the check Captain Von Rintelen has just handed you and never mention the subject again. It's a fair bargain. You don't talk to the police and I won't either."

Slowly, the truth has dawned on Scheele. Realizing he's stuck, he sadly hands the check back to Von Rintelen and, without a word, leaves the room.

As soon as he's gone, Boniface turns to Von Rintelen and starts to say something.

"Don't worry,"the Captain interrupts, "you'll get your bonus." The two men begin laughing.

Murrow: "But there was more trouble on the way, trouble that neither Boniface nor anyone else could handle."

<u>Von Rintelen's hotel room. Night.</u> The Captain is in bed, sleeping, when the phone rings. It is Weiser. Something has happened. Von Rintelen has to get down to the "Friedrich der Grosse" right away. The Captain hangs up and begins getting dressed.

Aboard the "Friedrich der Grosse." When Von Rintelen arrives, he finds Weiser, Bünz and Von Kleist waiting for him. There's been a slip-up. The steamer "Kirk Oswald," enroute to Archangel with a load of supplies purchased from E.V. Gibbons, Inc., received a last-minute change of orders and put in at Marseilles, thus arriving at a destination six full days ahead of schedule. When the cargo was unloaded, Weiser reports, twenty-six "cigars" were found in the cases.

How has Weiser learned of it, Von Rintelen asks.

They were in luck, the associate answers. A German agent in Marseilles cabled both Berlin and the Military Attaché in New York.

Von Papen? And he contacted us, Von Rintelen wants to know, surprised.

Bünz shakes his head. Not yet. Fortunately, the Consul-General, Bücke, received a copy of the cable from Berlin. His aide, Hossenfelder, delivered it to the ship.

What time did Von Papen receive the cable from Marseilles, Von Rintelen asks.

Ten O'Clock in the morning.

Von Rintelen looks at his watch. Fourteen hours. And still no word from him. Then the Captain starts to figure. The Allied agents in New York are bound to know about it by now.

Too much time has been allowed to pass. Fortunately they have no knowledge of the "Friedrich der Grosse" -- and there's nothing at the office to connect E.V. Gibbons with the ship. All right. The office will be abandoned. Under no condition is anyone to return to it.

But there's over $20,000 in the safe, Weiser complains.

Too bad, Von Rintelen says. They'll just have to let it go. Then he rises and starts out. When Weiser asks him where he's going, he turns at the door. Back to bed, he answers calmly. They'll all meet back at the ship in the morning and plan the next move.

Thepier. Night. Von Rintelen comes off the ship and starts walking. Suddenly he is aware of two men, in the shadows, who seem to be following him. For the moment, his pace remains unchanged.

Murrow: "Von Rintelen had miscalculated. Someone was aware of the connection between E.V. Gibbons, Inc. and the German ship "Friedrich der Grosse." Certainly he had expected the Allied agents in New York to search for the starting point of the fire-bombs which turned up so inconviently in Marseilles. But had they been helped -- by someone who had known about Marseilles for fourteen hours and had done nothing to let Von Rintelen know? It would be several months before the Captain found the answer."

The two men following Von Rintelen are a good fifty yards or more behind him. Still walking slowly along the deserted dock area,

the Captain crosses a street and stops on the corner to light a cigarette and survey his surroundings. The two men also stop.

Suddenly throwing the cigarette away, Von Rintelen dashes around the corner. As soon as he is out of sight he breaks a pane in a glass door with his elbow, reaches inside and opens the door. Leaving it open, but not entering, he quickly steps into a darkened doorway a few steps into a darkened doorway a few steps beyond.

The two men following him round the corner and fall for the bait. Entering the open door cautiously, they are no sooner out of sight when Von Rintelen leaves his nearby hiding place and hurries away into the darkness.

Murrow: "It had been too close. Von Rintelen could not even afford to return to his hotel room at the Great Northern. With no more than the clothes he was wearing, he caught a train that night and left the city. He spent the next fourteen days in a small inn near Stamford, Connecticut, waiting for things to quiet down. But the time was not wasted. When he returned to New York, he brought with him the most audacious plan in the history of espionage."

* * *

ACT III

Ed Murrow on the N.Y. waterfront: "In June of 1915 Captain Franz Von Rintelen returned to New York City and registered at the old Hotel Manhattan as a Mr. Brannon from England. He lost no time in contacting his trusted associates -- Max Weiser, Dr. Bünz, and the lawyer, Boniface. Together they opened a new office, its unlikely name printed in bold letters on the door."

The door of the new office. The letters read: "MEXICO NORTH-WESTERN RAILWAY CO."

Inside the front office, Weiser is showing Von Rintelen the new set-up as Bünz and Boniface look on. A private office has been installed behind a special steel door, with a connecting system of alarms and a convenient emergency exit leading into the corridor for quick escapes.

Von Rintelen calls the three men into the private office and begins outlining his new plan. During his two weeks of lying low, the Captain had time to investigate an entirely new area of the munitions problem. Perhaps his associates are not familiar with the trade union situation in the United States, he says, but it is becoming a major factor in the American free enterprise system. The central figure in the labor unions is Samuel Gompers, the President and founder of the A.F. of L.

Unfortunately, Von Rintelen continues, Gompers is fanatically pro-British and is therefore one hundred per cent behind the shipment of American munitions to England and its Allies. All this in spite of the growing concern about America's neutrality springing up in the Congress of the U.S., supported by certain pacifist elements in the nation's press and universities who are against war on general principles. Add to this the large number of Irish dockworkers who believe that Ireland's only chance for independance lies in Great Britain losing the war with Germany, and one can find a considerable opposition to the continuation of munitions shipments to the Allies. All these varied factions need is a little organization.

What does Von Rintelen have in mind, Weiser asks.

"We will form our own labor union," the Captain announces gravely.

The others are stunned. To what purpose, they ask.

"A properly registered trade union can proclaim a legal strike on the docks. The law would be powerless to interfere. With the entire waterfront tied up, the loading of ships will come to a complete standstill. Could I make myself any clearer?"

The three associates mull it over. How can they hope to get thousands of working men to willfully cut-off their only source of income, Boniface asks.

By paying strike benefits, Von Rintelen answers calmly. He has cleared his plan with Berlin and has received permission to spend whatever is necessary to achieve results. Any more questions?

There are none. Van Rintelen begins relegating responsibility: Weiser will hire a meeting hall and executive offices as near the docks as possible; Boniface will set the necessary legal machinery in motion and get the new union registered; and Bünz will contact every labor leader on the waterfront who appears sympathetic to the principle of stopping arms shipments overseas.

What will he tell them, Bünz asks. He certainly can't confess that the new union is sponsored by the German War Ministry.

Naturally not, Von Rintelen agrees. The preamble to their constitution will state that the union's founders, "all good Americans," are dedicated to the principle that the shipment of munitions to Europe is antipathetical to the interest of workers in other countries who, in essence, are contributing to the shooting down of their brethren. "We hereby swear by the Workers' International and disapprove flatly, on moral and ethical grounds, of the export of arms.

The union meeting hall. The meeting is very sparsely attended, with only the front rows filled with dockworkers. Several men sit on the platform, listening to a speaker. These are examined at close range.

Murrow: " The first meeting of 'Labor's National Peace Council', as Von Rintelen called his fledgling union, was not a rousing success. But the German captain had made good on his promise to round up some of the most influential men in the East to attend and lend their support. Congressmen Buchanan and Fowler from the U. S. House of Representatives; Hannis Taylor, the former American Ambassador to Madrid; Augustus Brandon, former Attorney General; Professors Cyrus

Grant and Burton Holiday from a leading New England University; the Rev. Sidney Randall Plunkett from the Atlantic States Theological Center; Michael O'Haloran, the spokesman for the Irish Dockworkers League; and Captain Franz Von Rintelen, of the Imperial German Ministry of War. Sitting unobtrusively in a corner, watching his daring plan take shape, Von Rintelen was content with his apparently minor status. Not one of the distinguished men on the platform suspected either his identity or his motives. He was known simply as a wealthy American interested in the humanitarian aspect of the crusade and a man who was willing to make impressive financial sacrifices toward the end."

The offices of "Mexico Northwestern," later that night. Sitting in the private office are Von Rintelen, Weiser, Bünz and Boniface.

They all appear concerned over the light attendance as Bünz sums up the progress to date. They have managed to recruit about twenty leaders -- mostly Irishmen and German-Americans. But they have not been able to sign up a single rank-and-file member.

During this post-mortem, Von Rintelen remains silent, lost in thought. Finally he speaks up; they must provoke an incident, he says. He tells Bünz to arrange for several of their union leaders to be assigned to one of the ships being loaded with munitions. Then, acting together, they must stop work, making impossible demands on their employers. Double wages for the dangers involved in the handling of explosives, for instance. And the instant removal of the rifle-bearing British agents guarding the ship from sabotage. The demands will, of course, be refused. The men will then walk off the job and go directly to union

headquarters, dragging as many non-union workers with them as they can. When they arrive at the hall, they will request official ratification of the strike and the promise of strike benefits.

The next step, Von Rintelen continues, will be to send out as many "eye-witnesses" as they can round up to spread the story throughout the entire waterfront, at the same time announcing that a meeting will be called to announce the result of the union's vote on both the sanction and the benefits.

Boniface is skeptical. Does Von Rintelen actually expect such a heavy-handed manoevre to work?

That, says the Captain,"depends on our dramatic talents."

The Union Hall. The meeting is underway, the attendance considerably better than before. One of the Union leaders, an Irishman, is addressing the workers. The union's Central Committee has met, he announces, and has voted unanimously to officially sanction the strike. As of twelve-midnight, members of "Labor's National Peace Council" are out on strike against all ships chartered for minitions transport.

Boniface, sitting in the crowd, nudges a rough-looking type sitting next to him. The man jumps to his feet instantly. "Sure, it's easy enough for you guys with the clean fingernails to call a strike! But what are we going to live on?"

This is greeted with "spontaneous" shouts of "What about the benefits?"

The speaker asks for silence. As the men must know, strike benefits

have never been paid on the docks.

Shouts of derision.

But, the speaker cries over the noise, the Committee has just voted to grant such benefits for the first time.

A surprised silence, then cheers. When order is restored, another worker gets to his feet. "For how long? Two days? We all know how small the membership is! Where's the money coming from?"

The speaker announces that following the meeting of the Committee a collection was taken up among some of the influential sponsors of the union. They raised over twenty-five thousand dollars, with the promise of more to come. Therefore, at ten o'clock the next morning, the offices of the union will be open and all members can come to collect their first week's benefits. Then, at three in the afternoon, the union will begin enrolling new members.

Another question from the floor: how long will it take before a new member can collect strike benefits?

Only one day, the speaker shouts. "Sign up tomorrow and start collecting the day after!" On this high note he adjourns the meeting.

Von Rintelen, Weiser and Bünz, sitting together in the rear of the hall, look at one another and smile softly.

Murrow: "For the first and only time in the history of the labor movement, a union without any membership whatsoever called a general strike. It was only a question of how long it would take the news to travel."

Von Rintelen's office at "Mexico Northwestern." The next day. The Captain sits behind his desk. The phone rings and it is Weiser down at union headquarters. He is in a state of confusion and near-panic. The hall is being besieged by new members, with over a thousand men fighting to get in and pay their subscription, and more arriving every minute. It looks like the whole New York docks have turned out. They're going to need more money to pay the strike benefits than they had anticipated.

Von Rintelen is pleased with the news. He tells Weiser to calm down, that all the money they need will be available. Hanging up the phone, Von Rintelen goes to a large safe in one corner of the office. Working the combination, he removes dozens of banded stacks of banknotes which he begins counting out on his desk. We hold on the money.

Murrow: "Within twenty-four hours over fifteen hundred dockworkers were on strike in New York harbor. There wasn't a single munition transport being loaded. Von Rintelen had, almost single-handedly, stopped the flow of American arms to the Allies. He had at last succeeded in carrying out the full measure of his orders. He read with satisfaction the editorial pages of the American newspapers throughout the country which, without exception, were at a loss to explain the strange phenomenon that was crippling the nation's ports and threatening one of its largest industries. But Von Rintelen knew that American big business would not stand for the stoppages much longer. His strikes were, at best, a delaying action which had allowed him to devise still another scheme, one which would rival his others in scope and daring."

A hotel room. Its occupant, a square-faced man with closely cropped grey hair and dark glasses, is sitting down, alone, to a typical room-service dinner.

Murrow: "Victoriano Huerta had been, for almost two years, the president of Mexico. Finally, his corrupt and reactionary rule of that country had inspired the uprisings of Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa which eventually succeeded, in July 1914, in driving Huerta from office and into exile. His uncompromising hostile feelings toward President Woodrow Wilson were well-known. During the summer of 1915 he sat alone in New York planning his return to power."

The phone on the night-table rings. Visibly annoyed, Huerta leaves his meal to answer it. "Hello? -- Who? -- I do not know the name." He hangs up and returns to his food.

An instant later there is a knock at the door. Angrily he rises again and opens it. Von Rintelen greets Huerta with formality and respect. When Huerta is less than gracious, suggesting the intruder might write in for an appointment, Von Rintelen insists on seeing the ex-president. "Neither of us has time to waste," he says pointedly.

Shrugging, but still annoyed, Huerta lets the Captain enter, but seems to ignore him as he returns to his dinner.

Von Rintelen begins by presenting a simple but direct proposition to Huerta, his words taking on the form of a monologue as the Mexican neither comments nor looks up while the Captain talks.

The Presidente is quite naturally impatient to return to his country and reassume his former position, Von Rintelen says. Unfortunately,

Huerta is lacking the two mandatory elements for such a move: money and arms. But fortunately, Huerta has a powerful friend - Germany. Von Rintelen's government is prepared to finance and arm Huerta's cause.

Huerta looks up at the Captain for a brief moment, his face betraying no emotion, then returns to his eating.

Von Rintelen continues. Abundant funds will immediately be placed at Huerta's disposal. German U-Boats will land arms and ammunition on the Mexican coast at any spot Huerta designates. And the German government will officially support Huerta's reinstatement.

Von Rintelen pauses to allow the Mexican a chance to speak, but Huerta maintains his silence.

All Germany asks in return, Von Rintelen continues, is that once the revolution is crowned with success, Huerta's first official act as President will be to declare war on the United States.

This draws another look from Huerta, but no more.

The foreign political situation of the United States, Von Rintelen continues, is such that the only country it has to fear is Mexico. In the event of an attack from the south, America would be forced to use the munitions it produces for its own purposes. The exporting of arms to the Allies would therefore stop. Germany will have solved the problem of American munitions and Huerta will have his position restored and, as an added bonus, his long awaited revenge on President Wilson.

Huerta is silent for a time. Then, still without speaking, he takes an empty glass from the table, fills it with red wine, and slides it across the table to Von Rintelen

The street outside Huerta's hotel. Night. Von Rintelen appears and begins walking along the dimly lit sidewalk.

Slowly he becomes aware of two men following him. As before, he maintains his leisurely pace.

Murrow: "Just as the final spoke had been placed in Von Rintelen's magnificently constructed wheel, trouble again appeared. As he walked he tried to figure it out. Did the two men following him know who he was? Or were they assigned to watch Huerta and had taken Von Rintelen on as part of the job? In either case, he was anxious to lose them."

Several yards ahead of them, Von Rintelen rounds a corner and continues walking until the two men have again caught sight of him. Then he casually mounts the steps of an old apartment house and presses every doorbell on the board. The door buzzes open and the Captain enters quickly, shutting the door after him.

The two men hurry to catch up. When they arrive, on the run, at the door, they examine the list of tenants for a name they might recognize.

Inside the building, Von Rintelen hurries along the first-floor corridor to the rear and passes through a back door leading into a yard.

Outside again, Von Rintelen crosses the yard to a back fence. He climbs it and disappears on the other side.

Murrow: "For the moment, trouble had been averted again. Von Rintelen knew it would not be long in reappearing, but it came much sooner than he anticipated, and in a way that was totally unexpected."

Von Rintelen's office at Mexico Northwestern. The next day. The Captain is seated behind his desk when Weiser enters with a telegram and the usual worried expression on his face. Nervously, he hands it across the desk.

Von Rintelen looks at it and freezes. It is addressed to"Captain Von Rintelen". Suddenly, and for the first time, he flies into a rage. Hadn't he distinctly instructed Headquarters in Berlin not to cable his name under any conditions? What was the meaning of this outrageous carelessness?

Then, tearing open the envelope, Von Rintelen reads a message that causes him to stare, astonished. The cable reads: "Rintelen herewith ordered to return to Germany immediately." He slowly sinks back into his chair. How is it possible? The waterfront strikes were spreading throughout the country. His negotiations with Huerta were proceeding favorably. And he still had plans for extending his union to include the men in the munitions factories themselves, a large portion of the workers being Austrians and, therefore, favorably disposed toward the hindering of arms production. Why was he being recalled? Didn't they realize that all the progress he had made would go down the drain?

Weiser is as mystified as his chief. Perhaps the cable is not genuine, he suggests.

Von Rintelen picks up the phone and calls Falcke at the consulate. The Consul-General admits to having received a copy of the cable. Furthermore, he has been receiving cables concerning Von Rintelen for three days.

"All of them using my real name?" the Captain asks.
Falcke answers affirmatively.

Hanging up furiously, Von Rintelen reads the cable again. When Weiser suggests that a protest should be lodged with Berlin, the Captain shakes his head. He has been given an order and he must comply with it. Once in Berlin, he will persuade the Ministry to allow him to return. "That is -- if I ever get to Berlin."

Murrow on the New York dock: "On August third, 1915, aboard the Holland-American steamer 'Noordam', Captain Von Rintalen, again disguised as Swiss citizen, E. V. Gache, left New York enroute to Berlin via Rotterdam. It would be six long years before he arrived."

* * *

EPILOGUE

Ed Murrow in his "office". He talks about the historical and political aspects of Von Rintelen's activities, stressing two main points:

1) The plan involving ex-President Huerta and his promise to declare war on the U. S. has far-reaching and unforeseen repercussions. When Von Rintelen's genius for intrigue had been replaced, after his removal by his own War Ministry, less talented fingers had been substituted.

Under-Secretary Zimmerman, of the German Foreign Office took up Von Rintelen's plan, and on January 16, 1917, sent a coded telegram to Von Eckhardt, the German Ambassador in Mexico, instructing him to arrange the same bargain with President Carranza, promising Mexico the return of the territory of New Mexico and Arizona which was lost to the U. S. in 1848.

The new-famous Zimmerman telegram turned out to be the blunder which cost Germany the war. The "secret" German code had been in the hands of the British for over two years. When London turned over the decoded text of the Zimmerman telegram to Washington, the Americans were so infuriated by the bald and treacherous message that the U. S. Congress immediately ratified a declaration of war against Germany.

2) Von Rintelen personified the "master spy" in every way. A cool-headed, intelligent, analytical pragmatist, he operated boldly, with well-thought-out, well-planned master strokes aimed first at the extremities and limbs of his opponent, then, when the beast was rendered

incapacitated, straight at the heart with the death-blow.

He was not, as is the case with today's secret agents, a cog in the complex gears of a central agency, within which no operative is allowed to know more than a tiny part of the whole. Von Rintelen was his own organization and was allowed to implement its activities in any way he saw fit, with the flexibility necessary to alter his plans as the ever-changing conditions demanded. He was able to operate successfully on several levels simultaneously because he continually maintained sight of the whole picture.

If he eventually failed, it was through no fault of his own. His betrayal came, not from his opponents, but from within his own short-sighted and intrigue-ridden government.

Dissolve to a small stateroom aboard the Noordam. Von Rintelen, dressed in a bathrobe, paces like a caged animal.

Murrow: "On the morning of August 13, 1915, the Dutch steamship, 'Noordam' was proceeding up the English Channel. The chalk-white cliffs of England had been clearly visible off the port side of the ship since the day before. Von Rintelen was eager to be rid of them."

A knock at the door. When Von Rintelen opens it, a British officer, accompanied by two sailors with fixed bayonets, enters. "You are Mr. Gache?" the officer asks.

"Yes."

"We have orders to take you with us."

"I have no intention of disembarking here," Von Rintelen answers haughtily. "I am going to Rotterdam."

"I'm sorry, sir. If you refuse, we have orders to take you by force."

Von Rintelen is silent for a moment. Finally, his outer calm never flagging, he tells them to be kind enough to wait outside while he dresses.

The officer salutes and withdraws with his men. Von Rintelen begins dressing.

Murrow: "It was all over. Somehow the British had known Von Rintelen was aboard the 'Noordam'. The German Captain offered no resistance. Ten hours later he was in London, in the private office of Admiral Hall at the British Naval Ministry."

Admiral Hall's Office. Von Rintelen and the Admiral are facing one another across a desk. The tone of the meeting is extremely cordial.

"Well, Kapitanleutnant," Hall says jovially. "We've been expecting you for some time, now."

Von Rintelen tries to conceal his surprise. "I'm sorry if I have detained you," he says unconvincingly.

Hall explains that he's been watching the rather heavy exchange of cablegrams between Berlin and the Military Attache in New York. "Tell me, Kapitanleutnant, have you always been in -- uh -- full harmony with Captain Von Papen?"

"What do you mean by that, sir?"

"There must be some limit to human recklessness," Hall answers. "He cabled and recabled your name so often to Berlin in good, honest, straightforward German that -- well -- it seemed to us almost deliberate."

Von Rintelen is almost speechless. "He couldn't have known you were in possession of his code," he mutters.

"Ah, but he didn't use the code, Kapitanleutnant. As I told you -- good, honest, straightforward German."

Murrow: "Von Rintelen finally had his answer. The petty healousies of a small, spiteful, limited man had succeeded in destroying one of the most vital missions of the German war effort. Von Rintelen was interned, in relative comfort, at Donington Hall, an old country manor near London that had been converted into a detention camp for political prisoners. But Von Rintelen had not yet suffered his final humiliation at the hands of Von Papen. On Friday, April 13, 1916, the German Captain was returned to the United States to face trial for his violation of American neutrality. The Justice Department had gathered its evidence from more of Von Papen's so-called carelessness. Also arrested were Dr. Bunz, Max Weiser, Captain Von Kleist, the inventor, Dr. Scheele, and Boniface, the lawyer. In May of 1916, Von Rintelen was sentenced to four years hard labor at the Federal Penitentiary at Atlanta."

<u>A prison cell.</u> Von Rintelen, in his prison clothes, lies on his bunk staring at the ceiling.

Murrow: "A bitter, broken man, prisoner 8891 sat helplessly by as his

country was battered to its knees by the force of the American arms he had almost succeeded in rendering harmless by one of the most extraordinary schemes in the history of ESPIONAGE.

-end-

[redacted]

SFP 626

"ALERT IN THE PACIFIC"

[redacted]

1352 PHOTOGRAPHIC SQUADRON
AIR PHOTOGRAPHIC AND CHARTING SERVICE (MATS)
UNITED STATES AIR FORCE
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SFP 626

"ALERT IN THE PACIFIC"

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STATUS: Final Draft

DATE: 22 August 1960

APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

SFP 626

"THE PACIFIC AIR FORCES"

I have read the attached script and certify that it meets the requirements of the Requesting Agency, is technically correct, and conforms to established procedures.

COMMAND REPRESENTATIVE:

DATE: Mar 24 1960

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TECHNICAL ADVISOR:

DATE: Mar 24 1960

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FILM REQUIREMENTS

SFP-626

"ALERT IN THE PACIFIC"

PURPOSE OF FILM AS STATED IN ORIGINAL REQUEST

To portray the role and mission of the Pacific Air Forces in the defense of the Far East.

INTENDED AUDIENCE

All USAF military and civilian personnel, particularly those in the PACAF theater of operations, other U. S. military services and government agencies, and the general public.

CLASSIFICATION

Unclassified.

PRODUCTION SPECIFICATIONS

Type of Film:	35mm color
Length:	14 minutes
Photography:	Animation (approximately 3 minutes)
	Live photography (approximately 11 minutes)
Location:	Pacific Area

FILM CONTENT

1. Introduction by the Commanding General, PACAF.
2. The Far East and its importance to the enemy.
3. The Red threat in the Far East and our defenses there.
4. PACAF assistance to allied nationals.
5. The PACAF inventory -- aircraft and equipment used, the spread of PACAF bases with their Radar screen, supporting services, etc.
6. How PACAF works to keep the peace in the Far East.
7. Conclusion.

Sc. 1 AIR FORCE SEAL

Sc. 2 COMMANDING GENERAL

A brief sequence of exterior shots against the background of some action typical of PACAF operations. The impression given here should be that of having caught an active, busy, flying general only long enough for him to speak his piece, changing angles as necessary.

NOTE: Let us suppose, for example, we stop the general against the pattern of red and blue-red lights seen in the far b.g. across the ramp at Hickam AFB, with a single, circling red light like those with which USAF aircraft are now equipped. We convey the idea of waiting aircraft; we hear the general over the sound of his aircraft's engines warming up while another takes off in the distance.

GENERAL (Over Sound)

You are about to see a brief film on the Pacific Air Forces.

PACAF is part of the Unified Pacific Command, the air component of all U.S. forces in the Far East. We're out here to defend South Korea, Japan, Taiwan and our allies in Southeast Asia against an enemy attack. Any aggressive action in this area will be met, first by a PACAF Combat Ready Force, backed up by Tactical Air Command's Composite Air Strike Forces and by Strategic Air Command's long-range strategic bombers and ballistic missiles.

Sc. 2(cont'd)

GENERAL

The forward, on-the-spot location of PACAF forces imposes on every unit in this command the absolute necessity to stay on the alert twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week.

There are other responsibilities too. As you'll see, we're facing a tremendous build-up of Red power in the Far East. We've got to cover a lot of territory. This film will show you just how much ---and how PACAF is organized for its defense.

PICK UP SOUND

CAMERA PANS WITH GENERAL

DISSOLVE TO:

Scs. 3 and 4 deleted

FADE SOUND

PICK UP MUSIC

TITLES OVER RADARSCOPE.

"THE UNITED STATES AIR FORCE PRESENTS"

ALERT IN THE PACIFIC

FADE MUSIC

DISSOLVE TO:

Sc. 5 MONTAGE

Newsreel shots of life in the Far East composed in such a way as to demonstrate its wealth, the variety of its resources and its physical complexity.

NARRATION

This is the target of Red ambition in the Orient, the prize the Communists would like to grab --

-- the rich lands of Free Asia --

--rich in more than tea and rice and rubber and raw silk.

The natural resources of this area --

-- and the forced labor of its citizens would fatten hungry Red China and help make every Soviet dream of Communist prosperity come true. How real is this Red threat to the free lands and people here?

Sc. 6 EXT DAY LS

Panning from the last shot in Sc. 13 to the sea.

Across the Sea of Japan and across the China seas, our allies face with us, the growing strength of Red air power in the Orient.

Sc. 7 ANIMATION	NARRATION
A visual representation of the area with which we are concerned, the Far East sandwiched between the West Coast of the US and the Soviet Union.	Against our combat-ready PACAF bases in Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Okinawa and the Philippines --
POP ON -- a. PACAF Bases.	-- backed up by TAC's composite Air Strike Force capability --
b. TAC CASF flight.	
c. SAC aircraft and missiles.	-- and the long-range Sunday punch of SAC's B-52's and ballistic missiles --
d. North Korean bases.	-- stands the opposing force of North Korea, Red China and the Soviet Union.
e. Red Chinese bases.	
f. Soviet eastern bases.	
	Constantly improving in quality, this Red air strength in Asia is massed on a complex of over a hundred bases spread from the northeast tip of Siberia through Vladivostock, Mukden, Peking, Shanghai, Canton and the Hainan Islands.
g. Numbers of aircraft symbols representing 1/3rd.	Almost a third of Communism's total air strength is represented here, based in depth on the largest continental land mass in the world.

	NARRATION
Sc. 7 (cont'd)	
h. Bomber flightpaths to Japan, Taiwan, the Philippines	From these bases, the Reds can hit Asia's key industrial power, Japan, -- as well as Taiwan -- -- the Philippines -- -- and other targets in Southeast Asia. And behind them waits the balance of Soviet air power, only hours west of Tokyo.
l. Numbers of Aircraft Symbols representing 2/3 balance of Red air power in Europe.	
Sc. 8 INT MCS Narrator against the same map we have used in Sc. 15.	Creation of a jet air-base complex is one of the most significant developments behind the Iron and Bamboo Curtains. This gives the Reds a mobility, a flexibility and freedom of movement they did not have before the Korean action. (The Pacific Air Forces must stay on its toes). (indicating map in b.g.) Speeds have shrunk these distances. Minutes today could spell the difference between defeat and victory.
DOLLY IN TO MAP -- EXCLUDING NARRATOR.	PACAF must be ready to hit anywhere along this front --
DISSOLVE THROUGH MAP TO:	

Sc. 9	-- and to move faster and hit harder than the Communists --
CAMERA PULLS BACK TO:	
Sc. 10 MLS EXT NIGHT Takeoff of PACAF Aircraft, scramble type.	-- preventing the Reds from making another strike in the Far East --
Sc. 11 MONTAGE -- STOCK FOOTAGE. NOTE: Wherever possible these clips should show the effect of Red action in the Orient on its people -- injured men, frightened women, crying children and wrecked homes.	-- as they have struck before --
a. Korea footage.	-- in Korea --
b. Indo China footage.	-- in Indo China --
c. Laos footage.	-- in Laos --
d. Quemoy bombardment footage.	-- against Quemoy and Matsu. What's going to stop them? PACAF's mission in the Far East begins, in a sense, with helping these people of Free Asia to defend themselves --
Sc. 12 MS DAY PACAF instructors with JASDF students and aircraft with Japanese markings.	-- teaching American skills, training more than 5,000 officers and men of the Japanese Air Self Defense Forces --

	NARRATION
Sc. 13 EXT DAY LS The same kind of shot as in Sc. 21, but from another angle showing ROK men and equipment with PACAF personnel.	-- training pilots and technicians of the Republic of Korea Air Force, now 100 per cent ROK-manned, taking its place in the defense of the Far East.
Sc. 14 EXT DAY LS Japanese ASDF and USAF pilots together, in or out of aircraft.	So that day and night, around the clock, with PACAF assistance the strength of our allies has grown. At bases like Chitose and Hamamatsu, American and Japanese jet pilots work together, developing techniques of interception vital to the air defense of Japan --
Sc. 15 INT DAY MLS Japanese and PACAF staff officers in conference room at FUCHU.	-- while at Fuchu Air Station near Tokyo, staff officers of Japan's Air Defense Command and the US Fifth Air Force coordinate tactics and strategy.
Sc. 16 EXT DAY LS PACAF HQ, Hickam AFB, Hawaii.	But the Air Defense of free Asia is centered here --
Sc. 17 Same as Sc. 26. Another angle showing bomb scars. As Camera PANS in a slow inspection of bomb scars, coming finally to the Headquarters sign over the door.	-- in Hale Makai -- the House by the Sea --

PICK UP SOUND OF TELETYPES.

DISSOLVE THROUGH TO:

Sc. 18 INT DAY

PACAF communications center -- working men and equipment giving a feeling of instantaneous contact with distant units.

Sc. 19 MONTAGE.

PACAF at work. Here and in Scenes following, we see PACAF aircraft and equipment, people and installations, each shot typical of the kind of unit, aircraft or activity discussed the whole sequence, building an impression of a varied, efficient and powerful force at work, not flying but ready to go.

Sc. 20 EXT DAY LS

Hq. 13th AF, Clark AB, PI. Showing Aircraft on the line.

Sc. 21 EXT DAY LS

13th Air Task Force (Prov) on Taiwan with aircraft on the line.

Sc. 22 EXT DAY PAN SHOT

Along the flight line of a PACAF Base.

NARRATION

-- nerve center now for our deterrent, aerial strength in the Far East, the U.S. Fifth and Thirteenth Air Forces.

Spearheading PACAF operations, the famous "Fighting Fifth" was born in the Philippines in 1941, and is now based in Japan, in South Korea and on Okinawa.

The Thirteenth or "Jungle" Air Force, activated in New Caledonia is based in the Philippines --

-- but includes Air Task Force Thirteen (Provisional) on Taiwan.

What's on the line out there? What aircraft? What sort of missiles? What supporting equipment?

	NARRATION
Sc. 23 EXT DAY TRUCK SHOT Approaching a parked F-100 being armed with air-to-air rockets.	Workhorse of the Pacific Air Forces is this F-100, a tactical aircraft sometimes used as a fighter, armed with Rockets for air superiority missions, sometimes used as a fighter-interceptor --
Sc. 24 EXT DAY MS F-100 D's being armed with bombs.	-- often earmarked for use as a fighter-bomber sent against assigned general war targets -- to destroy enemy aircraft on the ground, or anything else that might be there.
Sc. 25 EXT DAY F-102's (if PACAF has any) on the ground.	PACAF has other similar aircraft deployed in its forward area for quick reaction against any Red aggression -- anothe· fighter, the F-102 --
Sc. 26 F-104	-- and the F-104 --
Sc. 27 EXT DAY RF-101's (if PACAF has any) on the ground.	-- and the RF-101, reconnaissance fighter.
Sc. 28 EXT DAY B-57 being armed or serviced on the ground.	Then there's the twin jet B-57, a medium bomber employed primarily for reconnaissance bombing missions.

	NARRATION
Sc. 29 MONTAGE Various PACAF aircraft waiting on different PACAF bases as indicated: a. South Korea b. Japan c. Taiwan d. Okinawa e. The Philippines	These tactical aircraft with which PACAF holds its forward line are based throughout its wide command, in South Korea -- -- in Japan -- -- on Taiwan -- -- Okinawa -- -- and the Philippines, waiting, ready to go --
Sc. 30 FULL SHOT INT Defense Control Center. PANNING up to a phone.	-- waiting for PACAF's Air Defense Center to give the signal to launch, the alert force under positive control, Defense Control Center's hot lines fan out --
Sc. 31 CU PHONE IN RADOME. PULLING BACK to full shot, interior, radome.	-- to the perimeter of PACAF's defensive radar screen, a network of warning sites along the Asian limits of the Communist world. . .
Sc. 32 EXT DAY LS Radome with sweeping screen in snow in Northern Japan.	-- from the northern tip of Japan --
Sc. 33 EXT DAY LS Radome with sweeping screen in Southeast Asia.	-- South to the China Seas.

	NARRATION
Sc. 34 EXT DAY LS Tactical missiles on Taiwan.	There are missiles in PACAF too, tactical missiles complementing PACAF's aircraft, one squadron on Taiwan --
Sc. 35 EXT DAY LS Another angle, missiles in South Korea.	-- another in South Korea.
(Scs. 36,37,38 & 39 omitted.)	
Sc. 40 MONTAGE Quick intercuts of support services and facilities.	And there are supporting units providing administration and the services and facilities without which no military forces can do its job --
a. Hq interior, men at work.	
b. A big bulldozer pushing dirt.	-- construction squadrons --
c. Medics at work	-- hospitals --
d. Communications technicians.	-- communications units --
e. Meat cutter cutting meat.	-- butchers --
f. Baker in mess hall.	-- bakers --
g. G.I.-type in hobby shop turning wood on a lathe.	-- candlestick makers --
h. Flying chaplain.	-- chaplains who fly --
i. Executive officer at desk.	-- and pilots who work on the ground.

	NARRATION
Sc. 41 TERMINAL MONTAGE Intercuts of action scenes showing typical terminal activity.	In addition to integral service units assigned to them, both the Fifth and the Thirteenth Air Forces are supported by the 315th Air Division providing air lift throughout the Far East with regularly scheduled cargo and passenger flights between Okinawa, Iwo Jima, Korea and Japan.
Sc. 42 EXT DAY LS Paratroops lined up and entering several parked aircraft of the type seen in Sc. 33 above.	These cargo aircraft may also carry troops --
Sc. 43 EXT DAY MCS Litter patients being put aboard aircraft.	-- and evacuate the sick and injured.
Sc. 44 EXT DAY MLS Helicopter on search and rescue mission.	And there are "choppers" for the quick and effective search and rescue of airmen downed at sea.
Sc. 45 INT DAY MED/FULL. I.B.M. machine in Communications Center at Clark AB. As OPERATOR feeds punchcards into machine.	Logistic support in PACAF has to be quick and effective too. Stockpiling is out, the cumbersome depot system replaced by a streamlined method developed to meet specific needs in each of PACAF's varied and dispersed units.

	NARRATION
Sc. 46 INT DAY CU Card dropping from I.B.M. machine at the other end of the line in the U.S.	An electronic punch card stock system relays its requisition for needed parts and equipment thousands of miles across the sea in a matter of seconds.
Sc. 47 STOCK FOOTAGE Takeoff of cargo aircraft from USAF base in U.S. in daylight.	-- assuring immediate delivery from bases in the United States --
Sc. 48 EXT NIGHT LS Radome in contrasting, typically Oriental setting.	-- to even the most distant, isolated PACAF installation in the Far East.
Sc. 49 EXT TRUCK SHOT NIGHT Slowly approaching Radome through moonlit snow-covered Oriental landscape.	But what is it like to serve in PACAF? How do all these varied men and aircraft work together? What's it like being over here on the other side of the world -- part of an Air Force cocked to strike the first defensive blow against any Red aggression we might have to counteract?
DISSOLVE THROUGH TO:	
Sc. 50 INT TRUCK SHOT Technician at scope.	Sometimes it's lonely here on this far away frontier. But here's where PACAF's responsibility begins --

	NARRATION
Sc. 51 As CAMERA TRUCKS UP to fill frame with scope.	Radomes like this one are the eyes of PACAF's radar and communications network -- eyes that scan the skys over Asia in their constant search for hostile planes -- for that warning blip that might scramble PACAF's alert force under positive control.
Sc. 52 MCS INT ANOTHER ANGLE, as technician reaches for the "hot" phone to control center.	This might be you --
Sc. 53 INT TRUCK SHOT Closing in to EXTREME CU as technician phones in report. DISSOLVE TO:	
Sc. 54 EXTREME CU Contrasting face answering phone at other end of line, in Defense Control Center at Johnson AB.	Or you could be at the other end of the hot line to the Defense Control Center at Johnson Air Base in Japan.
Sc. 55 MCS INT As operator reacts to call, plugging in proper line or whatever is done in this instance.	

	NARRATION
Sc. 56 INT CS Airman who would receive this call in the Defense Control Center (perhaps there would be no middle-man operator).	
Sc. 57 FULL SHOT INT As airman pilots bogie on ops board or map.	Or maybe you'd plot this first suspicious bogie on the board --
Sc. 58 MCS INT Same airman returning to hot phone, or if he wears headphones, watchfully waiting, listening intently, etc.	-- waiting then with the others to see what happens next.
Sc. 59 MONTAGE WAITING -- the faces of waiting PACAF airmen and other allied personnel who might be in the chain of reaction to such a threat. All exterior shots at night.	That's mostly what it is in a way -- -- watching --
a. Radar technician at scope.	-- waiting for further developments --
b. Telephone operator.	
c. Plotter as he gets second call.	
d. Operator putting out first alert.	-- going on the first alert --
e. Base officer receiving alert warning.	-- that quiet warning to stand by --
f. Airmen turning back as alert warning is posted on a PACAF base.	-- to stay on your base, if you're there --
g. Parked aircraft.	-- the planes are ready and waiting --

Sc. 59 MONTAGE (cont'd)	NARRATION
h. Pilots lounging in recreation room where alert is posted.	-- so are the men -- waiting:
i. Airmen lounging in dayroom or barracks.	Pilots --
j. MP walking post.	It's routine in PACAF, this watching and waiting game.
Sc. 1 AP's Beckon Getok Buyers.	But when an alert is called, it means back to the base in fifteen minutes. You came to bargain for shoes, and all at once you're on your way to a fire sale.
Sc. 2 Jap Doorstep Farewell.	The alert recall still leaves you a moment for the courteous Japanese manners you have learned to appreciate.
Sc. 3 Decorated Street Stroll.	The alert may be calling you back to something <u>real</u> colorful---like fireworks, maybe.
Sc. 4 Clark AFB entrance.	All you can think is: 15 minutes to get to the ready room, 15 minutes ... 15 minutes.
k. Intelligence Officer reading coded message.	Maybe it gets a little more hairy now --
l. CU -- CODED MESSAGE.	-- it looks like the Reds may be ready to jump off --

Sc. 59 MONTAGE (cont'd)	NARRATION
m. CS -- IO's FACE -- tense as he talks into phone.	-- and maybe you go from one alert to another --
n. Same Scene as i. or h. above, men reacting to the change.	-- from yellow to red. If you're on base, maybe you just change your clothes --
o. Sleepy man answering phone in bed, reacting to the call.	-- and if you're not, maybe you'd better get on your bicycle.
p. Base entrance as a flow of traffic enters, bicycles, cars, scooters, pouring in.	It might be nothing at all, but you never know. The man says come on in; so in you come. Maybe it's just your outfit getting ready to go --
q. Parked aircraft, OSAN maybe we see only markings on their empennage here and in following shots s through t.	-- or maybe there are other's too; the planes are there in South Korea --
r. Misawa.	-- in Japan --
s. Taiwan.	-- on Taiwan --
t. Okinawa.	-- Okinawa --
u. Philippines.	-- in the Philippines --
RB's and B-57's loading bombs on F-100-D's; F-102's loading air-to-air rockets on F-100's and F-101's.	
v. Ship at sea at night.	Maybe the Navy's stirring too --
w. Soldiers.	-- and the Army --
x. Marines	-- and the United States Marines.

	NARRATION
Sc. 59 MONTAGE (cont'd)	
y. TAC missiles erecting.	Maybe the missiles are even coming up to launch positions -- -- on Taiwan -- -- and in South Korea.
z-1 Aircraft on flight line.	Maybe Alert Forces will be launched under positive control.
z-2 RADAR screen as blips disappear.	Or maybe those blips have simply gone away --
z-3 IO on phone again but laughing and relieved with a new message.	-- and the whole disturbing picture has suddenly changed --
Sc. 60 CU SIREN.	-- so that the "All Clear" sounds like music in your ears.
Sc. 61 FULL SHOT INT Ready room barracks or day room with men relaxing suddenly.	Maybe you can relax them -- go on about your business, whatever it was -- go back to bed -- or go off the base again --
(Scs.62, 63 and 64 deleted)	
Sc. 65 MED FULL INT TOWER. As airman enters.	--Because wherever you are in PACAF, whether it's night or day, the watching goes on --

Sc. 66 PAN SHOT	NARRATION
From tower looking out over this PACAF base at dawn.	-- and the waiting too. For the planes --
Sc. 67 MCS INT	-- and for the men.
Radar technician at scope.	Eternal vigilance, somebody said, is the price of peace.
TRUCK UP to fill frame with sweeping scope.	And peace is what PACAF helps to buy for all of us with its Combat Ready Force in the Far East.
END TITLE:	PICK UP MUSIC
FADE OUT:	

E N D

A. ABBREVIATIONS USED IN MOTION PICTURE SCRIPTS

SC:	Scene	BG:	Background	FG:	Foreground
EXT:	Exterior	INT:	Interior	LS:	Long Shot
MS:	Medium Shot	MCU:	Medium Close-up	CU:	Close up
ECU:	Extreme Close-up	SFX:	Sound Effects		

B. GLOSSARY OF TERMS USED IN MOTION PICTURE SCRIPTS

FADE:	The optical darkening of a scene to black (Fade Out), or the optical brightening of a scene from black to intensity (Fade In)
Dissolve:	An optical transition in which one scene appears to dissolve into another.
Wipe:	One scene appears to be wiped away by the succeeding scene. A wipe may be made vertically, diagonally or a variation of this.
Dolly or truck:	A camera movement in which the camera is physically moved toward or away from the object being photographed.
Pan:	Movement of the camera in a horizontal plane.
Tilt:	Movement of the camera in a vertical plane.
Insert:	An extremely close shot of any object such as a letter or a radio tube either held in the hand or placed on a background.
Two Shot:	A close camera angle on two people to the exclusion of others in the scene.
Three Shot:	As above, except that three people are photographed.

C. SPECIAL TERMINOLOGY USED IN ANIMATION

Pop-on and Pop-off:	Sudden appearance or disappearance of an object or character.
Soft Pop-on and Soft Pop-off:	As above except object or character appears in faint outline and gradually reaches full definition.
Scratch-On and Scratch-Off:	Where a line or picture area appears to grow on the screen, or conversely appears to diminish.
Zoom or Truck:	The process by which the scene changes from a long shot to a close shot or vice versa.
Pan:	Horizontal movement of scene, produced by moving the background.
Sliding Cel:	In which a painting or drawing on a transparent material is moved over a background.
Cycle Action:	Any piece of action which repeats itself.
Cel Action:	Continuous sequential action using a series of drawings.

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF LIBERAL ARTS
DETROIT 2, MICHIGAN

DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND
ANTHROPOLOGY

February 19, 1959

re LOA

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

My dear Mr. Murrow:

It is not often that I feel prompted to write the principals concerned when I read a news story to the effect that someone is taking a leave of absence from his regular television responsibilities. But, when I read that beginning July 1 you are stepping out of your unique role as educator to the American television public, I could not refrain from expressing my sincere regrets.

Having myself derived the benefits of a year's leave of absence (the usual academic sabbatical leave) which I had the pleasure of spending in Thailand, I can hardly disagree regarding the desirability of a period of respite from deadlines and ordinary routine responsibilities. I am sure your fallow period will pay off richly in the long run.

Nevertheless, I am very much hoping that CBS will employ this period to do a more imaginative and effective job of exploring the possibilities in the way of educational talent than simply to turn over your time to Arthur Godfrey -- much as I used to enjoy his early morning radio show in the late war years from Washington, D. C.

I am enclosing a copy of a talk which I gave recently before the Detroit Metropolitan YMCA group. I trust there is no objection to my having dittoed quotations from your REPORTER article since I have not yet been requested for the right to reproduce the article in full; but I am sending it as one small token of the impact you have, for I think my reactions are fairly representative of a limited segment of the television viewing public, to your outstanding efforts.

I hope your REPORTER article has been reprinted and circulated widely in those quarters where it would be calculated to be most effective. It certainly is the most pointed, practical and potentially significant suggestion I have run into anywhere regarding ways and means of exploiting our incomparable mass communication technology for the purposes the times cry out to have served.

I think this is enough in the way of a fan letter. I wish you all the happiness and success possible in your prospective period of discovery and

development. I am sure we will all be the more indebted to you and to CBS when you return with renewed zest to your temporarily relinquished responsibilities.

Sincerely yours,

Edgar A. Schuler

Edgar A. Schuler, Chairman
Department of Sociology and Anthropology

EAS/c

cc: Dr. Frank Stanton
President, CBS

The 'Y' Today and Our World Tomorrow*

Edgar A. Schuler

Introduction

First of all, I'd like to thank Mr. Elliott for inviting me to meet with you today, and for giving me the wide open opportunity to say freely and frankly precisely what is on my mind. He must have known that both of my grandfathers were Methodist ministers--the one, full-time, the other, part-time--and couldn't turn down a chance to speak. From the part-time ministerial grandfather I suppose I inherited my liking to strike when the iron is hot: you see, on week-days this ancestor was a blacksmith.

Perhaps, furthermore, Mr. Elliott knew that I had spent the past academic year as a Fulbright research scholar in Thailand, that is, the old "Siam," and suspected that since I was working on a research project I might not have enjoyed the college professor's usual prerogative of lecturing to captive audiences. Such a surmise, I must report, is sad but true.

More seriously, though, it just happens that out of this strange new experience--of living and working for a year in Southeast Asia--of trying to understand the Thai people, their Buddhist religion, their cultural ancestry from India and China, their Chinese minority (parenthetically, the Chinese are about the same proportion of all Thai as Negroes are of all Americans, but especially in business and government they are much more influential than their numbers would indicate), their basic values, their likes, dislikes, hopes and fears--out of all this experience, coupled with my reading and thinking since I got back here this fall, has come a growing conviction that there <u>are</u> a few things--I might even say, <u>important</u>, things--I <u>can</u> say and <u>want</u> to say to you, today, as simply and clearly as I can. So you can see, I believe, why I just couldn't say "no" to Mr. Elliott's cordial invitation to address you "top laymen" of the Metropolitan Detroit Y.M.C.A.--and if, by mistake, any just ordinary

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*This paper was read before the Seventh Annual Y.M.C.A. Membership Workshop, held on Saturday, Dec. 6, 1958, at the South Oakland Y.M.C.A. in Royal Oak Michigan. This paper is not to be reproduced without the permission of the author.

garden-variety laymen happen to be listening, I certainly don't mind.

Disclaimer

I must make it clear at this point, however, that I am speaking here entirely as a private citizen, not in my professional capacity as a sociologist. Neither do I represent my departmental colleagues in anthropology or sociology, nor my College, which is Liberal Arts, nor my University, which is Wayne State. What I want to express is my considered but personal opinion, and I certainly do not assume general agreement. With so much by way of introduction, let me now turn to the subject I chose for our consideration this noon: "The 'Y' Today and Our World Tomorrow."

I want to talk about certain values and how they can better be attained--because to me they are just about the most important things in life. Jesus said, "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow me. For whosoever will save his life shall lose it, and whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it. For what is a man profited if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul?" [Matthew, 16:24-26.]

The American Way: Organize

Last year, when I was living in Bangkok, and trying to see my native American culture with the perspective of remoteness, it seemed to me that one of the most distinctive, most characteristic, and most precious of all its innumerable features was the private, voluntary, formally organized, special interest group [who said I wasn't speaking as a sociologist?]. In many ways typical of these groups, which flourish so abundantly in our generous American soil, is the one which brings us together here today: the Young Men's Christian Association. It seems hardly necessary to point out that it is the "C" which distinguishes the Y.M.C.A. from numberless other "Associations."

Implications of "Christian" in Y.M.C.A.

By now, perhaps, my purpose is becoming clearer to you: I am talking about the "C" in Y.M.C.A., and how I think it is related to the kind of world we, and I hope

our children, will be living in tomorrow. This concern leads me squarely into a consideration of America's foreign policy, the foreign policy of the foremost "Christian" nation in the world today.

But before we get into that, I think it is fair to say a few words by way of background and justification of the status quo--bad as I think it to be. After all, it seems to me the United States has been projected into a role of world leadership for which it was not prepared.

How well I remember my own feelings of twenty years ago: my wife and I had visited the Germany of Hitler and the Nazis in the summer of 1935, and what we saw and heard convinced us that another war was in the offing. I felt that if we, as naive insignificant tourists, could see so plainly the handwriting on the wall, it must be a thousand times more patent to "the powers that be"--more precisely, to "the powers that were." Frankly, I was a midwestern isolationist, and not at all backward about saying so. I figured this was going to be, rather, ought to be Europe's war, and I wanted nothing to do with it. And as you well know, many perfectly patriotic and completely sincere Americans felt the same way about it.

"One World" Community

But on December 7th, 1941--precisely seventeen years ago tomorrow--this conception of our world was shattered--in the twinkling of an eye. Our narrow, selfish, parochial delusions were demolished by Japanese action. Propaganda had precious little to do with it. And ever since that day, I believe, most Americans have come to feel more and more strongly that this world is all of one piece--that we can never again try to abdicate from our responsibilities as members of the human race.

From that beginning, however, who could have foreseen the terrific tempo of change that was to be unleashed by our response to the Asian Challenge! Tighter and tighter have drawn the bonds which bind us today into a single world community. And in this great gathering, through circumstances of history which no man wished or planned, we are cast in a leadership role for which we are not at all well prepared.

The Role of Public Opinion

Given the basic political institutions we have we will never become well prepared for our leadership responsibilities until public opinion throughout this country is thoroughly aroused to the unprecedented need--and to the colossal stakes involved. Because, it seems to me, our top elected officials do not lead. In fact, they rarely face us with clearcut basic issues in foreign policy. Nixon's reaction, you recall, was to publicly slap the wrists of writers of letters to the President, critical of our policy on the islands of Quemoy and Matsu.

In the absence of such focussing of attention on ISSUES, of presenting alternative courses of action, with all the discussion, debate, and mustering of facts, pro and con, that a small "d" democratic society calls for, we shall continue to flounder from crisis to crisis, meanwhile more and more surely losing the cold war.

The Role of the Individual

In this unhappy situation, I can well see the justification for a feeling of apathy, or hopeless resignation, for saying, "The problem is too big; I'm just a little guy; it's not my responsibility anyhow." On the contrary, it is my conviction that under our particular system of government--and I must confess my preference for the freedoms it provides--nobody--and I mean, neither you nor I--can escape his fundamental obligation to do what he can, in the light of what he thinks OUGHT to be done, under the circumstances, the truly unprecedented circumstances we now find ourselves in.

I. The Goal: World Peace Through World Law

Accordingly, let me go the heart of the matter by saying that, in my judgment, we have for so long been bemused by the will-o'-the-wisp of military security through the poising of total destructive power that we are practically incapable of looking squarely at the only ultimate solution to the problems which face the human species today: the organization of world peace through the establishment of world law backed up by the sanctions of enlightened public opinion and supported by a world police

force. Too long, it seems to me, we have hoped against hope that the United Nations would prove equal to the task; but though its efforts have been valiant, and sometimes may have staved off disaster, it harbors still too much of national sovereignty to achieve an end to the international anarchy which is the basic bane of our existence today.

Recent Action by the State Bar of Michigan

On Thanksgiving Day--only ten days ago--a lawyer friend of mine told me about what the Michigan State Bar is now undertaking. It is so much to the point that I want to quote from the recommendations and resolutions unanimously adopted at its annual meeting on October 2 of this year:

> Recommendation II. ESTABLISHMENT OF WORLD PEACE THROUGH WORLD LAW.
>
> 1. That the State Bar of Michigan make this a major project among its activities; and that this project consist of the following: [which I shall not enumerate]. . . .
>
> Recommendation III. THAT THE STATE BAR OF MICHIGAN ADOPT THE FOLLOWING RESOLUTIONS:
>
> 1. Whereas, the need for organizing the world for peace is most urgent, but the task is exceedingly complex and fraught with dangers, and yet it must be undertaken--and promptly--because the alternatives are even more dangerous.
>
> Now, therefore, be it resolved that Congress and the President be urged to:
>
> a. Create an official Commission for the Study of the Organization of the Peace...
>
> b. Provide ample funds to such Commission to permit it to employ on a full-time basis...leaders of thought and research in... [various] areas [which I shall not enumerate]...
>
> c. Direct such Commission
>
> 1) to devise a workable plan to maintain the peace of the world and to make war between nations or groups of nations impossible;
>
> 2) to explore and discover ways of making such plan acceptable to the people of the United States and the peoples and governments of other nations;

3) to report from time to time directly to the President; and

4) to continue its study and research until a satisfactory plan for preventing war has been adopted by the vast majority of the nations of the world.

2. Whereas, the time is ripe for the peoples of the world to create means of protecting themselves from the mounting costs of the armaments race and the increasing dangers of continued international anarchy, but effective leadership is lacking,

Now, therefore, be it resolved that every member [my emphasis] of the State Bar of Michigan is urged to interest and inform himself in the problems of international relations and the application of law to the behavior of nations, to the end that from our ranks may come some of the leadership needed to devise appropriate organs for the extension of law to the field of international relations....

The New Book by Clark and Sohn

If your curiosity has been aroused, and you really would like to know of a carefully formulated PRACTICAL proposal for moving in the direction I think is indicated, I can do no better than refer you to the solid volume published earlier this year by two lawyers, sophisticated in the field of international relations, Grenville Clark and Louis B. Sohn under the title, WORLD PEACE THROUGH WORLD LAW (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1958).

In his introduction to the book, the senior author, Mr. Grenville Clark, points out that their "...collaboration began in October 1945 at a conference of private citizens as to 'how best to remedy the weaknesses of the United Nations charter', which some persons even then recognized as inadequate to ensure world peace..." (p. xxxii) The volume represents an attempt "...to present a complete plan whereby genuine peace, in a disarmed world, would actually be secured." (p. xxxiii) They have gone into specific, practical details on the steps required because they have become convinced that right now "...the need is for alternative detailed plans to furnish a basis for discussion...

"For modern man the prevention of war is not only the most important of problems; it is also one of the most difficult...." (p. xxxiii)

Supporting Data From India: Nehru's Paradox

I am reminded of the words of Nehru, of India, in a statement originally prepared for private circulation to certain of his friends and associates, later published in THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE for September 7, 1958. Said Nehru:

"....The basic fact of today is the tremendous pace of change in human life....

"Nothing is so remarkable as the progressive conquest or understanding of the physical world by the mind of man today, and this process is continuing at a terrific pace.... While there has been this conquest of external conditions, there is at the same time the strange spectacle of a lack of moral fiber and of self-control in man as a whole.

"Conquering the physical world, he fails to conquer himself.

"That is the tragic paradox of this atomic and sputnik age....

"....Religion, as practiced, either deals with matters rather unrelated to our normal lives, and thus adopts an ivory-tower attitude, or is allied to certain social usages which do not fit in with the present age. Rationalism, on the other hand, with all its virtues, somehow appears to deal with the surface of things, without uncovering the inner core...." (p. 13)

Foreign Relations Set the State for Domestic Life

To conclude my remarks on the first, and I think most important, point I want to make to you this noon, let me say this: I am well aware that this morning, while I was trying to get my ideas down on paper, you good, dedicated Christian laymen and women were properly working on the jobs immediately ahead for the "Y". Underlying all you have had to say in the way of planning how to do these many and important jobs more effectively, more efficiently, and in a more truly Christ-like manner, is the unstated assumption of the continuance of our present uneasy posture of semi-peace. If war comes, all these normal efforts will become largely beside the point. In my considered judgment, there is the closest possible relation between

the 'Y' today and, on the basis of our effort or neglect, the kind of world we have tomorrow. A detailed spelling out of the implications and the ramifications of this relationship I can safely leave, I feel sure, to your own enlightened imaginations and consciences.

II. The Need: A More Positive, "Christian," Foreign Policy

Now for my major point number two: as professing and practising Christians, it seems to me, we desperately need to take a more positive, active CHRISTIAN interest in our brothers all over the world. Only when we sincerely want and try to help the underprivileged of the world, as a matter of Christian duty and desire--and not just to buy cheap cannon fodder in case of Communist attack--can we win the basic confidence, loyalty and love of our hungry, uninformed and lowly brothers throughout the world.

Parable of the Last Judgment

Let me quote again from Matthew, this time, Chapter 25, the powerful parable in which Jesus describes the last judgment. This parable, says James Goodspeed in his enlightening little book, A LIFE OF JESUS, (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1950) is "in some ways the grandest of all the parables." [p. 190]

> "When the son of Man comes in his splendor, with all his angels with him, he will take his seat on his glorious throne, and all the nations will be gathered before him, and he will separate them from one another, just as a shepherd separates his sheep from his goats, and he will put the sheep at his right hand and the goats at his left. Then the king will say to those at his right, 'Come, you whom my Father has blessed, take possession of the kingdom which has been destined for you from the creation of the world. For when I was hungry, you gave me food, when I was thirsty you gave me something to drink, when I was a stranger, you invited me to your homes, when I had no clothes, you gave me clothes, when I was sick, you looked after me, when I was in prison, you came to see me.' Then the upright will answer, 'Lord, when did we see you hungry and give you food, or thirsty, and give you something to drink? When did we see you a stranger, and invite you home, or without clothing, and supply you with it? When did we see you sick or in prison, and go to see you?' The king will answer, 'I tell you, in so far as you did it to one of the humblest of these brothers of mine, you did it to me.' Then he will say to those at his left, 'Begone, you accursed people, to the everlasting fire destined for the devil and his angels! For when I was hungry, you gave me nothing to eat, and when I was thirsty you gave me

> nothing to drink, when I was a stranger, you did not invite me home, when I had no clothes, you did not supply me, when I was sick and in prison, you did not look after me.' Then they in their turn will answer, 'Lord, when did we see you hungry, or thirsty, or a stranger, or in need of clothes, or sick, or in prison, and did not wait upon you?' Then he will answer, 'I tell you, in so far as you failed to do it for one of these people who are humblest, you failed to do it for me.' Then they will go away to everlasting punishment, and the upright to everlasting life." (Edgar J. Goodspeed, The New Testament, An American Translation, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1923, pp. 53-54).

As Goodspeed says: "This way of putting our duties to our fellow-men has never since been equaled. And it suddenly dawns upon you, as it must have dawned upon them, that the point of the story is not this colossal phantasmagoria of the universal judgment of all mankind, but the moral demand that will inevitably be the basis of such a judgment." (p. 190)

A Case In Point: Laos

In support of the position I have stated as representing my own conviction in the matter, let me quote from a few recent publications which I ran into as a by-product of other activities. First is from a recent article in that potent little fortnightly magazine, THE REPORTER (the issue of Nov. 13, 1958) by Haynes Miller, a lawyer from Tennessee, who, it says, "spent thirteen months working for the comptroller's division of the International Cooperation Administration in Laos, where, he says, 'It was my duty to find out what actually happened to the dollars Congress has been appropriating to carry out our foreign-aid program.' The shocking experiences recounted in his article are not the misadventures of one man alone. They are, in essence, a national experience: an exceedingly unpleasant one but not necessarily a disastrous one--if only we are willing to learn from it." (p. 8)

I, for one, am happy and grateful to learn from it. For I remember vividly the long hours I spent talking, last year, with a successful Thai businessman--intelligent, well-educated (in British), highly articulate, and extremely well informed regarding Laos (Which is just to the North and East of Thailand). He was terribly critical of what the United States was doing in Laos. He kept asking me why, WHY, WHY, are you doing

these things which are not only NOT in your interest as a nation, but are actually working AGAINST the long-run welfare of both Thailand and the United States? And I hadn't the slightest idea what he was talking about. For in matters of this kind, like yourselves, I am simply an interested layman: I pay my taxes, and I hope for the best, but I certainly can't claim any particular competence in how our broad and general foreign policies are spelled out in specific ways. But Mr. Miller's article on Laos, titled, "A Bulwark Built on Sand," certainly opened my eyes. Because I think it is certainly a case in point, let me quote some passages from the beginning of Mr. Miller's article:

> The decision to build up the strategically located kingdom of Laos as "a bulwark against Communism" in Southeast Asia was made in Washington three and a half years ago. Since then we have given more than $135 million to that landlocked country, the least developed of the three kingdoms that used to make up French Indo-China. What have we accomplished?
>
> As an employee of the International Cooperation Administration in 1956 and 1957--my bureaucratic title was "end-use investigator"--I had a chance to observe some of the results of our Laotian policy at first hand. New evidence presented in recent Congressional hearings has confirmed my own findings. As I see it, the record to date is this:
>
> More than five-sixths of the money we have spent has gone to support an army that is almost entirely unsuited to the sort of fighting it might be called upon to do, whose very size we can estimate only with a forty per cent margin of error, and whose morale is understandably low.
>
> In order to pay, feed, and equip this army, we have flooded a primitive country with money and goods it could not possibly absorb and thereby created a situation in which corruption and fraudulent currency exchanges have flourished openly.
>
> Far from building up Laos as a bulwark against Communism, our policy may actually have served to strengthen the Communist position there. Campaigning against the corruption of the pro-western candidates in last May's elections, the political party that represents the Communist Pathet Lao group and its allies won a majority of the seats that they contested.

These same points have been made by a wide variety of Laotian leaders. Viceroy Tiao Phetsarath is a controversial figure in Laotian politics, but few would contest his indictment of American policy. In an interview published last year in Lao-Presse, he said:

"Our greatest danger of Communist subversion arises from the bad use of foreign aid we receive....It enriches a minority outrageously while the mass of the population remains as poor as ever.... Laos maintains an army of 30,000 men, including the police force. This army costs us dearly. It takes men from agriculture and industry. And it could not possibly defend the country from foreign invasion."

o o o o

In converting the Laotian militia into a permanent army, the United States paid little heed to the bitter lessons taught by the French defeat. French officers who fought in Indo-China have told me that the major reason for that defeat, aside from political infiltration, was the inability of their motorized forces to get off the roads and fight in the jungles. Yet the Laotian Army is still largely a motorized force, although there are less than a thousand miles of roadway over which it can move in trucks, even in four-wheel drive. And there is no all-weather road system whatsoever.

Since mountains and jungles prohibit cross-country movement by a motorized force, only a guerrilla force could put up an effective resistance. Laos has no industry, railroads, or communication centers. Its less than two million people, split up into forty different racial and linguistic tribes, are scattered over an area roughly equal to that of Georgia and South Carolina (90,000 square miles).. Each of the primitive villages is self-sufficient, in war as in peace, and should the capital city of Vientiane again be occupied as it was by the Japanese, the Laotians might be expected to hold on as they did then.

But the Laotian Army is poorly adapted for guerrilla fighting, which could best be carried on by small commando units made up of tribesmen familiar with the region in which they were to fight. Unfortunately, by choosing almost all the officers for its army from the aristocratic families of the Lao tribe, the Laotian government has antagonized the lesser tribes, which the French considered the best fighters. The men of those tribes often leave the army with their weapons, return to their villages, and simply defy the government to do anything about it.

o o o o

Since the army is just about as poorly equipped to deal with subversion as it is to wage guerrilla warfare, the United States has seen fit to expand the native gendarmery, orginally numbering only a few hundred, into a well-armed force of four thousand men. Roughly eighty per cent of the cost of this project, which is planned and directed by a staff of U.S. police experts, has been paid for out of ICA technical-assistance funds. I was able to learn enough to reach a number of disturbing conclusions about the new Laotian police force: The American experts training it did not know how many men were actually on the force, where they were stationed, or what equipment they had; many native police

officers were collecting pay for men who were supposed to be under their command but who actually existed only on paper; much of the equipment we supplied, including ammunition, clothing, and gasoline, was being sold by members of the police force on the civilian market.

Such are the armed forces that form our "bulwark against Communism" in Laos. Now let us take a look at the economic consequences of the decision that was made in Washington three and a half years ago.

. . . .

There has been a fairy-tale implausibility about much of the business carried on. In 1955 and 1956, licenses were issued for the importation of more than $4.5 million worth of textiles--despite the fact that Laotians spin and weave what they need in every hut of every village. During the same period, about $1.3 million worth of automobiles were ostensibly imported into a country where even the army's four-wheel-drive vehicles are unusable most of the year.

. . . .

In the Chaotic business climate our aid program created in Laos, almost every transaction has been manipulated to the advantage of the dubious "businessmen"--most of them Chinese and Thais--who have come flocking in to share in the spoils. According to the General Accounting Office in Washington, P.A.s [Procurement Authorizations] for Laos totaling $24.3 million were issued during the first two years of the program, but only $9.8 million worth of goods were recorded as ever having arrived in Laos. The comparable figures for cash-grant dollars, which represent roughly seventy per cent of our total dollar aid, would undoubtedly show a far greater discrepancy.

. . . .

But perhaps the most shocking of all the ICA's technical-assistance projects in Laos was its road-building program. It revealed ample evidence of what a recent Government Operations subcommittee report has called a "pattern" of job hopping from ICA payrolls to those of private firms operating in the area, as well as a striking "community of interest" that tends to develop between mission directors and "their" contractors.

. . . .

Instead of creating a situation of military strength as a "bulwark against Communism," our policy has made Laos into what a recent report of the General Accounting Office has called "A financial dependency" of the United States. It would be bad enough if the money had been merely wasted. The record to date, however, shows that our Laotian policy has demoralized our friends and strengthened our enemies.

I hope I have not bored you with details regarding a little nation, involving not very many people, and not too many millions of dollars. But I repeat, if such things can happen there, perhaps they are happening elsewhere.

The People's Republic of China

It seems to me possible that our entire approach to the problem of the Communist threat--which now may be more ominously posed by the People's Reoublic of China than by the U. S. S. R.--needs searching re-examination, throughout the world. And one of the specifics which, in my judgment, most urgently needs reconsideration is our policy of refusing to recognize the People's Republic of China, and of fighting what seems to be a losing battle to keep it forever outside the framework of the United Nations itself. Black and white thinking, it seems to me, is no longer good enough in dealing with that most populous of all nations. Our policy of brinkmanship (and I admit this is a loaded term) simply confirms the constant Soviet theme that THEY want peace, but WE threaten war. Frankly, how can we be so stupid as to believe we can ever come to mutual understanding--of agreeing to live within the same cramped quarters of this earth--with the Red Chinese if we continue formally to refuse to acknowledge they exist?

Let me conclude this particular phase of my remarks by quoting from another recent NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE article, this time by Mr. R. Hughes. He says:
"Mao triumphed because he recognized that the heart of a successful Chinese revolution was the peasantry.... He not only led a Communist revolution in China; he symbolized the Asian revolt against centuries of Western dominance. He took China. Given another ten years he might take the most of the rest of Asia. There are so many peasants." (Sept. 21, 1958, p. 83.)

The Middle East

Turning briefly to another, but related, part of the world, I want to quote from an article by Peggy and Pierre Streit, as follows:

"What the United States also overlooks, when it seeks Middle East support against the Soviet threat to freedom and independence, is that it is the West, and not Russia, which for many years has constituted that threat. The Middle East has had a long and

bitter personal experience with Western domination. It has had virtually no such direct experience with Soviet imperialism....one fact looms larger than Communism's ruthless denial of freedom. It is that Russia, once a weak, underdeveloped nation facing many of the social and economic problems the Middle East faces today, has mastered these in less than a lifetime and has not only raised the standard of living of its people but has emerged as one of the most powerful nations of the world. In the context of the aspirations of the Middle East today, the Soviet experiment offers more instructive, practical parallels than the democratic experiment symbolized by the West." (New York Times Magazine, Aug. 3, 1958, p. 52).

Nkrumah and Africa

To conclude the discussion of my second major point, let us take a quick look at Africa. I quote from an article by M. Sears: "...closer to Africans' hearts than financial or technical matters... is the aspiration to be considered on a basis of equality, something which few of them have enjoyed until recently. A new Africa, however, is in the making, as one country after another emerges from colonial status into free and equal membership in the society of nations. Most of them have been subject peoples for a long time and do not easily forget their days of inequality when they were under the alien rule of whites. . . . Prime Minister Nkrumah of Ghana referred to this problem [the aspiration to be considered on a basis of equality] on his recent visit to the United States when he declared, 'There will be no peace until the world has learned to put its relations with Africa and the man of color on a new basis of freedom, equality, mutual respect and dignity. No stable world order can be built on a foundation of racial inequality.'" (New York Times Magazine, Sept. 14, 1958, p. 62.)

The same African leader is cited by another writer, Kennett Love, as follows: "Out of his passionate belief in anti-colonialism flow these major conclusions: to make political independence a reality, the newly-created nations must be economically

free; they dare not wait for economic freedom, and socialism is the quickest way to their goal.

"This is the way he has put it: 'What other countries have taken three hundred years or more to achieve, a once dependent territory must try to accomplish in a generation if it is to survive. [My emphasis.] Capitalism is too complicated a system for a newly independent nation,' he continues, 'hence the need for a socialistic society. But even a system based on social justice and a democratic constitution may need backing up, during the period following independence, by emergency measures of a totalitarian kind.'" (New York Times Magazine, July 20, 1958, p. 14.)

III. The Means: Enlightenment of Public Opinion by the Mass Media

Now, just a few words on my third major point, which ties in closely with my initial remarks on the crucial importance of enlightened American public opinion. A recent lecture by the former journalist, Leland Stowe, now on the journalism faculty of the University of Michigan, first focussed my thinking on this point when he castigated one of our major mass media--Television--for carrying on its business as usual, and for neglecting its fundamental public service obligations, with the vivid term, "Telemorphia." But it is not my intention to conclude on this rather pessimistic note. Rather, I want to pass on to you now the most sensible and constructive recommendation regarding this precise problem that I have yet seen.

Edward R. Murrow's Idea

I refer to the proposal made by Edward R. Murrow in a recent speech delivered before the Radio and Television News Directors' Association under the title, "A broadcaster talks to his colleagues." His idea is perfectly simple. Says Mr. Murrow,

> Let us have a little competition. Not only in selling soap, cigarettes, and automobiles, but in informing a troubled, apprehensive, but receptive public. [My emphasis.] Why should not each of the twenty or thirty big corporations which dominate radio and television decide that they will give up one or two of their regularly scheduled programs each year, turn the time over to the networks, and say in effect: 'This is a tiny tithe, just a little bit of our profits. On this particular night we aren't going to try to sell

cigarettes or automobiles; this is merely a gesture to indicate our belief in the importance of ideas.'....I am not talking about editorializing, but about straightaway exposition as direct, unadorned, and impartial as fallible human beings can make it. Just once in a while let us exalt the importance of ideas and information....This instrument can teach, it can illuminate; yes, and it can even inspire. But it can do so only to the extent that humans are determined to use it to those ends. Otherwise it is merely wires and lights in a box. There is a great and perhaps decisive battle to be fought against ignorance, intolerance, and indifference. This weapon of television could be useful...." (The REPORTER, Nov. 13, 1958, pp. 32-36).

Meanwhile: Public Service Obligations

If time permitted, I would like to say the same kind of thing about the daily newspaper and the motion picture industry. But I think already I have made clear my third and final point: at this juncture of human history, in the light of American political institutions, I believe the mass media in this nation have an obligation--as if enlightened self-interest failed to stress the same crucial point--to offer facts, ideas, and opinions on the two prior points of my remarks: first, on the basic issues of American foreign policy, of which I conceive the most important to be a consideration of practical ways to world peace through world law, and second, meanwhile, until the basic machinery for peace is finally created, how can our relations with peoples all over the globe be basically improved, both in terms of wiser policy goals, and in terms of more efficient implementation.

It has been a pleasure and a privilege to meet with you this noon and to share with you some of the things which seem to me most important to say on the subject of "The 'Y' Today and Our World Tomorrow."

OPERATION SUNSHINE MN 8933
MASTER SCRIPT AS NARRATED JANUARY 1959

Measured to slow.

3 This is the canopy of ice that covers the Arctic Ocean ... the frozen barrier that ~~throughout history has~~ barred shipping from a body of water five times the size of the Mediterranean Sea.

4 Only once ... shortly after the turn of the century, has man reached the North Pole by a surface route.

5 No ship has ever reached the Pole. Even the most powerful ice-breakers are helpless against this frozen barrier.

6 On April 25th, 1958, the NAUTILUS departed her home port of New London, Connecticut ... destination, the Pacific, by way of the Panama Canal.

7 The announced purpose of this cruise was to indoctrinate Pacific Fleet Units in the capabilities of nuclear submarines.

8 Even as NAUTILUS plied the Atlantic waters southward for Panama, the thoughts of the crew occasionally turned to the three probes NAUTILUS had made under the ice pack of the Arctic in 1957 .... for preparations were being made for further under-ice exploration to be conducted the following summer.

9 Technicians were at work on a myriad of electronic equipment ... A special modified version of an inertial navigation system ... originally designed for use in missiles ... had been installed. And the special high-latitude gyro compasses were checked and re-cehcked. Preparations were made for installing a pressure-proof TV Camera for viewing the under side of the Arctic ice.

10 But as the NAUTILUS transited the Panama Canal, her crew also thought of the West Coast ports they were scheduled to visit ...
12 San Diego ... San Francisco ... Seattle ..... and they thought of the long, tedious days of operations they were to conduct initiating the personnel of the Pacific Fleet in the ways of the nuclear Navy.

13 Finally, the West Coast tour was over. On the ninth of June -- shortly after midnight -- the NAUTILUS slipped quietly from her berth in Seattle, presumably starting her homeward voyage south.
13A But the course set by the NAUTILUS actually took her farther and farther NORTH! Unseen, beneath the sea, the NAUTILUS journeyed north to the edge of the Arctic ice pack .. then ... under. The
14 voyage to the North Pole was underway. But this under-ice venture was short-lived. Unexpected ice conditions nearly turned this probe into the Bering and Chuchi Seas into disaster. The NAUTILUS was forced to turn back.

15 Changes in the Navy are commonplace and the men of the Navy are 7
16 accustomed to changes. Therefore, it came as little surprise
17 to hear that the NAUTILUS' Pacific tour was to be prolonged,
to include a visit to Hawaii.

15 On June 28th, the NAUTILUS sailed into Pearl Harbor, site of the
16 Navy's great Pacific Submarine Base.

17 Rear Admiral Grenfell, the Commander of the Submarine Force U.S.
Pacific Fleet, officially welcomed NAUTILUS and her crew to
Hawaii.

18 And the people of the islands opened their arms and their hearts
to this great ship.
19 Nothing was lacking.

20 On the twenty-third of July, NAUTILUS bid Aloha to the Islands of
Hawaii. The Hawaiian interlude was over. Except at high level
conferences, no word of the recently attempted voyage to the Pole
had passed the lips of a single crewmember. Presumably, the return
trip to New London via the Panama Canal had commenced.

21 The crew of the NAUTILUS .. a few high-ranking Navy officials and
civilian scientists, and the President of the United States, knew
22 that the men of the NAUTILUS had still another port to visit before
they were to see their loved ones again. The Port of Call?
Portland, England ... and the shortest sea route from Hawaii to
England is NOT by way of the Panama Canal.

23 All Hands on the NAUTILUS knew their destination ... and the
24 perilous route they were to follow in reaching it. And they remembered their nearly disastrous trip less than two months earlier.

26 This time, however, ice conditions had been thoroughly scouted from the air by the ship's Navigator. Lieutenant JENKS had traveled to Alaska - incognito - and flown over the Arctic expanse many times, gathering vital information. Success was by no means assured, but the probability of success had been greatly increased.

27 Each man had been given the opportunity to leave the ship before she embarked on this journey into the unknown ... not one had availed himself of this opportunity.

29 The two thousand nine hundred mile journey to the narrow Bering Straits, which separate Alaska from Soviet Siberia .. was used to good advantage in poring over the plans for their mission under the ice ... Operation SUNSHINE.

30 Special charts provided by the Hydrographic Office were minutely studied ... all electronic equipment was carefully tuned ... and the revolutionary inertial navigation system and high-latitude compasses received the doting care of a favorite child.

32 Periscope bearings were taken of landmarks on the coast of
33 Alaska ... the ship's position was carefully checked. The NAUTILUS took a last look at the vast expanse of Arctic ice which lay ahead. This is the forboding sight which greeted the NAUTILUS as she began the most important leg of her historic voyage.

34 Then - nothing of the NAUTILUS remained to be seen above the surface of the sea.
35 Silently and cautiously, the NAUTILUS nosed down into the Barrow Sea Valley.

36 Above ... a "continent" of ice covering the Arctic Sea ... a frozen mantle of white that had always proved invincible to man's onslaught from the sea.

37 Below ... the little-charted bottom ... and ahead ... eighteen hundred miles of cold, watery darkness. Outside ... water
38 cold enough to kill a man in a matter of minutes ... but within
39 the cylindrical steel shell that is the hull of the NAUTILUS, the crew relaxes in a controlled atmosphere.

40 Temperature ... a constant 72 degrees ... relative humidity ... forty-six percent.
41 Life was normal ... for the NAUTILUS, everything was routine. Life aboard the NAUTILUS was very comfortable.

42 The nuclear power plant which had driven her over a hundred and twenty thousand miles ... mostly submerged ... also provided heat and electricity.

43 It provided the power which operates the juke box ... and ...
44 the coke machine.

45 It provided the light by which a man can shine his shoes ....
46 or read ... "Twenty Thousand Leagues Under the Sea" ... and
47
48 it provided the light by which a man could write a letter.

49 (VOICE OF WRITER)

By the time you get this, we will have completed our trip under the North Pole. A lot of people will probably make a big fuss over it, but this has really been a pretty easy cruise. It was a little hair-raising when we were trying to find our way under the ice, but the tension's eased up a bit now, and everybody's a little more relaxed.

50 Some of the boys are playing cards .... some are holding rope-yarn
51
51A Sunday ... the cook's hustlin' up some chow... and Ortega's playing
52 the guitar.

53 (NARRATOR)

54 Yes ... everybody was a little more relaxed .. or almost everybody

55 But when you're making twenty knots ... four hundred feet under
56 the Arctic Ice Pack, ... the Navigator can't relax. Always plotting, always checking his instruments. There were no stars to navigate by ... no landmarks to be guided by ... even the depth of the water ahead was unknown ... few soundings existed of the Arctic Ocean, and most of these inaccurate.

57 On the second day under the ice, the NAUTILUS' routine was abruptly broken ... soundings indicated the ocean bottom was coming up rapidly to meet the ship. Speed was reduced ... and further reduced. The depth of water continued to decrease. Anxiously the ship crept forward. Was this to be the end of the journey?.... Was the NAUTILUS to be again frustrated in her attempt to gain the Pole? Then ... fortune smiled on NAUTILUS ... the soundings showed the bottom was leveling off ... and ... finally, deep water again! NAUTILUS had crossed an uncharted underwater mountain range, and added another significant piece of information to the world's scant knowledge of the Arctic Ocean.

58 NAUTILUS had the latest and best navigation equipment ... but the best equipment in the world is only as good as the men who operate it ... and the men of the NAUTILUS <u>are</u> good.

59 The objective of the NAUTILUS ... and every man aboard ... was not to attain the North Pole ... and <u>get through</u> to the Atlantic!

60 Even before reaching the Pole, the NAUTILUS had again proven the value of nuclear power in submarines. As the sure hands of her crew guided her northward, the feeling of confidence in this ship was evident. There was no need to surface to revitalize the air ... carbon dioxide scrubbers and carbon monoxide burners purged the ship's air of unwanted gases, and fresh oxygen was periodically added to the atmosphere. There was no need to snorkel to recharge batteries ... nuclear power had made NAUTILUS virtually independent of the earth's atmosphere.

61 But confidence did not give way to complacency ... the plotting
62
62 continued. The listening continued ... the looking continued ...
64 and as the NAUTILUS got nearer and nearer the top of the world, quiet excitement began to mount ... until that report!
65 (VOICE:)
Distance to the Pole one thousand yards!

66 The NAUTILUS' Captain -- COMMANDER WILLIAM R. ANDERSON -- stepped to the microphone in the Control Room.

(USE RECORDING OF ACTUAL VOICE)

69 There was quiet jubilation ... but more significant, there was the sense of fulfillment ... the feeling of satisfaction that every pioneer must feel in reaching his goal.

70-71 SILENT

72 The Greenland Sea ... thirty-six hours after the historic Polar Crossing ... the NAUTILUS surfaced. The voyage from Pacific to Atlantic via the North Pole was now a matter of record ..... NAUTILUS had made history.

73 The men of the NAUTILUS had blazed a trail under the Arctic Pack which reduced the distance from the Orient to Europe by almost half ... a feat which seems destined to have enormous impact on future sea commerce.

74 On her return to New York from England, NAUTILUS received a
75 hero's welcome from a grateful American people ... and from their families. COMMANDER ANDERSON was awarded the Legion of Merit ... and ... the entire crew was awarded the Presidential Unit Citation ... the first such award ever made in time of peace.

76 Rear Admiral Hyman C. Rickover ... renowned as the Father of the Nuclear Submarine ... was on hand to welcome the NAUTILUS as the personal representative of the President of the United States.

77 The citizens of New York raised their voices in congratulations ... and their voices echoed throughout the world.

THE END

England.

A PROPOSAL FOR A SERVICE

TO BE KNOWN AS:

THE NEW YORK TELEPHONE COMPANY NEWS SERVICE

Presented by:

Richard S. Robinson
3 Minetta Lane
New York, New York

I. Nature of Proposal:

The proposed service would make available to any telephone subscriber or pay telephone user a brief summary of latest top news developments in much the same way as the New York Telephone Company presently provides Time and Weather services.

The specific telephone number suggested for the proposed service is TO 7-6307. This number spells out TOP NEWS.

The length of time for each complete news report is recommended to be set at three minutes, with the possibility of expanding or shortening this time period as events and experience warrant.

News would be provided chiefly by tape recording as described below.

The proposed service would be used by persons wishing a summary of late news developments without being forced to wait for, or rely on, the service provided at set periods by radio or television. It should prove particularly popular when important news stories are just developing.

The service would be especially useful in providing local news reports of special interest to residents of the New York Metropolitan area, e.g., the recent bus strike, where the proposed service would have provided detailed information on alternate transportation, etc.

The service would provide a useful supplement in those homes where television, with its more limited coverage of the news, has supplanted the radio.

The proposed service would make an extremely useful supplementary method for disseminating Civil Defense information in the event of war.

II. Mechanical Aspects:

For initial experimental purposes, it would be adequate to employ only a single news service, preferably the Associated Press radio wire. The United Press and the International News Service are also available.

As to personnel, a recommended starting minimum of one editor-writer, one announcer and one tape engineer would be required for each eight-hour shift.

An Executive News Editor also would be required.

As to equipment, a minimum of two tape recorders and suitable equipment for wire transmission would be needed.

III. Method of Preparing News Reports:

Starting at any hour, arbitrarily chosen, TOP NEWS would present a three-minute news summary, selected by the editor-writer on duty and tape recorded by the announcer.

This presentation would be transmitted to subscribers by endless tape on Machine #1.

Upon a change in the news, the editor-writer on duty would edit the script of the tape then on the wires; or would prepare a new script as circumstances warranted.

On completion of the three-minute presentation then running (or, immediately, if the new development was of extreme importance) the tape engineer would stop Machine #1 and switch simultaneously to a live microphone. He would also switch on Tape Machine #2. The announcer would then

read the news script, his voice going directly to the subscriber and being recorded simultaneously on the blank, endless tape previously set up on Machine #2. Machine #2 would then continue automatically to repeat the revised presentation until a further change in the news called for a new script and a new recording.

Should there be no significant change in the news during a period of one hour, a revised presentation would be substituted for the sake of freshness.

IV. Possibilities of Expansion:

TOP NEWS might also offer a special service to businessmen and others by making available at a monthly fee a small amplifier for desk use. This amplifier would be permanently connected with the TOP NEWS exchange but would be brought into use only at the subscriber's inclination, through the use of an OFF-ON switch. It is recommended that the amplifier be equipped with a small panel light, to be flashed from the TOP NEWS exchange in the event of any important news break, thus providing subscribers with an added service, not available to other users.

This would be a further inducement for building up such a branch of TOP NEWS.

The actual news provided to telephone or amplifier users would be, of course, the same.

V. Improvement of Service:

Granting that TOP NEWS finds wide acceptability, it might be found

advisable to expand news coverage through the leasing of broader news facilities simlar to those used by major radio newsrooms. These facilities include Main Wire service from all the major news agencies. News presentations could then be written specially from these wires by an expanded staff, as is done in the radio networks, to provide top coverage.

VI. Commercial Exploitation:

While it is my impression that TOP NEWS would be profitable simply on the basis of calls placed, the New York Telephone Company might wish to sell sponsorship of this service. Commercial copy would, of course, have to be kept to a minimum in keeping with the brevity of the news presentation itself.

I do hereby attest that the above is, to the best of my knowledge, an original idea, conceived by me on February 5, 1953.

Richard S. Robinson

TO.....

FROM.....

From Jack Beck

Ed Murrow

Fred Friendly

Here is an outline of how I think we might proceed to do a program on deep space:

Section I:

A brief history of man's changing view of the Universe. In this section we would review the theories of the Universe from the time of Aristarchus through Ptolemy, Copernicus, Keppler, Gallileo and Newton. This can be done with some interesting animation and with the small planetarium which I sent you a brochure.

Section II:

Would comprise an exposition of the present state of man's knowledge about the Universe as gathered principally from the 100-inch and 200-inch telescopes. This section would include a description of the means employed to gather knowledge about space; how the giant scope works; still pictures taken with these scopes would be intercut with an interview in front of a tenth scale working model of the Palomar scope which is mounted on the roof of Cal Tech, plus shots of the Palomar scope itself in operation.

Sections I and II could be done most effectively, in my view, in the form of talks between Ed and astronomer, Fred Hoyle. If you can take a moment to look into Hoyle's "Nature Of the Universe" you can get an impression of the facility he has for projecting staggering ideas into amazingly simple language. The book, written ten years ago, still is the best direct exposition on the subject I've encountered. Although Hoyle is a member of the faculty at Cambridge, he currently is a visiting professor at Cal-Tech. I think he and Ed would work together quite effectively.

Section III:

Would deal with man's present preparations to explore the solar system -- would briefly outline what NASA has in mind for the next ten years. This would be expounded with reference to what we have just learned from Hoyle about the nature of the Universe (and, possibly, what Dr. Bowen has told us about the limits of the 200 inch scope). This section would be done with three people. Dr. Pickering could tell us the general plans for exploration of the solar system. Dr. Albert Hibbs could tell us about the present construction of Project Ranger (on which we already have footage) which is to circle, then land on the moon. We also would get footage on Atlas-Agena which is to be the

Ranger booster; and on Centaur, which Convair is building for Projects Prospector and Surveyor (moon landings).

In this section also, I propose that we have Harrison Brown outline for us the NASA project on which he is working--purpose: to determine the nature of the moon's surface so as to guide those who are building the gear for the landing. Brown's portion would lean largely on pictures taken of the moon's surface by the 100-inch and 200-inch scopes.

We might also put back-to-back interviews with Brown and with Dr. Harold Urey on the current theories of the moon's origins. Urey's theories differ from those commonly held. He has visual charts to illustrate his theory.

Finally, Section IV:

It's my notion that in this section we would explore the possibilities of life existing elsewhere in the Universe. We would talk to Josh Lederburg, who is doing studies on the possibility of extra-terrestial life. He is a Noble laureate at Stanford. We should also talk with Hibbs and possibly Dick Davies on this subject. Davies is preparing studies for JPL and NASA on the possibility of extra-terrestial life. And Hibbs has some rather interesting notions on how we should approach communication with any other life forms which may co-exist with us in the Universe.

This section would also explain the role of radio telescopes in the monitoring of outer space radio signals which is now in progress in an effort to determine whether there are intelligent signals being sent through the Universe from planets in other solar systems. The largest such dish is being built now at Areicbo in Puerto Rico and will dwarf the Jodrell Bank scope. It is being constructed by ARPA.

SECTION V:

I think would be the sum-up. In this we might explore briefly the impact of knowledge gained from space on earth-bound society; the fate of those promulgators of new information in the past. And we probably could do worse than to quote the report turned in this week by the Brookings Institution to NASA on this very matter. The report said, among other things, that we should begin figuring out how to meet the psychological impact of a discovery that intelligent beings live on other planets. It goes on to say that such a discovery, which it thinks can happen any time in the next 20 years, "could bring profound changes or even collpase of civilization on earth."

JB

The people I propose we should talk to then include:

Fred Hoyle - Cambridge, Cal-Tech
Ira Bowen - Palomar
Wm H. Pickering - JPL
Harrison Brown - Cal Tech
Harold Urey - Univ. Cal.
Albert Hibbs - JPL
Richard Davies - JPL
Josh Lederburg - Stanford

These talks would be wedded to visual material in somewhat the same fashion that we used the LUMPH tank and Stan Burris for Polaris.

Jessie - Port Wash - 7-0954 -

Thomas - Amory - 4-0425 - Patterson -

~~T.R. JK~~ Early Past
ERM Tape Readings done by Mr M.

VOICE OF AMERICA RECORDING: (TONIGHT AFTER 7:45).

This is Edward R. Murrow repeating for this broadcast, a portion of my commentary of December 8, 1953, on the Columbia Broadcasting System.

"The President said that a single air group, afloat or land-based, now can deliver a destructive cargo exceeding in power, all the bombs that fell on Britain in World War Two. Atomic bombs today are more than twenty-five times as powerful as the weapons with which the atomic age dawned. Hydrogen weapons are in the range of millions of tons of TNT equivalent. The President said, that the stockpile of atomic weapons exceeds by many times, the explosive equivalent of all bombs and all shells that came from every plane, and every gun, in every theater of the war, through the whole of World War Two.

These horrifying facts are really beyond grasp. But the Eisenhower plan is not beyond grasp. It is to make atomic energy the servant, not the master of men. And that idea is sure to have the attention of the world tomorrow.

Tape Reding done by ERM

GOC

G.O.C. RECORDING TO BE TAPED AFTER 7.45 TONIGHT, FRIDAY.

This is Ed Murrow. We're listening to a civilian volunteer aircraft-spotter of the Ground Observer Corps, make a routine report to an Air Defense Filter Center; routine only in the sense that it's typical of the thousands of skywatch reports made in every 24-hour day. This particular report was made at Four O'Clock in the morning on the coast of New England. The temperature was a little above zero, and a bitter-cold Atlantic wind added misery to a lonely job. These unusual citizens in the unpaid civilian Ground Observer Corps, have kept an around-the-clock skywatch surveillance over our country for the past five years. Their eyes and ears are the only backup we have for our radar and electronic warning systems. As long as potential enemy bombers pose a threat to our country, we'll need these human eyes and ears of the G.O.C. Skywatcher.

I would begin by apologizing for this intrusion on your holiday weekend. But the course of international affairs has never confined itself to the convenience of work days or office hours. And our job must comply with such happenstance.

I speak to you about man and machine: tractors for Castro in exchange for men for the United States. There has been in recent days a mounting criticism of this Administration for endorsing the movement to raise money to buy those tractors. If censure there be in this transaction, surely it is due the other side. It is they who demand machines; it is we who want the lives of men.

I have to report to you this morning some extraordinary intelligence that this Agency has discovered: in Latin America there is a virtual unanimity of revulsion against Castro, and an equally strong eruption of support for the United States.

There is a groundswell of disgust welling up all over the lands to our south. I have here a list of those countries. From both conservative and liberal newspapers, from government figures, from committees and voluntary groups springing up to raise tractor money, the cry is the same: Castro is being denounced, debased, and disgraced for his crass commercialism in bartering men for machines. On behalf

of the Cuban who betrayed his revolution, not even the most leftist of commentators has raised a voice in defense. From all appearances the reaction AGAINST Castro has been deep and it has been heartfelt.

This has been accompanied by a wave of feeling IN FAVOR OF the United States. The world regards this land as spawned in an outburst of humanitarianism; it is making itself evident today. It is a measure of our place in the ranks of free men that Castro made this offer to us; he could not help but know that this land in freedom would respond to a challenge of human dignity as few others could or would. He has taunted us with placing more value on men than on machines. It is a taunt to which I gladly plead guilty. He is welcome to his taunt, because it is true. A man to us is more valuable than a machine. If our land were different, it would no longer be our land. We will gladly consign him his steel in return for flesh. And it is this for which our neighbors to the south extol us.

And it is this which raises a strange question in their minds about the controversy rising in this country. They ask, if Castro speaks from guile, and we from humanity, what is there to argue about? He has made his mistake, they say; now capitalize on it. Critics of the action--and it is noteable that critics have not appeared abroad--charge blackmail. They argue we should not soil our hands by dealing

with the blackmailer. Let us be frank. It is indeed blackmail. Blackmail by any other name would smell as putrid. But censure of the act should run to the blackmailer, not to the victim. As Dr. Milton Eisenhower observed, a mother paying ransome to regain the life of a child is not denounced because she deals with a blackmailer. The calumny is on the head of the man perpetrating the wrong, not on the wronged.

I do not attempt to deprecate the arguments of those who oppose our course of action. But I would suggest they observe the following before their decision is made:

(a) The extraordinary wave of support of the American position has been as overwhelming as it has been universal.

(b) The denunciation of Castro in Latin America is increasing daily.

(c) From the time Castro made his announcement week before last until this past Thursday, the Communist bloc ignored Castro's fiasco. Their radios were mute, their press silent. The Communists play this game too well to miss any bet. And this particular game was a poor bet for them to back. One can only assume from their embarrassed silence that Castro's act was indefensible and one for which the Communist cause would pay dearly all over Latin America.

Humanity weighs heavy in these scales. Even with that aside, if we were only to weigh this in the scales of propaganda, we would find a near disaster for Castro and a mounting triumph for the United States. The game we play has for stakes the minds and hearts of men. We hold high cards today; to throw out those cards gratuitously would damage the hand we hold. To the country I suggest two things:

First, they weigh heavily the considerable advantages this episode has given us, and second, in a free land populated with free people, revolution has been our birthright and human dignity our byword. To abandon to their fate 12 hundred men who fought for freedom that could have been saved would be contrary to the very traditions and principles which we now struggle to defend.

I commend these thoughts to the good sense of the Ame rican people.

Tractors for men has not been a happy episode for Mr. Castro. What began as bluster has ended as blunder. Let us not return his blunder to him.

Not broadcast

Murrow, E. R.
Personal

1

During the past week there have been a considerable number of stories coming out of Tokio and Korea indicating what our commanders out there will tell General Eisenhower when he gets there...They add up to the reccomendation that we should increase military pressure..attempt to reach a military decision since there doesnt seem to be much hope of an armistice...This represents the traditiona traditional approach of military men...if you are going to fight a war than fight it to win...But in this case there are unusual and unprecedented complications... This is a united nations effort,even though we are supplying ninety percent of the money,and next to the south Koreans most of the men...Our allies arent going to approve a major offensive...If it should be undertaken here are some of the factors that would operate...both sides are well dug in,and wired in,the war comes more and more to repemble the trench warfare of world war one..It is the opinion of experts ~~xxxx~~ here that a major offensive would cost us casualties ..descriebed as enormous...even if it were accompanied,as it would have to be by another,end run amphibious landing like Inchon...For that our Naval and marine forces would have to be increased...and the development of the necessary power would mean withdrawing certain elements from western Europe... If we were to be sucessfull in pushing Northward,our forces would then come within range of enemy aircraft based north of the Yalu,if our ground forces began suffering

casualties from the air,it would become necessary to neutralise those bases.. and then the question would arise as to whether the treaty between China and Russia would come into effect,and if it did,we would have the beginning of the th third world war,for Russia would be in....There is no doubt that great hope has been aroused that General Eisenhower will go to Korea and somehow find a way to end the war...although he was carefull to say that he had no magic formula... If there be no dramatic or decisive result of his visit there will be considerable disappointment and a mounting sense of frustration...But the informed opinion ..perhaps as informed as General Eisenhower will be after his visit..holds that the alternatives in Korea are substantially what they were at the time of General MacArthurs dismissal,we can get out....we can try for a military decision with reluctant allies and the danger of a world war..or we can continue our present policy...It is both unreasonable and unfair to expect that the president elect,can alter dramatically and suddenly the military,political and geograhic facts of the Korean war..

Murrow, E. R.

Sunday..Twenty one....

Seattle Last week along west coast from La to canadian border..a part of the country where things grow well in theopen air and to an enormous size... Six hours by air from NY..factories compared with Europe..waste more food.. than most people eat..Cars ainsted of bycycles...same concern about future same seriousness as rest of the country..Not concentrating on Pacific war... SERvice stars in windows..camps + shipyards—
Amt of news from Europe...Tenor of discussion about race relations and danger of two kinds of citizenship...
what happens to Japs who are citizens...concern about Britain and Russia... sometimes have feeling that this comfortable criticism of allies is method of avoiding serious problems closer home Anti Semitism—
Lack of belief in words...what removed the deepseated fear of that Russia would sit back and let us do the fighting..not a speech by stalin t but the red armies rolling back across the rich black soil of Poland .....Concern ab about lack of agreement..quote edens understatement....Ploand with two govts...and why..twenty minutes..the price of delay over difficult decisions..the assumption that unity on political matters will be easier to achieve than after the war..why this grand alliance was formed...german rearmament..abbysinia...Manchuria..difficult and therefore delayed... Remember the Moscow conference of sec of state...the creation of the EAC was great achievement..and what has it achieved...what about two pole govts and two armies...poss. of civil war...Russian policy re news..warsaw and Bucharest...fallacy of believing that three or four men can sit down round a table and settle the world..they can chart the general direction and thats all....XXXXX Criticism...why it has come from Britain... the urgency as viewed from there..the fatigue...uncertainty...what should be the aims of foreign policy..protection of the long range interests of this country..not charity...to prevent our being isolated...think what would have happened..we didnt invade Europe from here..we did it from Britain..cant afford to run that risk again...fallacy of fearing that we

will be outsmarted....years spent in coming this far..to the west.. habits of thinking are not easily changed...Nonsensical fear that Britain will run our affairs..if they do it will bebecause we throw aside our opportunity size and strength are not enough..look at greece.. Poland and Italy may appear difficult but t hat is only the beginning...Germany will be the real problem...Rumour that Hopkins is going to London...hope its true....

Lucy Jones

F.D.R.

Military side...

Russian drive and compare with France...spring will become expanded... warsaw retaken..first capitol for which hitler had to fight..the threat of east Prussia...importance of insterburg gap..over graves of ill eqipped russians who perished round tannenburg and masurian lakes during last war.. Phillippines..dont over estimate damage done by super forts.....

ed

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PROMOTION RECORDING

I want to talk for a few minutes about the thing which interests me most -- radio news. It seems to me more important now than it was during the war. In those days when Columbia's correspondents abroad were reporting the ebb and flow of battle, trying to describe what it was like when the red hot rake of war passed over a country, we all believed that we were doing a job of considerable importance - trying to narrow the distance between those at home and those who were fighting. More than occasionally we shared the dangers and hardships of fighting men and no praise was so welcome as that which came from the men whose deeds we were reporting. But I have no desire to reminisce about Columbia's wartime coverage. That is finished and done and you will long ago have judged us on the basis of what came out of the loud speaker. When some of us are old and tired, we may want to talk about the broadcasts that almost came off or about the times when we would have made war walk right into your living room if only the recording gear had not broken down. But right now there is no time for that and there is no disposition on the part of any of us to relax and to say we did a pretty fair job during the war - the news is less exciting now so we will just drift along and congratulate each other on the broadcasts we have done in the past.

I remember saying from London on D-Day that our whole European staff regarded the reporting of the war as something more than just a way of making a living. That is still true. I am convinced that radio reporters are faced with a job that is a lot tougher now than it was during the war. It may not be as exciting. There isn't the attraction of danger and the fascination of constant movement, but the need for

integrity, plain talk and digging beneath the surface is as great now as ever it was. The need to separate ascertainable fact from personal opinion was never greater. The clear and so-far-as-humanly possible objective analysis of complex social and economic problems was never more urgent. For my own part, I refuse to believe that any radio reporter said anything that influenced the course of the war, but I do believe that a team of experienced, conscientious correspondents can do a great deal to illuminate the issues that confront us in the creation of a lasting peace. This postwar reporting must present both national and international issues clearly, simply and concisely, and without distortion or special pleading. That is what we are trying to do.

There were those who maintained that with the end of the war people just wouldn't listen to news programs and that news would no longer be really important in the program schedule. Well, that hasn't happened and there is no indication that it is going to happen. All the research goes to prove that news has held its own. One recent study shows that the average listening to most important news programs is higher than it was a year ago. Another study reveals that 65% of the nighttime news programs on the air in December, 1945, had ratings as high or higher than they had in December of 1944. One of our Columbia surveys proves that 61% of the people want no fewer broadcasts than they now have.

Here at Columbia we have elected to continue our foreign news staff on practically its wartime basis. Our men in London, Paris, Berlin, Moscow, Tokyo and all the other originating points, are experienced reporters. They know the language and they know the complex and often confusing political, social and economic background of the moves that make international news every day. With the peace-time improvements in transmission we should, before long, be able to count on more reliable and more listenable signals from foreign points. But don't think we are

concentrating on foreign reporting and neglecting the domestic scene. Our Washington news staff has been increased and is now under the direction of Eric Sevareid, with wartime reporting extended literally all around the world.

Bill Downs is back from the wars and is now our wandering reporter in this country.

Charles Collingwood is in New York covering the United Nations and doing the Saturday night news show at 6:45.

Bob Trout, backed by our whole organization, has taken over the 6:45 period Mondays thru Fridays, and the rest of the New York staff writers and reporters certainly do not give me the impression that they are suffering from any war weariness.

Our Short Wave Listening Post is still functioning and we continue to listen regularly to what the rest of the world is saying.

We have developed three cooperative news programs - our Morning News Roundup, the Morning News with Harry Clark, and News and News Analysis at 11 PM EST. These programs are designed to include all of the latest news, including direct foreign pickups and ananalysis of the most important news development of the day.

In our whole news operation, we are going to continue to report the news as fairly and as fully as we can. We shall not sacrifice accuracy for speed and we shall not engage in exaggerated or lurid writing. Our aim is to inform and not entertain. We are fully aware that the complexities of the issues now confronting this country and the world present a challenge to all news broadcasters. We are confident we can meet it and continue to merit the trust and confidence of our listeners.

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DISASTER ON MAIN STREET

(38) Main Street, U.S.A. has answered the call of war three times within the memory of a single generation. Each time the nature of warfare itself has gone through revolutionary changes.

(53) Before 1914, wars were primarily a matter for the fighting armies.

(77) Now the civilian has become as much a part of National defense as the armed services. Today, the productive strength of a nation is the key to its ability to wage a victorious war.

(93) In World War I, the airplane became a military weapon adding a new dimension to warfare. And, as the engineers solved the riddles of aerodynamics and mass production, the airplane could carry the war to the enemy's homeland -- to his cities -- his factories -- and to the new warrior of the industrial age, the civilian.

(129) The air war developed giant bombers designed for a specific role -- to destroy the industrial resources of a nation. The bomb loads continually increased -- then came the atom bomb.

(168) In 1935 the British Home Secretary warned: "It is necessary to create civilian organizations to minimize the consequences of air attack. It would not be possible to improvise effective measures on the spur of the moment ... preparation must be made in time of peace." That warning was not an idle one. In September, 1940, the German Luftwaffe began the air battle for Britain. Disaster had really hit Main Street, Great Britain.

(228) During the Blitz, busiest of the homefront defenders was the Civil Defense Fire Guard. In the first twenty-two days of the London raids they fought nearly ten thousand fires. This fire guard, just one of the Civil Defense services, became the largest part-time army ever recruited in Britain. It had a membership of over five million men and women.

(274) In Britain's darkest hours, homefront morale was kept high by help of this kind and food and clothing provided by all the organized Civil Defense Services.

(296) The courage and high morale of the British in those days caused Mr. Churchill to say "Hitler knows that he will have to break us in this island or lose the war."

The civil and the air defense of Britain during the Blitz saved the free world --- in England's finest hour.

(329) By "blood, sweat and tears" the battle of Britain had been won. And now it was the turn of the R.A.F. bombers, joined by the United States Air Force, to carry the air war to Germany's cities and its people.

(353) Now it was the turn of the German civilians to race for shelter as the Allied planes began pouring destruction on Main Street, Germany. One million, two hundred thousand tons of high explosives and fire bombs were dropped on Germany.

(390) Cities like Frankfort, Hamburg and Berlin were gutted by fire because of inadequate water supply and the failure of the Civil Defense block groups to act in unison against incendiary attacks. The German evacuation system broke down under the unforeseen impact of sixteen million people on the move.

(427) But after its early failures, German Civil Defense began showing better results. Despite incessant allied bombings, the production rate of Germany's industries doubled.

But it had been an expensive lesson. Five hundred thousand people had been killed -- seven hundred and eighty thousand wounded -- seven and a half million civilians made homeless -- twenty million people deprived of electricity, gas, water, sanitation. No one was left untouched by suffering or hardship.

(486) This is Main Street - Berlin.

(530) None can escape the punishment of total war -- not the women, or the aged, or the children -- but preparedness can cut the toll in half.

(557) Japan, too, was among the first countires to recognize that Civil Defense went hand in hand with the air age. As early as 1928, drills like these were held -- but seventeen years passed before the first mass air raid on Main Street, Tokyo. Its death toll -- 80,000. Apathy and indifference had wrecked the Civil Defense Program.

(592) Nagasaki's industry and harbors made it a "fortified" zone. Then on August 9, 1945, an atom bomb mushroomed over Nagasaki.

(644) The terrible result is history. Thirty-five to forty thousand dead -- another forty thousand injured. And what of civil defense? -- There wasn't any.

Only 400 people were in air raid shelters that could have accomodated sixty-five thousand. Years of military victories had dulled the minds of the Japanese people to the need for civil defense.

(688) We in America today are in the same danger of having our minds dulled by past military victories far from our shores.

Disaster can strike! -- as it did here in Texas City. Enemy bombs didn't cause this disaster -- yet there were 700 dead and 2500 injured. We met this disaster by calling on all our nationally available resources public and private, State and Federal. But could your Main Street cope with a death toll of fifty thousand and another hundred injured? One atom bomb could make this and much more happen in a few seconds -- in New York, Detroit, New Haven, big cities, little cities -- your city.

This is peacetime America. These are our cities, our homes. This is our Main Street. The future of this Main Street, and the Main Streets throughout America -- the safety of our children, our family, our friends, depends on <u>you</u>, and what you do <u>now</u> to help make their future secure, through a strong, alert Civil Defense.

~~OurzStrength~~xzx

The Foundation of our strength and amazing vitality is not in material things,but,rather,in the spirit of this nation,in the faiths we cherish .. When our faith in each other,in reason,in our unending pursuit of new knowledg .. in God,are no longer strong within us,we are weak and we are lost..no matter how heavily armed with weapons,even atomic weapons,we may be...

Atomic Energy - Where do we stand today?

WEST POINT. mopping up Tri to Buchema

What are we defending....
What is the threat..not just military...half wold operate on basis of when do we eat...
Problem of dealing with allies...Mc Cloys ref cruisers and Legions..what do we take abroad besides guns...
The great revolution since you came out of eigth grade...scope,reason, no other nation ever did it...cant buy allies...

The shifting role of the military man...list of ambassadors ,officials...
The story of General Dean....
What I have learned from covering few wars...without result...
What I learned from experience in Britain...

What must we look forward to....tradition of easy quick solutions....
Klausivitz counseled recognise your enemies..equally imp.to rec. friends and cherish them....

End with B26 story of age....

How to deal with war correspondents and press in general...
Civilian controll and what it will mean for you...scar tissue...frustration...
Future more in your handa than ever before...relations with reserves and civilians...west point protective society....
Foreign garrisons and whats wrong with them...
Learn languages,including how to use your own and then use it appropriately...
Lucky,nations have lived and died without being the pivot of history...
Not enough to say a tired soldier is a good soldier...
You are the military elite and must not let it show....
There is a place for the non conformist in the military establishment... but do not court defeat on secondary issues...Billy Mitchell,Patton, Lawrence
Most important story since the war..oct fifty two...how they purpose to encompass our destruction....
One world or none...no world if necessary...not sure humans wont use it...

ADVT .CLUB.....

Gratitude.....Advt man must have coined favourite description of Commentator..
Difficulty of live audience.....may agree with my announcer...wasnt so good...
Toastmasterxxxx may agree with English toastmaster....
Sought advice how to respond.....Food and words...cant enjoy first and cant get enough of seconds.....
Personally never merchandised anything but an occasional fact when could sort it out...and even then realise we may xxx think we are thinking when merely re arranging our prejudices...
FOOD.....Siwashing trip.....London Blitz.....Fruit Cake Korea....

Words....George Bernard Shaw...if mind becomes predictable.....

HG Wells.....on getting priorities straight....
Napier...certainly one of finest sentences in English language...
A COMPLETE sentence attributed to Churchill...barbarism into d4cad nce...
The Prophetic Sentence....Off Kamchatka...
The simple declarative use of words....Hopkins in London....
Economy of words in bbattle....Jock Abercrombie over Berlin..coned persistent.
Caption for a cartoon...Punch oct of forty...
Confusion as to terms....Pohang,cut off....
Use of words on Radio and television....

A final group of words ...perhaps still appropriate in these days when we fear..with reason the agressive power of totalitarian communism....
Words are these..... Spoken by Hitler before he came to power in thirty three..... So far as this country is concerned he was wrong...for freedom,justice due processn human dignity and the right of dissent will abide in this country or nowhere on this minor planet....

Murrow, E R.

EDWARD R. MURROW: BBC. AMERICAN COMMENTARY: JULY 31, 1947.

These are the dog days over here. Across most of the continent it is hot. August is the month for holidays - a time when we Americans think even less than usual about our own national affairs and the state of the world in wh ich we live. I would like to be able to tell you that the grave and urgent warnings of economic collapse in Europe have been appreciated and understood by the people and the leaders of this country. But it just wouldn't be true. It isn't that we are indifferent - most of us fail to understand. It is, I think, the old story of not being able to substitute intelligence for experience. The gravity of the situation is not readily apparent to the majority of our people. It would be unreasonable to expect those who were warm and comfortable last winter to view with foreboding the onset of another winter. It is possible, as one newspaper writer said last week, that our foreign policy has been "too little, too late and too loud". But it is difficult to see how it could have been otherwise because our foreign policy, like yours, is determined by our traditions, our geography and what we regard as our self-interests. Moreover, the limits of American foreign policy are really determined by what happens on the home front. And for that reason I would like to talk about domestic affairs.

It's amusing to juggle hemispheres and talk about possible new constellations of power, but what we can do abroad depends to a very large extent upon what we do at home. Right now, well over a year before the event, we are preparing to elect a President. We can anticipate that mild form of mass hysteria that overtakes the country every four years. The 80th Congress, dominated by the Republican Party, has gone home. The Members will be studying conditions in their own constituencies, repairing their political fences - all with an eye to the elections in 1948. The record of this Congress was good or bad depending upon the political affiliations of the person who viewed the results. It eliminated most of the remaining wartime controls; it approved the

so-called Truman Doctrine; failed to reduce taxes;and passed a Bill which eliminated many of the gains made by organised labor during the last twelve years. It merged the armed forces, at least on paper; and it failed to make this country a refuge for Displaced Persons. The entire Session was marked by continuing conflict between President Truman and the Congress. It was remarkable for another thing, too. The vote on almost every issue cut across Party lines, and there was a noticeable lack of Party discipline. In general it would be safe to say that it was the Conservatives against the Liberals - a situation which often found Southern Democrats voting with Northern Republicans. The whole area of political controversy shifted to the Right. The Conservatives became slightly more conservative, and the Liberals - the former followers of Mr. Roosevelt - also became somewhat more conservative. I think that the basis, or rather the area of political controversy has been shifting before our eyes. It is true that Mr. H enry Wallace attracted huge crowds on his Western speaking tour. And it is also true that his threat of a third party will influence the strategy of the Democratic Party. But the fact remains that the political pendulum has swung to the Right, and it has carried both Parties with it. This has happened as a result of the desire to eliminate wartime controls, and because of a desire to return to what we choose to call free enterprise. The fact that most of the rest of the world has moved in the direction of Socialism has only accelerated our trend to the Right. There exists in this country a considerable body of opinion wholly unable or unwilling to distinguish between Socialism and Communism.

It is much too early to discuss the prospects of the various Republican leaders who hope to secure their Party's nomination in 1948. But it might be useful to talk about the Democratic candidate who is certain to be Mr. Truman. He didn't want the job, and he makes no secret of the fact that he derives no particular personal satisfaction from it. He often says to visitors: "If you don't think this is a tough job you ought to try it sometime". There are plenty of Republicans willing to try it, but as I say it is much too early to assess their chances. Mr. Truman comes from the State of Missouri. The people out there are a little like those in Yorkshire - it isn't enough to

tell them they want to be shown. No one would suggest that Mr. Truman is more than lifesize. He, like Mr. Attlee, would not stand out in a crowd. No Savile Row tailor would approve the President's suits - they're too tight. He is no orator and his prose style is clear but undistinguished. He is no phrase-maker, and his broadcasting style - an important political qualification in a country of this size - lacks the power, warmth and persuasiveness of his predecessor. It took Mr. Truman some time to get used to being President. He is still irked by the elaborate security measures, and by the fact that his life is much exposed to the public gaze. He was a popular Senator and still retains much of his influence with many of his former colleagues. In the early months of his administration he gave the impression of trying to follow as closely as possible the policies laid down by Mr. Roosevelt. But during the past year he seems to have gained assurance and a considerable degree of independence. He has no intimate personal advisor who has the same stature and influence as did H arry Hopkins in Mr. Roosevelt's administration. At his press conferences Mr. Truman is quick and sure on domestic political affairs, but appears to be less certain of his ground when it comes to matters dealing with foreign policy. There was a time when his answers to questions seemed casual and ill-considered if not indiscreet. But he is now more cautious and gives the appearance of being better briefed.

During this last session of Congress the President's foreign policy enjoyed a remarkable degree of support from the Republican side of Congress. This was due in no small degree to the efforts of a Republican senator, Vandenberg of Michigan. Again, it is too early to predict what part foreign policy will play in the 1948 campaign, but most observers over here will be surprised if it does not become one of the major issues.

President Truman's relations with Congress in the realm of domestic affairs were far from happy. He vetoed the Taft-Hartley Labor Bill, and it was subsequently passed over his veto. This action is likely to win for him a considerable measure of labor support that will be useful in 1948. Congress

passed a Bill reducing the income tax, and the President vetoed that, too. That was an act of considerable political courage, because it is bound to be one of the major issues in the election. I would guess that our election next year, aside from the impact of personalities, will revolve around taxes, government spending, labor legislation and foreign trade. In the field of foreign affairs the focal point of the argument will be how and to what extent United States economic strength shall be employed. There is not likely to be any serious disagreement between the Parties about the policy of continuing to build road blocks against Russian expansion. Indeed, there are those who feel that there is some danger of the two Parties vying with each other in the making of promises in this area to the end that international tensions may be further increased. Whatever the issues may be in 1948, it looks like Truman against the field, and it doesn't seem likely that his opponent - whoever he is - will be better informed or more sophisticated in the field of international affairs.

It would really be wasting your time to talk at length about the possible Republican candidates, there are too many of them. Many of the political pundits favour Governor Dewey, who was beaten by Mr. Roosevelt in 1944. Mr. Dewey is now out in the Middle West, presumably talking politics and the weather to Republican leaders. In any event, he is carefully avoiding doing any talking about the great issues that confront this country and the world. Then there is Senator Taft, leader of the Republicans in the Senate; but there are two other Republican senators who might also be persuaded - Senator Bricker of Ohio and Vandenberg of Michigan. Harold Stassen, former governor of Minnesota, has come right out in the open and said he'd like to be President, while friends of Governor Warren of California, who was elected by both the Republicans and Democrats, thinks he would make a very fine candidate. Then of course we have two Generals, MacArthur who says he doesn't want to be President but whose friends say he might be "drafted"; and General Ike Eisenhower, who is going to become President of Columbia University next year. General Eisenhower would certainly

make a powerful candidate, but nobody seems to know whether he is a Republican or a Democrat. It's all rather confusing.

This business of understanding what goes on in the other person's country is not very easy. For example, a certain section of press and radio over here has been telling us that a Government crisis in Britain is possible, probable or imminent. So far as one can judge at this distance that was the result of a single editorial in a single London newspaper.

Last night I was talking with a friend of mine just over from London who told me that in three days he had found three people over here who had diagnosed all Britain's troubles and recommended a cure. But he hadn't been able to find anybody here who could give him any definitive information on how n ear we were to a depression; whereas in London he knew several people who could tell him exactly the state of our economy, and when and in what circumstances the crash would come. Perhaps we should have more of this long-range diagnosis. For example, it would be possible to devote part of this broadcast to deploring the fact that my friends in Fleet Street must now work with a reduced supply of newsprint. And it is indeed regrettable when circumstances force a reduction in any means of communication. Over here our newspapers are still bulky, repetitious and often trivial. To a large extent the editors have abdicated in favor of the syndicated columnist. These columns appear simultaneously in newspapers all across the country. One such writer is Elsa Maxwell. She is currently in the South of France. Miss Maxwell gives parties and talks to the great and near-great, and they talk to her, and then she writes about it. In a recent column Miss Maxwell undertook a long-range diagnosis of the world situation which I must share with you. Miss Maxwell, still writing from the South of France, says: "We are sincere with our Marshall Plan, and secretly even the Russian satellite states are with us. This is a show-down which it is exciting to watch; a thrilling race is on; the greatest handicap of all time is about to be run for

the Grand Prix of Peace. The winning jockey to my mind is that great Briton Ernest Bevin, and thank God he is in the saddle!"

The shortage of newsprint must have its compensations. For example, a few weeks ago our papers over here were running columns and columns, and indeed pages about flying saucers. First the nation and the papers were intrigued, puzzled, bewildered and a little frightened; and then everybody began to laugh. I hate to think of the amount of newsprint consumed by that story. But it remained for a friend in England to send me a two-line quotation from a London paper, which was in my opinion better than anything that appeared over here. I suppose it's ridiculous to be quoting a London paper, but this is an example of condensation that I am unable to resist. Here is the quotation: "I saw a flying saucer, but I ducked - just before it hit the kitchen wall!".

It's just occurred to me that probably not many people are listening to this broadcast. Most of you are probably getting ready to leave for August Bank H oliday. I hope the trains are on time, the pubs don't run dry and the skies are kind.

ECORDING....eight minutes....al ward.... Eng Past July 1949

~~If youll listen Ill tell you a story...there might be one in the lot that you havent heard.~~ I suppose that ~~..A broadcaster~~..any broadcaster ..listens for sounds.. (and remembers them.).wishes that he might transmit many of those sounds directly to you./.but most of the time he has to try to make words do the job..(and they are always a poor substitute for the real raw sound.). Here are a few examples of sounds that I can still hear...some of them trivial, but they remain.//.there is the roar of a crown fire as it sweeps thru the tops of douglass fir and sitka spruce...the happy howl of the reel when a thirty pound salmon strikes...and the whispering of ducks wings in the grey dawn./.But Im afraid that most of my memories of sound are tied to the war...not the big sounds that numb you....not the great barrage preceeding an attack..not even the heavy bombs that killed your friends, and incidentally, destroyed three of my offices in London...I cant remember exactly what a V one sounded like...except that they made a sound that was sort of like they were growling."where are you, where are you," as they came over....Cant even remember much about Dunkirke...but I do have in my ears right now the picture and the sound of a black cur dog...It was shellshocked.. quivering, wet, a whimpering twitching but speechless witness to what had gone on at Dunkirk, and on the way over...Two British sargeants had brought the dog back with them.(they had also brought their rifles)..and they were trying to comfort that dog as the three of them stood on the pier at Dover.. Why do I remember the dog and its sounds more clearly than the men? I dont know...maybe because there were so many men, and they were so silent, and the dog seemed somehow to testify to what they had suffered..#

I remember a fair broadcast I once did..possibly I think it was better than usual because this reporter said practically nothing at all..it was one of those occasions where the sound told its own story, and words would have been superflous...I was standing on the steps of St Martins in the Field right in the heart of London...it was dusk...the sidewalk was crowded...

People hurrying home...just as the programme switched from NY to London.. when I heard John Daly say."we take you now to London!"..the air raid siren howled...echoed down the twisting streets of London..I merely had time to say where I was, and that I was placing my microphone on the sidewalk,..and then for two minutes, those who cared to listen, could hear the calm unhurried foot steps of Londoners, with that wailing siren in the background...For many weeks I had been trying to find words to describe their behaviour during air raids,but just the sound of their footsteps,one man stopping another to ask for a light...those sounds carried conviction, and were more eloquent than the words of any reporter....

3

Then there was a bird...a nightingale...near that terrible beach called Anzio...the guns on both sides would rave and roar and then there would come t that sweet silence, soon to be broken by the brave clear and almost contempteous notes of the nightingale...

There was a locomotive whistle too...that was in Surrey in England.. the english trains have puny,tinney ,sort of toonerville trolley whistles.. Late in the afternoon..(the day was wet and warm with a wind from the west). there was a new sound...a great full throated bellowing bull whistle that startled animals in the fields...the sort of whistle that bounces off the peaks of the rockies, and flattens out over the plains of Indiana, and causes kids to think of the far places they will see when the grow up...It was the first lend lease american locomotive...and it made me homesick...

4

All broadcasters..in fact almost all humans, are supposed to like applause..I can still hear some..and will never forget it. It was At a place near Weimar...a concentration camp called Buchenwald..(there were still a couple of hundred bodies lying in the courtyard.).something like twenty thousand still "technically" alive...the barracks were built on a hillside sloping down to green farming country..as the inmates of this concentration camp became weaker and weaker, from starvation and disease, they were moved gradually down the slope when they reached the lowest group of barracks ..the next stop

was the incinerator or the old stone quarry.//.down near the bottom of the hill was a long low room occupied by men from Chekoslovakia...lying on straw,often two or three to a bunk...it was dark in there..even at mid day.. The young Check doctor who was with me made a little speech telling them that the camp had been liberated, and here was someone wearing american uniform.,. there was applause..but it was so weak..the men hadnt the strength or the will to clapp their hands..the sound was more that of the fluttering of birds wings,crippled birds, combined with the rustling of straw...

Many "sound" meories of a radio reporter naturally have to do with voices... I remember particularly the lilting welsh intonations of Lloyd George when he made his last great speech in the House of commons..pionting his finger at Neville Chamberlain and saying..."your greatest contribution to victory would be to turn over your deals of office..resign.!"..The iron in the voice of that frail sick little man Harry Hopkins..when I once ventured to suggest that he ought to take it easy, and he said..."this is my war too!"..the ease with which Winston Churchill can switch from affairs of state to the telling of a funny story and the way he appears to savour, and actually taste, a well turned improvisation (even thogh it has been well rehearsed.).Remember too the rattle of pans in Jan Masarycks little kitchen while he prepared a meal that couldnt be equalled by any chef ive ever known.,and the confidence in his voice when he said as he always did upon parting "god bless you..Ill be seein you..!"

I remember one of several occasions where I offended an editor../it was on VE night in London./.things were rather gay./.we had a microphone on the sidewalk near picadilly circus...for some reason a microphone always attracts a crowd./there was much pushing and shoving../.I saw approaching me the editor of a distinguished weekly magazine...as he reached the microphone we were both pushed off our feet...and I said into the microphone,"here beside me in the gutter is a distinguished London editor"...and proceeded to interview him./ later his mail from the states indicated that some of his friends had drawn wholly unwarranted conclusions from my introduction of him...

There was also a man who could cure warts...his name was uppy andrews.. I ran into him while doing a saturday night broadcast from a pub in a small villiage in Essex.(that was before the war).Uppy andrews was about eighty plus..the local character..led the singing at the pub on saturday nights.. the microphone held no fears for him./in the course of the broadcast I asked him if he could do anything unusual..and he replied.."I be able to cure warts".. before I could ask him how he did it..or give him a chance to say that ~~ixxx~~ his method was a closely guarded secret.(which he told me later.).the broadcast ended./.about three weeks later I received a message from the Essex villiage...total population about forty....things were in a fine mess.. Uppy Andrews had received hundreds of letters from America asking about his cure for warts ..and who was going to answer them...and anyway he wasnt going to give away the secret...I am unable to say whether Uppy andrews could in fact cure warts, although there was considerable local evidence to support his claim...but I do remember that he possesed one of the finest broadcasting voices.. if not the finest, I have ever heard..might have bcome a great man on the radio...but if his claim were true...even partially true..who can say that his carreer and accomplishments were not greater than ~~thxixxxxx~~ those of any broadcaster...

E. R. MURROW - 12/30/49

President Truman on the State of the Union...the welfare fund and Mao-Tze-Tung...Dun and Bradstreet, boom or bust...cominform and anti-trust...the B-36, the Hoover report...socialized medicine and contempt of court...Brannan Plan, Edwin Nourse...police state verdict and price supports...Mrs. Mesta, more efficiency...Rokosovsky, Andrei Vishinsky...show of strength, losing face...must stand firm, lack of faith...indignation...discrimination...infiltration...unification...mediation...negotiation...no foundation...disinflation...regulations...investigations...treaty violations and devaluation...concentration...reputations...cooperation...manipulations...loan to Spain...peak is past...lift the blockade...Robert A. Taft...Lewis will sign...Vaughn won't resign...three day week...profits near peak...C-47...Reciprocal Trade...Party Cards...more foreign aid...coffee shortage...general strikes...atom leaks...free enterprise rights...persecution...recognition...U.S. Steel and coalition...payroll padding...prices rising...Rhur dismantling...Red sympathizing...business good says Sec. Sawyer...must save water says Mayor O'Dwyer...Rita Hayworth, the Welfare State...farmers income, the letters "H.H."...readjustments...local government...more indictments...restrictive covenants...Communism...birth of freedom...Parnell Thomas...me-too-ism...socialism...Titoism...heavy water and nationalism...headline hunter...imperialism...balanced budget and collectivism...excise taxes...union left wing...Major Jordan...Cyrus Ching...civil rights...Russian threats...special interests...Supreme Court tests...point Four and isotopes...airplaines in 48 groups...Ward and Groves and General Bradley...Gable, Kostov and Mrs. Hadley...deep freeze unit, General Eisenhower...southern filibuster and Adenauer...emergency, monopoly...Mindzenty and the road to misery...Vishinsky, Montgomery and lack of loyalty...economy, security and the giant conspiracy...sabotage...minimum wage...work stoppage and lefty Joe Page...atom-wielder...no reprisal...Shirley Temple...political rival...trials for treason, excise tax...kickback racket, midsummer slack...Ernest Bevin, grave offense...big new weapon, Atlantic Defense...super-carrier, Gerhart Eisler...secret papers, only survivor...Acheson, Simpson, the miner and China...economic tailspins and old-age pensions...Bethlehem Steel and Captain Crommelin...middle road and Judith Coplon...the year went something like that.

Now Bob Dixon of weekend fixins -----

If then,we are in danger,however remote,of becoming an island in a hostile or indifferent world,how should we conduct ourselves...Certainly with patience and fortitude....obviously by maintaining sufficient force to sustain our policy...assuredly by striving to strengthen the presently puny international order and by protecting the stability of our domestic economy.. But this is not enough...this nation is more than an economic plot..it is a symbol and a system,which if we are to survive,must attract the admiration and the allegiance of those frustrated,famished millions who are shopping around for new allegiances..who are asking the old question..what must we do to be saved...If they do not receive the answer..and the demonstaration from us..they will ceratinly seek and find it e lsewhere....We must apply in peace the classic concept that Klauswitz stated for war..he said t he first duty of a nation at war is to recognise its enemies...surely the first duty of a nation at peace,however uneasy that peace..is to recognise its friends..and help them....We in this country are the last stronghold of our definition of free enterprise capitilism...if we limit our friends to those who accept our economic philosophy..then we are already isolated...The recognition signal ~~xxxx~~ cannot be economic..it must be in terms of the basic faiths we share with western europe...~~xzxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ xx for they are trying desperately to hammer out a middle ground between the Russians and ourselves.....

Suggestions...if not impertinent...story of pamphlet...Need for people who are anxious earnest and well informed...your influence over great institutions of learning...suggest emphasis upon international history languages...need for people...

Create an example

Look to the west where t he land is bright...

While the president-elect and mr. dulles tread water on stalin's christmas day statements, they will get a little first hand advice from the aging, but still potent, master-realist of the time, mr. winston churchill; he will be in new york january fourth; it should be an interesting meeting, for the personal side of it, alone. Churchill and eisenhower have a certain affection for one another; The old master tends to treat the sixty-two year old Ike as a naive boy, which amuses eisenhower more than it irritates him, but a mutual respect has always been there. When eisenhower was first made supreme commander in the war, churchill staunchly defended him before british politicians who were upset at the appointment of an american; and when, in the last year of the war, london politicians and press waged a quiet, but deadly assault on eisenhower's handling of the allied forces, churchill again came boldly to the general's defense. From various private accounts, it appears that churchill was deeply disturbed by british press reports of the eisenhower political campaign this fall; he refused to believe the reports of eisenhower inconsistencies and semi-isolationist talk, and maintained his personal faith in the general to the end; a faith he still firmly holds.

It remains extremely doubtful, at least at this point, that the two men will be able to take off from the stalin statement toward any new, fruitful diplomatic moves; they can agree as to what they think the statement means and what it doesn't mean, but that is probably about all. This particular stalin letter seems to contain thinner stuff than most of his epistles to correspondents over the past few years. The american state department is saying nothing about it, partly because the stalin statemtn is addressed to the point about the incoming administration here, partly because the statement is so thin and so unsurprising. That favorite phrase of reporters about the lights burning late in the foreign ministry doesn't apply this time, to this capital. You could hardly raise a janitor in the state department today; everybody was resting at home, more concerned with junior's toys than with stalin's horse, whether gift or trojan.

Communist countries may feel that stalin is taking the initiative towards peace, but if he really is, the eisenhower people are going to see if he will ride with it. Mr. dulles's statement today, in effect, invites stalin to keep talking, tells him that the new administration will be happy to listen to anything concrete he has to say. He is also told that he can

always get in touch with us through normal diplomatic channels. Altogether, the new american leaders are giving almost exactly the same kind of answer to stalin's pronouncement about peace that the truman administration has been giving for several years. A long time ago, it got to the point here where american officials refused to get excited about russian words about peace, this side of russian actions for peace. One form of official weariness, at least, which the republicans will automatically inherit.... the particular reason this stalin statement is received so coldly is that it comes just too quickly after russia's wrecking of the most hopeful korean peace plan yet, in the UN general assembly.

But stalin is a close man with his words; he had reasons for saying what he said; they will be guessed at for many days to come. Was it a cynical propaganda stunt, timed for the greatest effectiveness, exactly at christmas when all christian nations think deeply about peace? Is he trying to feel out eisenhower's intentions about korea, trying to forestall possible new military moves there? or does he think the election furor over korea revealed an american desire to cut our losses and get out? We may never know. But if the statement means stalin really does want to get down to brass tacks about a korean peace, we will know it, because he will play another card; all things considered, however, the chances he is ready to settle, seem very remote.

14 - This is P.S. in work.

analysis dec. 25-52 sev wash 11 p.m.

~~This Christmas represents the hopes of men.~~ It is easy for the cynic to deny hope for this troubled world; it is easy for the inexperienced to say hopeful words. For the profoundly experienced, neither the words of cynicism nor the words of hope come easily; yet ~~they~~ this are the only words really worth our listening. Few americans in our time have been qualified to say such words; ~~we have always thought~~ one was the late Henry Stimson, once secretary of state and secretary of war. We thought we could do no better, this christmas night, than to commend to you these words from Stimson's book about his long and useful life:

"Since 1906," he wrote, "the problems of our national life have expanded in scope and difficulties beyond anything we ever dreamed of in those early times.

"Yet I do not wish that the clock could be turned back. Neither a man nor a nation can live in the past. We can go only once along a given path of time and we can only face in one direction - forward.

"No one can dispute the progress made by the man of today from the prehistoric man -- mentally, morally and spiritually. No one can dispute the humanitarian progress made more recently, since those times before the age of steam and electricity, when man's growth was limited

by sheer starvation, and the law of Malthus was an immediate reality.

"It is true that the record of my own activity inevitably includes my conviction that in the last forty years the peoples and nations of the world have made many terrible mistakes; it is a sad thing that more than half of this record should have to be devoted to the problem of war-making. Yet, even so, it is well also to reflect how much worse the state of mankind would be if the victorious peoples in each of the two world wars had not been willing to undergo the sacrifices which were the price of victory. I have always believed that the long view of man's history will show that his destiny is based on sacrifices and sufferings which taken by themselves seem to constitute a hideous mélange of evils.

"We must not let ourselves be engulfed in the passing waves which obscure the current of progress. The sinfulness and weakness of man are evident to anyone who lives in the active world. But men are also good and great, kind and wise. Honor begets honor; trust begets trust; faith begets faith; and hope is the mainspring of life. I have lived with the reality of war," said stimson, "and I have praised soldiers; but the hope of honorable, faithful peace is a greater thing, and I

have lived with that, too. That a man must live with both together is inherent in the nature of our present stormy stage of human progress, but it has also many times been the nature of progress in the past, and it is not reason for despair.

"I think the record of this book also shows," he wrote, "my deep conviction that the people of the world and particularly our own American people are strong and sound in heart. We have been late in meeting danger, but not too late. We have been wrong but not basically wicked. And today from that strength and soundess of heart we can meet and master the future.

"Those who read this book will mostly be younger than I, men of the generations who must bear the active part in the work ahead. Let them learn from our adventures what they can. Let them charge us with our failures and do better in their turn. But let them not turn aside from what they have to do, nor think that criticism excuses inaction. Let them have hope, and virtue, and let them believe in mankind and its future, for there is good as well as evil, and the man who tries to work for the good, believing in its eventual victory, while he may suffer setback and even disaster, will never know defeat. The only deadly sin I know is cynicism."

14- This is F.S. in working for

analysis dec. 24-52 sev wash 11 p.m.

We christians set aside one day in the year-- one of the shortest days, incidentally -- in which to remind ourselves that all men are brothers. All, says the book that christians turn to tomorrow. But the other three hundred sixty-four days, we make quite a lot of exceptions -- those with black skins, or those with white, or those with foreign labels and ideas. And the reason we do this is that we are afraid. We fear the different. From fear comes what the psychology book calls stranger-hatred, which the authors of the christian's book knew all about, many centuries ago.

Item-- In the middle of christmas carousing in a harlem tavern, filled with porto ricans, three young white-skinned americans appeared. They wore the uniforms of their country's services, just now engaged in a struggle for democracy. They threw a phosphorus bomb, which injured fourteen people; the porto ricans were guilty of the sin of being different, therefore suspect, therefore to be hated. And at the bottom of all this was fear.

But with everyone's fear, there is some courage, somewhere; hatred merely hides love and there can be good from every evil; we are all a contesting mixture of the two, and that is the whole story of man's struggle out of the swamps. So we give you Item two, as related today in Time magazine.

It is about the town of McPherson, Kansas; a prosperous little city; rather satisfied with itself, with its neat, tidy churches and its neat, tidy ideas about politics and the human race in general. Early this fall, the town became aware that six black, students from africa had arrived to study in the town's two church colleges. Some of their fellow-nigerians had gone to russia to study; these seven were trying democracy, in Kansas, which ought to be democracy's very heart and marrow. The first African student couldn't get a haircut - he was asked to leave the shop; the second nigerian worked in a town laundry and found he was paid one-half what the white workers got. A third student was obliged to eat in the kitchen of the main street restaurant, ~~and as the dishwasher splashed water on his food, he fled in~~

~~terror~~. And all the nigerian students were relegated to the balcony in the local movie-house.

Since the matter of the money changers in the temple, the most effective christianity has ~~always~~ been militant christianity; there is a rather militant woman in McPherson named Rozella Switzer, who runs ~~the~~ the post office. She ~~heard from the~~ is also practical. She heard from these students about the communist influences already in their country, the country they would ~~return~~ return to with their stories of american democracy, american christianity. Rozella called up local merchants, saying "would you spend fifty bucks to help stop a war that's going to cost billions?" They said, "are you nuts?" But they ended by gathering winter clothes for the seven african students; the seven moves sit where they wish ~~now~~ in the movie, eat in any restaurant they wish. Some legionnaires muttered and Rozella dressed them down. A minister -- may his god forgive ~~him~~ his Rea- warned Rozella that those helping the africans might be called communists..... But ~~anyway,~~ in the upshot, McPherson, Kansas is a little less smug now; it managed to stretch the shortest day in the year, just a bit, anyway.

It loosened its fear a notch or two.

We all wait for the good day to dawn; the strange thing is that it's here, now. It always was. We would like to refer you, again, to ~~some~~ the words written four hundred years ago by Fra Giovanni:

"There is nothing I can give you which you have not; but there is much that, while I cannot give, you can take. No heaven can come to us unless our hearts find rest in it today. Take heaven. No peace lies in the future which is not hidden in this present instant. Take peace. The gloom of the world is but a shadow; behind it, yet within reach, is joy. Take joy.

" And so, at this christmas time, I greet you with the prayer that for you, now and forever, the day breaks and the shadows flee away."

/14 - this is eric sevareid in washington

analysis dec. 23-52 sev wash 11 p.m.

It seems more and more apparent that one of the first barrier reefs to threaten the eisenhower administration will be the rocky problem of american economic aid to foreign nations. The basic situation at the moment is simple enough: a nation-wide weariness with foreign aid, coupled with an intense desire within the republican party to cut expenditures and taxes; it is as certain as anything in politics can be that the new congress will advance on the foreign aid programs with a sharp and heavy axe.

But if these programs are heavily cut, then we have to do one of two things, to keep allied countries solvent. We can export less ourselves, to those countries, or we can import more from those countries. To reduce american exports in quantity is no easy road; many american products are absolutely essential to other countries; and the export business is absolutely essential to great segments of american life. About a quarter of our tobacco crop is sold abroad, about forty-percent of our raw cotton, about thirty five percent of our wheat. Generally speaking our export industries are our best industries, the most efficient, paying the highest wages.

The other alternative -- to import more from abroad -- is the

alternative that most ~~nearly all~~ american economists are convinced we should follow. We remain the greatest creditor nation by far; and the total yearly importation into this country remains only a tiny fraction of our national product. In terms of real trade, apart from direct aid programs, the picture has recently improved from the point of view of other nations. In the last six months, they sold a billion dollars more of goods to us, than they bought from us. This has been a considerable, if temporary help, and is one reason why great britain, next week, will be able to pay the full yearly installment, principle and interest, on our 1946 loan to her.

But this is still very thin ice for the countries we are trying to save from insolvency and communism; there is every reason for arguing that this country must lower its tariffs still further. That is the present cry of most european governments, and the words, "trade, not aid", have become almost a slogan, in europe, and now among some returning american travelers including secretary of commerce sawyer and, today, democratic senator monroney of oklahoma. The reciprocal trade law, under which american tariffs have been and can be, reduced, expires next june.

The republican congress cannot have its cake and eat it, too, yet many of its members seem determined, not only to cut the direct aid

programs but to also put many tariff walls back up again to help various american industries. It is hard to see how, if congress insists on both, that we can continue any policy of strengthening friends abroad with any hope of success. Yet senator taft said this fall, that he's all for less direct aid, very doubtful if tariffs can be lowered; and senator wiley showed enthusiasm today for cutting aid to a minimum, but coolness towards lowering tariffs. Wiley would get around the dilemma by an increase of private american investments abroad; these now total around fourteen billion dollars, but most are in canada and latin america, and an important increase in the critical countries is a long, slow process; no answer for the year or two ahead.

Congressmen are acutely sensitive to the demands of home-state industries, however small, for further tariff protection. It makes little sense to spend taxpayer's money bolstering up japan and then wreck her fishing industry by sharply increasing our duty on tuna; to help denmark directly and then shut out her cheese; to pull up the italian economy,

~~your money into Italy~~ then depress her garlic and almonds trade... but all these attempts have been made ~~harvard~~ here and will continue to be made. The pressures will be intense. How it deals with the trade-or-aid ~~dilla~~ dilemma may be the first real test of the new republican administration --whether or not it can keep its own house in sensible order.

14 - this is eric sevareid in washington

analysis dec. 22-52 sev wash 11 p.m.

There is a good deal of easier republican breathing around this capital since it was agreed on all sides that robert taft will be the majority leader in the senate; this lays the ghost most immediately threatening success of eisenhower's honeymoon period with congress and people; the period when any new president must drive hard and fast, taking full advantage of the emotional support from the galleries, which never lasts too long. As scholars have pointed out, the successful presidents in this century were men who came into office with a detailed, agreed-upon program all set to go; eisenhower's program, whatever it will turn out to be, would not go far, were he and mr. republican at swords' point when the inaugural curtain rises.

The original mistakes, on both sides, have now been finessed; the original mistake on the part of Eisenhower, Brownell and company, was to appoint such men as Durkin and Humphrey to the cabinet without even advance notice to mr. taft-- the kind of slight that senators always take as personal insults, whether so intended or not. The original mistake on the part of taft was to blast out publicly about the Durkin appointment; public protest is a kind of automatic reflex action for mr.

taft, and this was one of his less newsworthy pronouncements; because he immediately discovered that a good many colleagues in the senate who were for him for majority leader, were very frank in saying they just could not be for him if he was going to buck the president-elect. They were perfectly aware-- if taft was not -- who buttered the republican bread this year after twenty years of starvation.

Through all this, The basic equation of necessity remained what it had always been. Taft had to begin in co-operation with eisenhower or find himself isolated, even in his own party; and Eisenhower had to begin in co-operation with taft, or sew the seeds for innumerable legislative difficul-
2 ties in the months and years to come. So they had to get together, and they have. It may be a marriage of convenience, but such marriages often make a lot of sense and often last quite a time.

As majority leader, taft will be in quite a different position from other republican senators. The most independent mind in the senate will find its independence of action considerably abridged. Taft will become, in a certain real sense, the white house spokesman on capitol hill. He will sit in on the weekly planning meetings at the white house. That means two things, broadly speaking; he will be able to fasten

his imprint on legislation, to some degree, at its very inception. He will do a lot of talking at those meetings and the others, including the president, a lot of listening. They may not always like the conclusions Taft draws from his facts, but he will always have the facts with him and they will always be aware of it. But at the same time, this position also means that taft himself will be involved with, committed to, the legislative programs that do come out of the white house.

It is the nature of these programs that will concern the country. There is every reason, at present, to think, they will be considerably more liberal and internationalist than many have thought; however much the republicans may have shouted that it was time for a change, their leaders will try to start now, laying the basis for a generation of republican control; the first step in that must be the endorsement, without saying exactly that, of the basic domestic reforms of the new and fair deals, and their expansion, in part, tho under different, republican labels. Those reforms can never be scrapped, as eisenhower recognized during the campaign..... many democrats may fear republican reaction; the fear of some shrewd democratic party organizers is just the opposite -- they fear the republicans will begin, at least, in such a liberal vein

that the normal historical course may be reversed/this time ~~and~~ that in the congressional elections two years from now, the republicans will make <u>further</u> gains, the democrats take further losses.

~~14~~ - this is eric sevareid in washington

analysis dec. 19-52 sev wash 11 p.m.

The council of the atlantic treaty ministers has concluded in paris; and from the dispatches out of the [redacted] french capital, the distant observer acquires several overall impressions. One is that the whole idea of collective western defense on a practical, day to day basis has taken deep root, immensely complicated as it is, profoundly involving national rights, prides and perogatives though it does; roots in the consciousness which have produced accepted forms and procedures, more likely to become a habit now than to fall apart. It also seems fairly clear that no very big decisions are likely to be taken until after the new american administration is installed in office, argues out its own internal divisions on the american contribution, and makes it clear to our allies what it is prepared to do and give and what it is not prepared to [redacted] give and do.

It seems quite clear, too, that the [redacted] common defense machinery, however solidly constructed, has reached a [redacted] period of slowing down in its forward speed. The paris meeting has merely confirmed that [redacted] phenomenon, which has been developing for many months past. The former mood of urgency has passed away, and this is [redacted] reflected in many ways. The ministers' concern with financial stability in their countries has ridden over the military concern for rapid building of new bases, for rapid equipping of new

divisions, and despite mr. acheson's plea that the ministers think and act as if war ~~might~~ would break out tomorrow, they have cut squarely in half general ridgeway's program for construction of bases and facilities. The relapse away from the old sense of urgency is reflected, too, in the resurgence of haggling, chiefly with the french, over the arming of the twelve german divisions -- still a long way off -- in ~~the~~ churchill's stretch-out of britain's ~~def~~ re-armament program, just as some of his labor opponents predicted a year ago ~~that~~ he would have to come to, for ~~political~~ pressing economic reasons. And the new impetus by some in washington, including the outgoing secretary of commerce, mr. sawyer, for ~~cutting back~~ eliminating the american economic aid, which underpins european re-armament, this new american ~~in~~ development may make its own contribution to the general slow-down. There is some danger - perhaps not too great - that a general un-winding cycle ~~can~~ will develop, each government using the other's ~~[illegible]~~ retreat to justify further retreat by itself. If that is what is really setting in, it will probably require all the personal force of eisenhower himself, to start up the re-winding process, much as it was his own personal persuasion that got the whole defense machinery for europe off dead center, two years ago.

The general european desire to slow-down, for economic reasons, has found a certain justification in two things, which have produced what europeans call a new sense of reality, and what many americans are afraid is wishful thinking. One thing is the simple fact that nineteen-fifty two has run its course, with no european attack by russia, despite the previous warnings of some military leaders that russia would have to attack during this year if she were ever to take europe without a long struggle. The other thing is the series of stalin pronouncements in the last few months; taken at their face value, anyway, they mean that russia will instigate no new out-world aggressions, and is abandoning internal violence within the democratic nations; that russia's chief effort now will be to divide the allies, one from the other. Europeans want terribly much to believe all this means there is no real western threat from russia, that what they call "cold peace" is to replace the period of cold war.... which still does not alter the facts that european defenses are still very weak in comparison with russian strength; that the russians continue to arm, hand over fist; that if the russian threat is relaxing it is probably due to what western defense has been built up, and therefore, that for the west to relax too far now would probably mean a resumption of russian threats and pressures all over again.

14. This is P.S. on analysis

analysis dec. 18-52 sev wash 11 p.m.

editorial - but hardly controversial, politics or objectionable

One of the phenomena of our modern america of big money and gigantic units is that nearly everybody, whatever his job, sees a hundred little ways about him to save money, but that very few do, or can do, much about it. ~~We're talking, not about personal finances, but about company, and government money.~~ There is hardly an office clerk, a factory hand or an army sergeant who doesn't know some function that can be eliminated or shortened or done differently to save funds; add it all up, and you have millions of tiny holes in the sieve; to plug the sieve, in any great organization, is a long, tough job; a job of organization and psychology; providing a method for doing it and an incentive for doing it.

In the american armed forces, this daily holes-in-the-sieve wastage of taxpayers money is prodigious; anybody who has ever been around army, navy or air force operations knows that well. Recently, under some senatorial prodding, the defense department decided it had to try to make military officers "cost conscious"; fully carried through this may mean special training for economy, special rewards for saving money; if there are medals for bravery, maybe there should be medals for economy, so crucial has this problem of expenditures become.

It maybe that there is a way to come to grips with this hole-in-the-sieve problem for the vast apparatus of the whole federal government. A new method is proposed publicly today, ~~a method which could lead in itself to the new psychology required, some informed people here, at least think it can, and some of them are downright excited about it.~~ The proposal comes from a colleague of mine, mr. john cramer, one of those rare, unsung heroes in washington journalism who peer about in the nooks and crannies of government organization, personnel and procedures, where the rest of us are too faint hearted, or lazy, to tread. Mr. Cramer's proposal is published today in his paper, the Washington Daily News.

In simple terms, the Cramer idea is to give every government supervisor at every level a working budget of his own, along with an explicit challenge to cut it as far as he can. This is done in some private businesses; it is not generally done in the government, and according to mr. cramer, the great majority of government supervisors today have no idea of how much they spend, and no real way of knowing.

Senator taft has recommended in the past that bureau heads simply be ordered to cut their costs by a certain percentage, having it entirely to them how that is done; this proposal would go further, provide a concrete

form and method, would reach down to the lowest supervisory levels, give those sergeants and corporals of civil government a personal responsibility, on the basis of positive, not negative incentive. To mr. cramer's well informed mind, this would open the way to creation of a wholly new psychology, an active, creative cost consciousness among the legions of government workers. It might be a way to close the enormous gap, from the ground up, which has existed ever since government departments and agencies grew to a size which makes it impossible for congress to keep any detailed track of their use of appropriations.

Cramer argues that this proposal would not require legislation, merely a presidential order, that it would not in itself create extra cost or bureaucracy if handled properly, that the budgets can be short and simple in form. He claims that of an estimate hundred thousand supervisors in government, only about five thousand ever see anything resembling a working budget for the units they manage. Those who do get them usually regard them as ceilings on their spending, not as a challenge to cut them.

No doubt the proposal has some holes in it; we're by no means expert enough to judge its workability; but quite a few informed people here think it can work, and that the beginning of a new, vigorous adminidtration is precisely the time to try it.....

If it is tried, does work, we recommend brother cramer for the pulitzer prize, the scroll ~~embossed~~ engrossed in black ink, ~~and showing~~ and a medallion showing ~~the~~ a winged rubber stamp rising triumphant from a ~~sea~~ field of crystfallen paper clips.

14 - this is eric sevareid in washington

analysis dec. 17-52 sev wash 11 p.m.

~~This~~ This is the time of year when this citizen (~~we must have company in this somewhere~~) goes straight ahead, eyes forward, holding on to his nerves; this is the time of the great christmas card ~~problem, the~~ dilemma; ~~christmas card trial and purgatory,~~ for the last several years, we have simply abandoned the practice of sending the cards; the truth is that we abandoned it in utter defeat, tho we have ~~made~~ created a pretty fair pretense of ~~carrying everything~~ great will power and superior character, like a man who is obliged by his doctor to give up smoking.

We abandoned the practice, ~~we thought~~ with all sorts of convincing rationalizations: outrageously expensive, didn't mean anything, anyway; got to be an assembly line operation, as soul-less as ~~an a chain letter or~~ a mail order canvass ~~by postcard,~~ etcetera, etcetera. Like all martyrs in the cause of truth, we were fully prepared to meet our fate -- the inevitable christmas when no cards would be sent to <u>us</u>. But time has deprived us of even that ~~[illegible]~~ remarkable satisfaction. For the cards keep on coming, the kids go right ahead, joyfully stringing them around the fireplace, and -- ~~bitterest,~~ most humiliating thing of all -- ~~[illegible]~~ the small, ~~sneaking~~ sneaky voice of ~~x~~ conscience keeps whispering: you fraud, ~~you pulling man of much,~~ you love to <u>get</u> the cards, just like everybody else.

Too proud, or scared, to take this problem of conscience to our pastor ~~and confess all,~~ we have been furtively glancing about for confirmation of our own secret practice from higher authorities. This morning we noticed an editorial on the subject in the washington post, to whose columns we often turn for spiritual comfort. But as we ~~began to~~ read it, ~~our confidence died,~~ our hope died in our breast. ~~Bluntly,~~ unmercifully, the Post informs its readers that whatever their christmas card problem, there is no solution; ~~any way they handle it, they I~~ The christmas card dilemma, says the post, is as unsolvable as war, population or sin.

Take those ~~impossibly~~ efficient people who buy their cards in july, address them in august and mail them by december tenth. They have it licked, you think? Ha, says the post; the truth is they are secretly harried by guilt, as card after card comes in from those to whom they have sent no greeting.

What is the course of action of this group, hereafter known as Group A? Their course is straight for the corner drug store, frenziedly, day after day, as they run their relay race to make good their omissions. But the faster they run, the faster they are stuck where they were. For, as the Post further finds ~~in his researches,~~ they are bound to get some cards

with names so scribbled that they cannot make them out; or with an ~~undecipherable~~ undecipherable address, or no address at all; ~~or, sometimes, no name at all.~~ Group A. are perfectionists, and like all perfectionists, even marginal ~~sc~~ failure is attended by acute mental suffering. ~~So much for Group A.~~

~~No [illegible]~~

~~We move on to Group B.~~ Group B is composed of strong minded, sophisticated persons ~~of middle age~~ who determine to keep their list down to a few intimate friends; you know, people they really love, but somehow just don't correspond ~~with~~ with during the year, so complex ~~[illegible]~~ and unreal is modern living. Group B. is really on the road to ruin; since the friends are so intimate, ~~t~~ this group ~~in~~ always decides to write a warm little note to each friend, so much more meaningful, don't you know, than a cold, printed card. Group B. invariably finds that this process takes four times as long as shipping out ~~the~~ cards, ~~or~~ wholesale; they also find that their intimate friends are intimate with one another, visit one ~~another's~~ another's houses, whereupon intimate friend X discovers that he didn't get a note, while intimate friend Y did. End of a beautiful friendship.

This reduces us to our own group C., the teetotallers, ~~or~~ the Scrooges. ~~the group in which we hold chapter membership.~~ The Posts' comments on Group C

smashed our last remaining shred of self-justification. They could have been written by our own, aforementioned conscience.

We may as well be shot for a sheep as a goat, so next Christmas we will rejoin group A. As Mark Twain said when he went back to smoking: "we have mastered that damnable will power of ours."

14 - this is eric sevareid in washington

analysis dec. 16-52

sevareid washington
11 p.m.

The newest appointments for the treasury pretty well demonstrate that men of big business will dominate the new republican administration; this only partially represents payment for campaign services rendered; more importantly it represents the instinctive scale of personal values possessed by the president-elect. Those who know the general well have always known that in his private hall of heroes, successful men of business, rank below none except one or two of his military demi-gods such as general marshall. This comes, perhaps, from his midwestern boyhood, a place and a time in which financial success equated with leadership and respectability. Long before such things as new deals were heard of.

This may be an important test of the widespread idea that what we really need in government is more business-like methods; these men will come into departments, some of them now bigger, more complex than the biggest corporations; if they do well, it will go a long way toward laying the ghosts about business leadership, towards lifting the inferiority complex of business men, still lingering

since the depression.

If government has grown and changed, so has american business, in these years; and a new type of business leader has developed, men of the tough ability required for leading a modern corporation with a far more acute sense of public responsibility than their predecessors. There is no department of government that cannot be made more efficient and economical, but in the process of trying it, the new men will learn that running the public's business is considerably tougher than running their private business. They will find a congressional committee quite a different proposition from a stockholders' meeting; they will have to justify their budgets to a hundred powerful outsiders, not just to a board of directors with a common interest. They will find that they can't quietly conceal a mistake in their judgements of an employee or a problem; instead, opposition congressmen will be demanding their files and a score of reporters will be demanding explanations for the public; some of them, perhaps, will enter office with the normal business man's scorn for the politician, and end up with a sense of awe for the complex arts of politics and the wish that they themselves had been trained in the political mill. Some will enter office with a

pre-conceived scorn for the so called bureaucrat and will find themselves relying on bureaucrats who know three times as much about the department as they will ever learn. They may not come to agree with mr. cyrus ching, who left a successful industrial career for government and concluded that the level of ability was higher in government than in industry -- but they will revise their notions considerably, just the same.

And they - and eisenhower - will probably find that they cannot really operate as a "team", fond as Ike is of that conception. They will find that the cabinet is no longer a policy-making central body but a weekly forum for brief reports; they will find themselves separate, administrators of quite separate departments, men enormously overburdened with details, with very little time for long range, reflective thinking, singly or collectively.

And Ike will find, if he does not already know it, that he can take only his minor cues from his cabinet team or his white house staff; that, in truth, they must take all major cues from him; that he must lay down the philosophy, the policy, the long range programs, into which their day to day acts and statements must fit; that otherwise there is no effective government, however business-like may be its organization and procedures.

Which may or may not have something to do with the interesting fact that this country, which has exalted the business man more than ~~above~~ all other countries, has never yet chosen a business man for the biggest job of all, the presidency itself.

14 - this is eric sevareid in washington

analysis dec. 15-52 sev wash 11 p.m.

It will be hard, even for general eisenhower's critics, to take exception to his homecoming statement ~~of summary~~ about korea; ~~given the false hopes aroused by some of his pre-election statements,~~ he must have been sorely tempted, a la macarthur, to give the impression that he has found a solution ~~way~~ but he has not done that, and therefore should be able to grapple with korea, as president, with no unusual handicaps in terms of public ~~opinion~~ feeling; obviously, his ~~g~~ trip has produced no solution, but it has done two things of importance: it has informed the president-elect himself on the physical realities of korea, and it is driving ~~has driven~~ home the realities to millions who would not accept the facts from a truman but will from an eisenhower; ~~that may be ironic, but it is no less an enormous boon.~~

Much speculation will center on the general's remark that we cannot impress this enemy with words, but only with deeds. This sounds, at least, as if he believes present diplomacy, ~~and negotiation~~ has been exhausted and that military moves alone can lead to a settlement; it is difficult not to agree, but it is equally difficult, ~~at least for laymen,~~ to see what military moves can induce the communists to setttle. The general's desire to replace ~~m~~ americans with more south koreans ~~is widely shared, but it that~~ would not ~~seriously alter~~ really alter the military stalemate. No doubt the ideal ~~mid-~~

military event now would be an all out enemy offensive; it would almost certainly ruin their existing army, but that is an event not of our choosing. A united nations offensive would vastly increase american casualties, which eisenhower deplored this autumn, and would probably not work, so deeply are the reds dug in, so superior in quantity is the enemy artillery; a landing in the north, might possibly roll up the enemy army; but again, it would leave us at the yalu, with the vast armed camp of manchuria and china confronting us; it would be a battle defeat for the reds, but it is hardly likely, given their remaining power and their pride that they would make peace in temporary defeat. A naval blockade of china seems a more likely attempt. It would hurt her, no doubt, but whether it would hurt her enough is still an open question

If there is a military solution to korea, short of involvement in an even greater asiatic war that could take years, it is extremely hard for a layman to see what it is. And the tone of eisenhower's statement indicates that it is hard for him

to see it, too.

In the end, perhaps, we come back to negotiation, after every prudent form of military pressure on the chinese to soften their determination; negotiation on the battlefield no longer holds any hope; negotiation in the UN continues at russia's mercy since she does all the talking there. There is some evidence, admittedly slim, that the chinese, if not the russians, would like to end the war. It may be possible, in time, to get a wedge between the two, to deal with the chinese directly. if it can be done, eisenhower and dulles could do it easier than truman and acheson, since the former would not have to fight a rear guard action at home against all those so ready to make accusations of appeasement or pro-communism.

Which brings one to this observation: that whether it involves korea or europe or the middle east, the new republican administration has two enormous advantages in conducting foreign policy. they will not have to fight this endless rear guard action against domestic enemies, which almost paralyzed the democatic state department; and they will have real military power behind their diplomatic committments. Until recently,

that has not been the case with the x outgoing administration. They have been walking through the valley of the shadow, [redacted] obliged to make committments without power behind them; that valley and that shadow, eisenhower and dulles need never ~~suffer through~~ experience a.

14 - this is eric sevareid in washington

analysis dec. 12-52

sev 11 p.m.
new york

This uneasy period between election of a new administration and its coming into power makes it hard on all those in the writing and commentating business and extremely rough on their readers and listeners. Government, during this interregnum, operates in somewhat of a vacuum, and so does the business of interpreting government. We are now witnessing much furious cerebration on the part of the pundits, engaged in a dual function; taking lightly whatever the old administration does and says, and taking very solemnly, but with little factual basis, what the upcoming administration does and says. Reams are being written, for example, about the new, aggressive foreign policy that mr. dulles will pursue, but none of the writers can spell it out. Reams are written about what eisenhower will do in korea, but nobody can spell that out, either; for the simple reason that in neither case has the responsible man himself spelled it out; and quite obviously, neither man will spell it out this side of inauguration and the possession of power; he would probably be foolish to try.

Occasionally, however, one of the new leaders does get rather specific, today, dispatches from the cruiser helena quoted what is

called an authoritative source on the plans of mr. herbert brownell, who will be attorney general. [redacted] Knowing something of the technique of the news conference, we're [redacted]/ [redacted] He feels that the department of justice has sunk into a condition of low [redacted] public esteem, and there is no question that this is so; [redacted]; brownell intends to prosecute tax cases where there is any evidence of fraud at all; the whole practice of making compromise money settlements in many of these cases must surely be open to most serious scrutiny. He also intends to lift the prestige of federal judgeships [redacted] and remove them as far as possible from politics. There is no question that these vital positions [redacted] have been lightly handed about, often to men of dubious qualification, some, simply because they [redacted] had cultivated the right people [redacted] when justice department employees; right now, about [redacted] eighty-five percent of the federal judges are democrats; the fact that about the same proportion were republicans when roosevelt came to power does not justify the situation; [redacted] these positions ought to be taken out of politics, as appointments fall due, [redacted] but [redacted] mr. brownell will experience the same struggle with party politicians in the senate over this as did all his [redacted] predecessors [redacted]

Herbert Brownell is one of the men in the republican party who has combined practical political craft with high minded objectives. And because, he does appear to be a man of principle, one may be permitted to raise a question about another purpose the dispatches attribute to him. That is, I quote, "to discharge anyone whose name has even been remotely linked with government scandal." Brownell will be the american minister of justice, and such a method of operation as that is surely in violation of the most basic principles of american justice. If brownell, or his spokesman means this literally, then we have gone a long way, in administration at least, towards embracing the entirely un-american system of denunciation, the practice of guilt by accusation alone. It is no answer to say we must have only men whom no breath of suspicion has ever touched. To follow that practice literally would be to end up with government by stuffed shirt. There is hardly any man of vigor, any man worth his salt, in the realm of ideas or administration's who does not make enemies, often venegful enemies, who does not become in some manner a controversial figure, and often, an unfairly libelled figure. It is extremely important to put an end to scandal and subversion in and around the federal government;

It is also important to put an end to the whole business of irresponsible accusation, which in the view of judge learned hand, is eating out the cement of comm - on trust that binds the foundation stones of our national house.

14 - this is eric sevareid in New York

Theoretically, there ought to be some way to treat with humor and detachment the present truman-eisenhower-macarthur spectacle involving korea; frankly we find none; it would be a comedy did it not concern tragedy; and surely the only person who is finding amusement in all this is joseph stalin. It is impossible to discover any glimmerings of statesmanship in the present performance and it not that radio is allergic to cusswords we would say this is a hell of a way to run a railroad.

~~The country, to say nothing of the half-frozen men fighting in korea, deserve better than this.~~

Let's go back a moment to the autumn politics, where it all began. Why did the russians and chinese suddenly step up the front line fighting? Not, probably to aid the election of either candidate for the american presidency; but maybe -- in the minds of some serious people -- maybe to test the will of the american people, then at each other's political throats, continuing the korean fight. Maybe russia was probing for a weak spot in american unity and purpose; and maybe russia found it. For it now appears that the main american argument is not how to accomplish what we went into korea for, but how to get out. There are no real signs that that is

equally true of russian and chinese thinking. Perhaps, without realizing what we are doing, we have crossed the divide and are now on the dangerous slope that can lead only to appeasement or to reckless~~ness~~ action.

This fall, president ~~x~~ truman was advised to announce, for vote getting purposes, that he would go to korea, with the implication that the war could be wrapped up. He refused to do that. Adlai Stevenson was advised to make the same announcement; he refused, on the grounds that it would raise false hopes among mothers and wives. General Eisenhower did make such an announcement, with an electric effect; he ~~never did say~~ never actually said that the war could be ended soon, but millions of anxious families read that into it, and neither eisenhower nor his press supporters made any real effort to disabuse the public of this notion.

He went to korea; unquestionably, as a trained officer, he learned a ~~very~~ great deal that will stand him in good stead as president; but the realities asserted themselves at once. In his ~~xxx~~ statement while in korea, his whole emphasis was on the extraordinary difficulty of ending this war in an honorable fashion; indeed, ~~in that statement~~ he used words and phrases almost identical with those used before election by truman and stevenson.

Then suddenly, general macarthur, ~~an officer~~ announced that he had

a clear and definite plan for ending the korean ~~xx~~ struggle. This distinguished officer, still on active duty and on the army payroll, [redacted] made this startling announcement, not to his commander in chief, not to [redacted] the army chief of staff, but to a gathering of business men. Eisenhower, still a private citizen, immediately asked for the macarthur plan. Truman, still the only man who could put such a plan into operation in the next five weeks of bloodshed, [redacted] insisted macarthur give him the plan. No reply from macarthur, who detests mr. truman.

And today, from mr. truman, who detests macarthur, an angry statement saying he doesn't think macarthur really has a workable scheme. That, along with truman's blast at eisenhower, ~~for what he called "demoseguency"~~, brings the tragi-comedy up to date. [redacted] Obviously, if macarthur ever had any intentions of reporting to truman, which is [redacted] doubtful, he ~~won't~~ doesn't now. If he has a workable plan, it will be delayed many weeks, while men die. The national ~~trouble~~ crisis is now ~~caught up~~ snarled in personality troubles, ~~and thoroughly~~ [redacted]..... [redacted] Each corner of the [redacted] triangle is empty [redacted] of statesmanship; in the name of [redacted] statesmanship, eisenhower should never have ~~raised~~ raised false hopes; in the name of statesmanship, macarthur should have reported to the constitutional authorities the moment he thought

he saw a solution; in the name of statesmanship, truman should, in friendly and dignified terms, have requested both generals to meet with him in the white house. As it stands, probably nothing can be done until after inauguration. — and the Russians, entitled, see less and less reason for conceding anything.

~~And the winter deepens, in korea, the sweat of fighting men turns to ice.~~

14 - this is eric sevareid in new york

EDWARD R. MURROW WITH THE NEWS
CBS RADIO NETWORK

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1952
7:45 - 8:00 PM EST

This is the news:

The President today called on General MacArthur to inform the White House "at once" of his plan for peace in Korea. Mr. Truman issued this statement (which I'd like to review in a few minutes) from the train bringing him back to Washington.

In Korea today, carrier based fighter-bombers made their biggest strike of the war hitting four enemy railroad centers close to the Manchurian border. There was little ground fighting. And the Pentagon reports that we suffered another 275 casualties last week. The total now is 127,658 which includes 22,409 men killed and 94-hundred missing.

At the United Nations today, this country cast the decisive vote, in rejecting a resolution inviting the Bey of Tunis to send a representative to the Political committee (which is debating Tunisia's dispute with France.)

And the Senate committee that has been investigating Americans on the U.N. payroll, was told today that the State Department had labelled 40 Americans as bad security risks. Assistant Secretary of State Hickerson says 28 of these Americans have been dropped by the U.N., 12 are still on the job.

The State Department today demanded that Russia and Hungary return one of air force planes that was forced down in Hungary a year ago. We either want the plane back or 100-thousand dollars for it. We also want the plane's cargo and documents taken from the four airmen who were in the plane at the time. Those were the men we had to ransom for 123-thousand dollars.

Secretary of State Acheson said today that the recent Communist trials in Czechoslovakia were designed by the Russians to terrorize the satellite countries and compel their bosses to work harder. He said we can expect more such trials wherever the Russians feel it necessary to teach the "lessons of

utter, unquestioning dependence upon the Kremlin and unswerving and successful compliance with its purposes."

John Foster Dulles, who replaces Mr. Acheson in the new Eisenhower cabinet, said today on the cruiser Helena that after he takes office he plans to make a world tour of Europe, the middle East and Far East. Mr. Dulles told reporters on the warship today that the conferences General Eisenhower has been holding with cabinet members and other top aides "will pay dividends to the American people for years to come." He added: "There won't be any immediate grand-scale pay-off. But it will be a gradual thing, reaching into every part of the government's operations at home and abroad." He said the framework of the new administration's policy has been formed and "we know the direction we are going and the goals we are aiming for."

Senator Lodge, who is to become our ambassador to the United Nations, said in Denver today that we must base our foreign policy on moral ideas, and not on dollars or bullets. He said we must defeat the Soviet idea with a better idea of our own. We have it and we should live up to it. He defined it as "the Christian idea of the dignity of man". The Senator suggested that our discriminations are in conflict with this, and are a danger to our foreign policy.

The House committee investigating tax-exempt foundations was told today that John Foster Dulles was the first to suggest Alger Hiss for president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The testimony came from John W. Davis, the chairman of the committee which actually recommended Hiss for the job. Mr. Davis said he did not intend to place any responsibility for the Hill selection on Mr. Dulles.

Later, Mr. Davis, prominent attorney, continued his argument on the segregation case before the Supreme Court. He said only Congress and the states have the power to authorize or abolish racial segregation in the public schools. He said in South Carolina, the state he is representing, mixing whites and Negroes in the schools would result in "a situation that one cannot contemplate with

(2)

equanimity." But Thurgood Marshal, a leading Negro attorney, says he believes the people of the south will support any decision the court makes. He insists that the Court must uphold the 14th amendment to the constitution which says the states shall not deny the equal protection of the laws to any of its citizens.

The National Association of Manufacturers today refused to recommend any new industry members for the Wage Stabilization Board. And the N.A.M. called for the "prompt elimination" of all wage and price controls.

The government today authorized the automobile industry to step up its production during April, May and June of next year to turn out one and a half million cars, that's a quarter of a million more than the ceiling for the first three months of the new year. The government also eased restrictions on the building of homes, schools, hospitals and recreational centers, effective the first of the year.

The Defense Department says that beginning next July it is cutting back its production of medium tanks, 45 per cent below the original goal set for the spring of 1954. There will also be a 22 per cent cut in the production of light tanks, an easing of production of two and a half ton trucks. This will mean the closing of some plants. The general idea is to stretch out production time, without changing the original equipment goals. The Department feels we now have the production lines established, and in the absence of any new emergency these lines should work at a slower speed.

Labor Secretary Tobin today proposed a new one dollar an hour minimum wage for all work done under government contract by the cotton, silk and synthetic textile industry. Most of the 75-thousand workers who would be directly affected by this are employed in southern mills. Southern manufacturers are expected to protest this increase from the present 87 cents an hour wage.

If we were to judge by published reports, a lot of people are working on a solution for the Korean war. Last Friday General MacArthur, stripped of his command for what could properly be termed insubordination-thwarted in his

political ambitions - sulking in his Waldorf tent - announced that he had the solution, a clear and definite one - one that wouldn't involve unduly increased casualties or furthering the risk of a world war. An unnamed spokesman at the Pentagon said, in effect, that MacArthur was still on the payroll, and if he had any solutions he ought to present them to the proper authorities forthwith, instead of making speeches about them. When news of the speech reached General Eisenhower aboard the Helena, the President-elect sent a signal to MacArthur, saying that he was working on a future program, and he and his associates would be glad to sit down and talk with General MacArthur.

MacArthur's reply was slugged "For Ike". He said it was the first time since his return that any official had shown any interest in his counsel. MacArthur's message ended: "My best to you, Ike, as always."

Today President Truman said that General MacArthur should at once present to him any reasonable plan for ending the Korean fighting in an honorable way, in a way that will not lead directly into a great war; that plan should be presented at once to the President. "If we can cut this fighting in Korea short by one day we should do so."

It is permitted to wonder whether General MacArthur's solution - one that would involve low casualties and little danger of a world war - came to him as a sort of inspiration; or whether he has sources of information better than those available to Truman, Eisenhower and the Joint Chiefs.

It may be that subsequent meetings between Eisenhower and MacArthur may do something to restore friendly relations between the two men; but their dislike for one another is deep and well-rooted.

It seems to me that Eisenhower's action in saying he would be willing to listen to what MacArthur has to say was altogether typical. He has said repeatedly that he will listen to anyone; that he doesn't have all the answers ; and he's a good listener.

General MacArthur was obviously pleased to be noticed after many months of being ignored.

Even the next Speaker of the House, Joe Martin, has a solution for the Korean war. We must arm the Chinese Nationalists on Formosa, and start threatening the Reds on the Chinese mainland. We ought to arm more South Koreans; and the Japanese ought to have weapons to defend their homeland.

Presumably General Eisenhower will in due course listen to Representative Martin's solution too. It is Eisenhower's method to listen to a lot of people before he makes up his mind.

A late dispatch from the Helena indicates that the meeting between Eisenhower and MacArthur will occur here in New York after the President-elect's return. A late report from General MacArthur's headquarters says "a source very close to the General was amazed" at President Truman's statement saying that if the General had a plan he ought to submit it. This source said MacArthur's views had been available for a long time, and if the President had any interest in the General's counsel it was available to him at all times. This would seem to indicate to this reporter that either General MacArthur or this "source," still do not fully comprehend the identity of the Commander-in-Chief of our Armed Forces.

All this talk about a solution or a victory in Korea, particularly one with small casualties and no danger of a world war, seems to me to ignore one fairly important consideration, which is that the Russians are directing this whole global conflict, including Korea. Anyone who doubts it need only look at the records of the U.N. for the last three weeks. It may be that at the appropriate time, when we and our allies have the power, that this world conflict of which Korea is only one element, can be settled in Moscow. But it cannot be resolved, either with guns or with talk, in Korea. If the world conflict is to be settled by guns, then it will take a lot more of them, and bombs and troops than we now have. If it is to be settled, or eased by talk and negotiation, then that must be done with the Russians, and not with the Chinese or Koreans.

This is Ed Murrow. I'll be back in a moment with the Word for Today. Now, here is Bob Dixon.

BOB DIXON: COMMERCIAL

MURROW: No amount of words will bring the war to an end. And there is always a tendency in times such as these to let our hopes run high. Maxim Gorky once observed: "It is much harder to turn word into deed than deed into word." With this in mind, Carl Sandburg cautioned: "Look out how you use proud words. When you let proud words go, it is not easy to call them back."

Good Nite and Good Luck!

Now that the public passion of the election is safely passed, the supreme court has opened hearings for an historic decision; whether seventeen states and the district of columbia under the constitution may continue to segregate negro and white children in separate schools. This involves, private feelings and public practice; legal principle and financial committments; memories of the past, and hopes for the future; the prides and the prejudices of american society.

The negroes, led by that legal genius of baltimore, mr. thurgood marshall, are not arguing convenience or necessity this time; they are staking all, on a test of the constitutional principle itself; and the states concerned, led by that eminent constitutional lawyer, mr. john w. davis, are obliged therefore to stake all on the corollary principle of the rights of the states.

~~A little background may be helpful, in order to understand this fundamental legal struggle, its antecedents and its possible effects.~~

After the first flush of temporary negro advances in the reconstruction days, southern schools went back to segregation, in practice and in law. In eighteen ninety six, the supreme court, ~~in a railroad case which was applied to schools,~~ issued the doctrine adhered to since - that so long

as negro facilities were equal to white facilities, they could be separate, and the constitution would be observed. A large body of court precedent now upholds this doctrine, with little precedent on the other side. ~~That in itself would seem a great advantage to Mr. Davis.~~

But through the first three decades of this century, the south suffered the deepest poverty; unwilling to combine the schools, most southern states gave the negroes facilities by no means equal, from their extremely limited tax funds; beginning about three years ago, court pressures put southern states, to the test as far as the graduate schools of their universities were concerned. In one southern college after another, negroes were admitted to the graduate schools, partly because the states, however prosperous then, could not afford new medical, law and other schools for a relatively few students; oklahoma, for example, spent twenty thousand dollars to teach one negro law student for one semester, before giving up the separate but equal idea for graduate schools, and letting the man enter the state university; in nearly all these cases of accepting negroes into graduate schools, the fears of politicians proved groundless; there was no fuss, no violence.

But the court had made it clear that separate negro facilities must really be equal, in plant, staff and all the rest of it. So some southern states, like south carolina, set aside large sums of money for negro grade schools; indeed, some of the new negro schools are better than white schools nearby and the negro teachers in some are better qualified than their white colleagues nearby. The ablest white minds don't often go into public school teaching; the ablest negro minds often have to.

Despite these impressive beginnings toward real equality, organized negroes still determined to try to end separation with the present case; separation itself, they argue, means inequality, is in itself a violation of the fourteenth amendment which guarantees equal protection under the laws.

Some negroes, it should be said, ~~are against this present court test.~~ think it is too early to make this fundamental, win or lose, attempt. They are conscious of considerable progress; fifty years ago, only half the negro children went to school; today, ninety percent attend. ~~Attendance at negro colleges has some up to a total of seventy five thousand students, and~~ They think integration would mean that negro students would be kept from the best plums in college life, that negro teachers would be kept out of

the best appointments and thus lose what they have gained....

If the negroes win this case, it may mean a new day for them; it may also mean some nasty trouble in some states.... in many cities, nothing much will change. For the reason that negroes are kept to special residential areas where the schools will still be, essentially, negro schools. In these cities, segregation in housing will continue to mean segregation in education, whatever the court decides.

14 - this is eric sevareid in new york

analysis dec 9-52 sev. wash 11 p.m.

For the jews of east europe, the cycle of tragedy has now come full circle; the other day, as you know, fourteen czechoslovak communist leaders were hanged by their colleagues in communism; that in itself was not new; what was new was that eleven of these men were jews, and the word "jew" was called out by the court clerk as each name and sentence was announced. Already, reports seep out of the iron curtain countries of jewish families committing suicide; they recognize the bloody handwriting on the wall; as with the nazis of hitler, so now, with the communists of stalin. ~~For the jews of east europe, the flag of terror is again flying high; they know that~~ the new pogroms are just beginning.

in the west, people one another what this may signify in terms of russian policy. It has occurred to many, that this is a sign of russian purpose to gain diplomatic ground with the arab nationalists, unforgiving of israel, and in rebellion against their west european owners and overseers.

No doubt that has something to do with it; moscow will fish in almost any troubled water; but there is yet no sign of any basic change in russian policy towards israel, no sign for example, that russia will side with the arabs in the current phase of the palestine dispute before the UN.

Usually, moscow has several aims when she tries something new; in this new tack of anti-jewish terrorism she probably is seeking to impress the arabs; she is probably also seeking to impress the former nazis in germany, now creeping back toward positions of power; but, more fundamental than that, she is also buttressing her own national security in her own ruthless way. This overt terrorism, this deliberately public warning to the jews has no direct antecedents. About four years ago, this reporter did a series of broadcasts, detailing the evidence accumulating here of the new russian anti-semitism, or rather, anti-zionism -- much to the anger and disbelief of some american fellow-wanderers.

The new state of Israel had sent its first minister to moscow, Golda Meyerson; She announced that she would visit the synagog; when she arrived there, thousands of russian

jews cheered her in the streets; it was a stark thing ~~an entirely spontaneous~~ tribute to israel, a clear sign of the desire among russian jews to leave russia for another land. It was a direct repudiation of the whole moscow propaganda line about the soviet union as the ultimate paradise. It was intolerable to the kremlin, and, as we reported then, jewish clubs, schools, newspapers and intellectual leaders began to disappear. ~~in russia and in the satellites, poland especially.~~

From russia itself, only one jew has been allowed to go to israel, an eighty year old woman who had appealed to stalin himself. From the satellites, nearly a quarter million have gone; what will happen to this migration now is a question; for now the kremlin's heat is really turned on; it means a severe strain in official relations between russia and israel -- ~~for one thing, the israeli minister to czechoslovakia has been declared persona non grata~~ -- but it is not likely to mean a complete break in those relations. ~~both countries have reasons for keeping the formal channels open.~~

But beyond all this, remains the meaning of the new

savagery in terms of russia's security concepts. It has to do, if not with russian plans for war, then with russian fears of war. The kremlin has not forgotten that in the last big war, great numbers of russians went over to the german invaders. This time, the kremlin is trying to burn out any soft spots in advance. So, by the new horror trials, the jews are warned that any dreams of israel are idle; by the kremlin's insistence on forcible delivery of the korean war prisoners, its soldiers are warned that any dreams of future desertion are idle.....

It is the gun and the noose for all who would test the temper of the iron in the curtain.

//14 - this is eric sevareid in washington

analysis 11 p.m. sev.... dec 8-52

OK - and you'll balance it against the lapse Hoover decl bands

First,

By all the rules of protocol, we should ~~first~~ say how happy we are to be back ~~here~~ at ~~the~~ the old ~~and sweat-stained stand~~ stand, after a month away; we should, but we can't; ~~not quite yet~~ give us a few days; we are afflicted with that ~~juvenile~~ soft-headed habit of falling in love with every pleasant place we visit, and we won't be really happy until the memories of bermuda's white sands and blue waters fade a little more.

It happened that ~~a couple of days after~~ on our fortieth birthday, we caught a barracuda in our first try at deep sea fishing; boat hire being what it is, we figure that ~~barracuda~~ fish cost us about three dollars a pound; the ~~curious~~ conjunction of events inspired us to ~~write~~ write a short novel entitled The Middle Aged Man and the Sea. We ~~ex~~ never got around to it; ~~however~~ ~~however still~~ but ~~and~~ the literary world seems to be taking its loss in its stride.

We departed washington right after the election and spent ~~a couple~~ two ~~or~~ weeks talking and listening to ~~various~~ a good many americans in a dozen states. Much as we're tempted ~~to discuss~~ tonight to discuss the joys and miseries of middle age and fishing, still we're supposed to know more about ~~pol~~ politics, and it seemed clear enough, on this journey, that most americans

were just as passionately interested in knowing how the election winner would perform as they were earlier in knowing who the winner would be. If there is a national pastime, it is politics, and it knows noseason. Like religion, it is one subject on which every citizen considers hims elf expert, the rules for both democracy and immortality being as wide and generous as they are, perhaps that's as it should be.

We did accumulate a few odds and ends of observations around the country, none exactly bristling with originality; it's clear that people voted for eisenhower for a remarkable variety of reasons, some contradictory. A lot of it was passionately and personally pro-eisenhower, the man; a lot of it passionately and personally anti-truman, the man. Extremely little of it seemed to have been anti-stevenson, the man. Many said they voted for ike despite his military background; others precisely because it. But any way you cross index it, millions are looking to Ike, the person, not to his party, not to his policies as stated this fall; millions are going to watch the man, exclusively; if he himself, in his personal acts and statements seems to

falter, there is going to be a terrific letdown in the country, even if the totality of republican policies are generally moving well. And if he seems to make sense, the republican party will do well with the people, even if the totality of policy doesn't add up. This is always true, but it is true this time to an extraordinary degree; and it means a responsibility on the new leader, to an extraordinary degree.

What is true of Ike in victory is also true, though less vitally so, of stevenson in defeat. His following is a minority, but it seems no less personal and passionate than eisenhower's. Everywhere, you run into people who ask, not what the democratic party will now do, but what adlai stevenson will do; there 's no doubt that he has fired the imaginations of many millions and those fires will not easily die.

And you notice, traveling about, a couple of things that are really disturbing; you realize that great numbers, especially women, believe Ike promised a quick solution to korea and they are waiting for it. No amount of caution, such as Ike's statement in Korea,

in which he said, almost word for word, what stevenson had said before the election, will do away with this popular belief; the last thinking facts can alter, after all, is wishful thinking.

The other disturbing thing is the attitude of a good many stevenson voters. In their hearts, they are still not accepting the majority verdict; you get the feeling they want the new president to fail. This, in our own horseback opinion, is not only poor citizenship, but dangerous, and to the cause of freedom. Surely, in this parlous, revolutionary period, the last thing the free world can afford is four years of american fumbling...

14 - this is eric sevareid in washington

Eric Sevareid - CBS - Oct. 31, 1952

This is the last utterance on politics we will be uttering until the returns are in, and if you find that pleasing, we find it positively delightful! Tonight we thought we'd do a highly personalized summary of this campaign but not in terms of issues, statistics or prospects. Just of things that stuck in our mind for one reason or another. Some people do lists of "bests" or "worsts." We'll do a list of "mosts." The list is not inclusive at all and you're at liberty to agree or tear it apart, subtract or add to it.

The most effective slogans--the same now as three months ago: Don't let them take it away, versus time for a change.

The most valuable personal assets in the campaign--Eisenhower's personality and Stevenson's words.

The most jittery neutrals--everybody who runs a poll.

The most painful dilemmas for the candidates--Ike's dilemma over Nixon and his fund; Stevenson's over whether to dignify Nixon's charges on the Hiss case with an answer.

The most absurd arguments--Truman's claim that Eisenhower is running on McCarthy's coat tails; the Republican claim that Stevenson will be a captive of a man going out of office.

The most spectacular egg laid in the campaign--McCarthy's broadcast about Stevenson.

The most critical risk taken by a candidate--Stevenson's decision to take personal responsibility for settling the prison riot, where bloodshed could have cost him Illinois.

The most uncourageous omissions--Truman's and Stevenson's failure to mention Secretary Acheson while praising his accomplishments. Eisenhower's failure to mention NATO, of which he was a chief architect, while giving a foreign policy speech in Taft's home town.

The most clearly false accusations, considering the record--the Republican claim that the administration is soft towards Communism; the Truman claim that Eisenhower is soft toward Fascism.

The promise most impossible of fulfillment--Ike's promise to clean out the government from top to bottom because a few little matters like civil service are in the way.

The most unsurprising development, the near monopoly of publishers' support for Eisenhower.

The most surprising development--the anti-Ike attitude among news reporters who used to be for him.

The most embarrassing record to explain: Sparkman's on civil rights, while speaking in the north.

The most foolish strategy decision--not to confine Sparkman's efforts to the south, the retaining of which was the reason for his nomination.

The most obvious evasion of the campaign--Nixon's refusal to show his income tax returns.

The most flagrant appeal to pure emotion--Nixon's broadcast about his wife, dog, children and mortgages.

The most self-revealing statement: McCarthy's remark that he could make a good American out of Stevenson with a club.

The most dangerous step taken in the campaign--Eisenhower's making Korean war strategy an issue in the middle of political passions.

The most valuable personal asset, next to the grin and the words: Mamie.

The most patently unfair maneuvers--the Democratic committee's story about the property held by Nixon's elderly parents. Nixon's use of the court deposition to create a doubt about Stevenson's loyalty.

The most important, but fruitless, speculation--that the Russians and Chinese may have deliberately stepped up the Korean fighting in this period of American frenzy to test our will to continue.

The most subtle and unexplored speculation--that many people, not consciously but in their subconscious, are for Ike because they don't want a change; because Ike is the familiar entity, Stevenson the unfamiliar.

The most relieved person when the election is over -- Everybody.

Eric Sevareid - CBS Radio News - October 16, 1952

If the new Democratic party confidence is justified and Governor Stevenson does win this election, American publishers might sit down with each other for a little heart to heart talk; the public would be interested in their conclusions,--and so would reporters and editors who work for the publishers. For, a most bizarre situation has developed in this campaign, worthy of attention at least as a footnote to history. Never before has such a high percentage of American publishers come out formally for the same candidate; and from all that we can learn, never before has such a high percentage of those who work for the publishers come out personally for a candidate; and what makes it bizarre is that the working journalists appear just as overwhelmingly for Stevenson, as their publishers are for Eisenhower. In political sentiment, at least, publishers are drawing closer to other publishers, and farther away from their own staffs.

In forty-eight, sixty-five percent of American dailies supported Dewey, and it meant seventy-eight percent of daily paper circulation. This year, according to Editor and Publisher magazine, more than seventy-five percent of the dailies, with over eighty-one percent of the circulation are for Eisenhower; there are many great cities - like Chicago and Washington - where not a single daily paper is pro-Democratic; indeed, there are whole states in that condition; in the populous state of Connecticut, for example, the only daily for Stevenson is the student paper at Yale. To make it all the more lopsided, nearly all the great weekly publications, such as Time and Life, are not only for Eisenhower in their editorials but some are unabashedly using their news and picture space as well to help his cause, by giving him the predominant play, week after week. But they are fairness itself, compared to some big mid-west and western dailies where Stevenson is reported as if he were a candidate for county clerk. Little wonder that Stevenson is concentrating on radio and television to get his arguments across.

In the last month, many prominent individuals have announced they are switching from Eisenhower to Stevenson; but despite recurrent rumors in the trade, no big papers have switched; we are aware only of the Auburn, New York, Citizen-Advertiser, and the Maynard, Massachusetts, Beacon, which ran an editorial entitled, "Stop the Bandwagon, We Want Off."

On the surface, most big papers remain for Ike; but inside some of them -- and this the public does not see -- there is a tremendous pulling and hauling going on. Even among the men who write the editorials. According to my own information, only one editorial writer on the pro-Ike Washington Post remains personally for Ike; on the pro-Ike New York Times only three editorial writers are still with him in personal sentiment.

Among the other news workers - reporters, political correspondents, copy editors, and so on -- the personal shift to Stevenson is just as pronounced; it is true even on Time and Life; one large group on one of the nation's greatest Republican papers has just sent a telegram to Stevenson, telling him they cannot support their paper's policy.....now, there is nothing fundamentally new in all this; this kind of thing has happened in previous elections; what is new is the extraordinary degree of it, this time. This is not just my own impression; it is also the impression of old timers here, including Mr. Ernest Lindley of Newsweek. He has covered every election since 1928 and writes this week that no candidate in that time has so captured the allegiance of the political reporters as has Stevenson.....Here in Washington, hard boiled correspondents are not only contributing money to a political campaign, which is rare enough, but some of them are actually going out and raising money for their candidate -- which is just about unheard of.

Eric Sevareid - CBS Radio News - October 9, 1952

A couple of weeks ago, this reporter made a quick dip into the south, on the Eisenhower train; we returned with two strong impressions; the first was that like Main Street in the Midwest long ago, Main Street in the south is now going Republican; the second was that the solid Democratic south is already broken, in truth even if no electoral votes go Republican this year; these impressions, no doubt, are quite familiar to observers who live in the south, but they struck this reporter, as a visitor, with the sharpest impact; they are confirmed, and elaborated on in a cogent analysis printed this week in the New York Times; written by the Times knowledgeable Washington correspondent, Mr. William S. White. Mr. White begins his account of a month's travel in ten southern states with these words, "a two party system is at last on the way below the Potomac even though it is most unlikely to arrive full blown in the current presidential campaign....." A political revolution is reaching steadily towards fruition in these southern states; the trail is being broken, not so much by the creation of new Republicans, but by the conversion of old Democrats; men not yet ready to abandon their formal Democratic label, for many reasons, but who are arranging for a big Eisenhower vote under one ballotting device or another; they have become completely Republican in spirit, while remaining Democratic by label.

Who are these men, and these women? They are chiefly, as it seemed to us, and as White confirms, the so-called "well to do"; those living on the right side of the tracks; the business and professional people, the country club members -- the main street in the economic sense. It is very largely a class division, and it would seem to portend a long drawn out but peaceful political struggle between economic classes. There has long been speculation among American political scientists that we may be slowly but inevitably drifting toward a national party system in which the two great parties will each rest upon a

clear and definite class basis; many observers think that another severe depression would bring that about in a hurry; in any case, it does appear that the emerging political lines in the southern states add solidity to this somewhat shadowy outline of the future. The Times correspondent writes, "It is hardly an exaggeration to say that to learn a man's income in the south.....is now to come close to knowing how he is going to vote."

There are southern cities now where pro-Stevenson business and professional men actually feel timid about showing a Stevenson button in office or club; which is so remarkably like the position of prosperous Democrats in mid-western cities back in the twenties. It would appear, then, that as the Civil War recedes in memory and the artificial geographical lines of political division loosen, southern community life is repeating the earlier experience of northern and western communities. Republicanism is beginning to equate with "respectability," as it did, once, among the better off, in the north and west. But why, one may ask, in the south, which has greatly risen, economically, these last twenty Democratic years? Partly, according to Mr. White, because the south has not only improved, but changed economically. Industry, in many places, is outstripping agriculture, and with the rise of industry comes the rise of the owning and managerial groups in community life; these groups tend to be Republican everywhere, but the present compulsion is even stronger in the south, for in that region, those groups tend to be more conservative than equivalent groups in the north.

So, in the modern south, more distinctly than elsewhere, the push and passion for change, for revolt, comes from the top of the economic scale, not from the bottom....

How far down towards the bottom this passion may reach, no one can be sure; in many areas, this year, the bottom ranks seem strangely quiet; they may be quietly determined to resist a change.

Eric Sevareid - CBS Radio - October 8, 1952

It looks as if whatever good natured humor this election campaign ever had is disappearing, and that's a little sad in itself. If intentional humor disappears, we will just have to fall back on the unintentional humor provided by the orators, when tongue or typewriter slips; or when they're simply balled up on their facts. Personally, we find that keeping a list of these fluffs, bulls, and typos is conducive to sanity in the midst of bedlam.

Yesterday, a telegram from Governor Stevenson was read to the National Press Club; what he meant to say was that his campaign schedule would not bring him to Washington; what he said was that he would not be in Washington in the foreseeable future -- and a howl of laughter went up.

President Truman's record on fluffs is a little better this time than in forty-eight, though he did refer to the incoming Congress as the eighty-fourth and, in West Virginia, to Louis Johnson as his Secretary of Defense, which Johnson hasn't been for the last two years. But he's escaped anything quite like the experience in forty-eight when he dedicated a western airfield; he gave a moving little speech about the war hero he thought the field was named for, while the audience froze in embarrassment, knowing the field was named for a girl killed in a local plane crash.

Truman fell victim to somebody else's error this fall when, at Chicago, he issued a statement of regret over the death of Cordell Hull, though Mr. Hull was very much alive -- and, fortunately, still is.

Eisenhower hasn't made Dewey's blunder of calling his train engineer a lunatic, though he has had some provocation, but he did let out a "damnit" over the air at Indianapolis, and when he looked at Boulder Dam early this summer, according to reporters present, he expressed astonishment at learning it was a self-liquidating project. He called My-ami "Mee-ami" to its face; and variously attributed a story about taxes to the President of the Retailers Association, and to a local storekeeper, but those were normal lapses for the whistle stop routine and they didn't matter.

For all his sharp intelligence and poise, Tom Dewey seemed to have a genius for the back platform blunder. Once, when a bright object sailed past his head, he smiled beningly and said, "don't you think we have enough flowers up here?" To which an urchin in the crowd responded, "That wasn't no flower; that was a tomato." At another stop, he surveyed the mass of children and said in a fatherly manner, "I'm delighted that I've been responsible for getting you all out of school today." And a shrill child's voice announced, "This is Saturday."

Senator Nixon hasn't made any speaking fluffs we're aware of, but the other day in New Jersey there was a long pause and clearing of throats when a local politico misplace his adjective and, in introducing Mrs.Nixon, said, "Now here's the next wife of the Vice President of the United States."

In August, Vice President Barkley spoke at the Illinois State Fair; he was talking about men who had accomplished great things in their advanced years; he threw in the names of Goethe, and Oliver Wendell Holmes; most of these the stenographers got; but Barkley also used the phrase "Harold Ickes sneakers", and when the transcript of the speech was issued to the press, it read, "Harold Dickens snickers."

None of these fluffs or bulls, to our knowledge, produced the same shuddering stillness as that produced by a Massachusetts Congressman four years ago, when he introduced Mr. Truman. The Congressman dropped a syllable, and he addressed the crowd as, "You free-loving people."

Not for years, has a careless phrase really blown an election; not since the Reverend Burchard's "rum, Romanism and rebellion" which lost New York State for Blaine in eighty-four, by a thousand votes and thus put Cleveland into the White House... But this campaign is getting hot, tempers are rising.....maybe it could happen.

Eric Sevareid - CBS Radio News - October 7, 1952

In all the talk, this political autumn, about foreign policy, perhaps the most significant speech was made yesterday by Secretary of State Dean Acheson; a man who looks forward to no political favors now, save that of honorable retirement from the burdens of office. In part his speech was a political blow on behalf of his party; it came from a man who has practically no cause to feel any party loyalty. Acheson was one of the chief architects of the Marshall Plan, the Atlantic Alliance, the Pacific Treaties, Point Four, and the Korean resistance -- all mighty efforts in the world struggle against Communism; yet at the Democratic Convention, speaker after speaker praised these policies, but only one -- Eugenie Anderson, Ambassador to Denmark, credited Dean Acheson by name; and his name never passes the lips of Democratic leaders in this election campaign, while they continue to praise his accomplishments. This is like the Republican approach to McCarthy, with a reverse twist. Many Republican leaders endorse McCarthy himself, but not his works; Democratic leaders endorse Acheson's works, but not himself. But there was no trace of bitterness in Acheson's speech of yesterday.....only in small part was it political; the heart of the speech was a documented suggestion that our struggle with Communist imperialism may now be entering a new stage, important to understand. Acheson detailed the recent declines in Communist party membership, the failures of its tactics of force -- in France -- in Japan -- in Germany -- Sweden -- Holland -- in Burma, where the Reds have lost one area after another, in the Philippines where the Huk forces are now at a low ebb, and he might have added Indo-China, where the Reds appear to have been stopped. Then he showed how the Communists, as in France and Japan, are going back to the old tactic of the popular front, seeking political alliances with socialists and non-Communist labor; what this all may mean, Acheson suggests, is that the slow, but steady buildup of western strength in nation after nation, is forcing Moscow to abandon the tactics of open aggression and internal violence -- at least for a period ahead; the proof is not yet in, as Acheson takes care to remind us, but if this is a correct estimate, then we have all got to let out a few tucks in our

thinking. The last thing a Russian shift should mean for us is a slackening of our re-armament; they can revert to aggression very quickly; but what we must watch for now, in all likelihood, is the old Russian double play of disintegration and division; by peaceful talk, and popular front techniques, an effort to disintegrate the will of our allies, and ourselves, to carry on with the painful economic burdens of preparedness; in more than one allied country, the political balance of forces is so precarious, that it may not take much of this kind of Russian behavior to undermine the programs for strength....and along with disintegration, division -- a prolonged effort to divide the free nations, one from the other, by playing on the very real conflicts of interest between them.

Where would the Communists start in such an operation? It is highly probable that Stalin's new book addressed to Communist cadres everywhere, gives the answer; they start with Germany and Japan. The Stalin thesis, and it may be uncomfortably accurate, is that the world is now divided into two economic, marketing spheres as well as into two political spheres. In the old global market, it was hard enough for manufacturing and selling Japan and Germany to compete with Britain and America, and each other; in this half-world market, Stalin believes, it will be impossible; he argues that both Japan and Germany must turn to the Communist area to survive.

Therefore, we may have to expect a subtle, complex, prolonged political struggle for those two strategic nations; a struggle that will require an American leadership that is diplomatically and economically wise and bold, as well as our military power.

Eric Sevareid - CBS Radio (from Baltimore) September 25, 1952

General Eisenhower has been speaking at the Armory here in Baltimore tonight, after another day through West Virginia and Maryland in what so often has the atmosphere of a hero's triumphal tour. He is blessed with marvelous weather; the schools and often the stores are closed in each town as he arrives for his folksy talks on good Government; it seems to this reporter that he gets better and smoother as a whistle stop talker, all the time. He has developed a definite technique; he identifies himself with the audience, tells each one that he is learning more than he is teaching in these "discussions," as he calls them with Americans everywhere, though discussion is not exactly what these appearances are.

Looking at the faces of those who listen, talking with them as much as chance affords, one thinks at times that he acquires fragments of ideas about the connection between the erect military figure and many of the people. He does not really seem to affect them by telling them they are not prosperous, nor to disturb them with his talk about the national debt; but, so it seems to me, he does establish a bond with them when he talks about the Korean war, about taxes, about the Russian threat and of course, about corruption. He never spells anything out, really, nor proposes concrete remedies and new policies, but you have the definite feeling he doesn't have to. He is appealing, not so much to fears or animosities or prejudices, though he does that at times, but, so it seems, mostly to people's perplexities. He does not have to ask people to think, because, you sense, they are terribly tired of thinking about such things as inflation or Korea or Russia, to which no satisfying answer has come, however much they have thought. But all people believe there must be answers, somehow, somewhere; Eisenhower is saying, in effect, trust me and mine -- we will find the answers, somehow, somewhere; and you sense that there are many who see, in the General, however unconsciously, a kind of father image -- the big man, the strong grave man who will somehow take the burden of thinking unto himself and end this weary, fruitless work of painful puzzlement.

That seems to be the Eisenhower approach to the public; his approach to the practical side of this campaign has become a completely standardized, familiar political organization approach. In that sense, there is no difference between the Eisenhower campaign and the Dewey campaign of four years ago; the interests of party harmony have become the first consideration, all possible conflicts that may interfere with that are put aside; he is saying nothing, doing nothing that would jar with the doctrines of any sizeable group within the grass roots party machinery; he has not struck out on any bold, individual, independent line of his own, which he may or may not have forced the party organization to follow; his whole effort is to conciliate, to avoid intra-party troubles; he is pleasing fundamentalist Republicans with such phrases as "long haired bureaucrats" in Washington, with his talk of bringing business men in to solve Government problems....

The effort to show harmony with the Taft forces in Ohio was a thorough effort and probably successful...there is still talk of some Taft people refusing to contribute money, but certainly the detailed spade work in preparation for his Ohio appearances was marvelously complete; hardly a single bet missed, in attracting the crowds and creating, with placards, bands, confetti and so on, an atmosphere of unity and triumph.....In contrast to this, we hear in many places along the way, talk of poor Democratic party organization, particularly in Ohio, where Democratic Governor Lausche is not much of an organization man.

Whatever the reasons that impelled the General to campaign this way, whatever he might do and say when and if he wins the office, there seems unanimity among his immediate staff, that this is the way to win; nobody on the train, indeed, sees any evidence, as we meet crowd after crowd, to suggest the contrary.

Eric Sevareid - CBS Radio News - July 31, 1952

It may well be that November's election will be decided by the people on the basis of issues, not personalities; but as of now, few of the issues are sharply defined, while the two personalities are coming into sharper focus, in their fascinating parallels and contrasts. There are basic parallels even in the conditions under which Eisenhower and Stevenson came into nomination; both men were drafted, in a real sense; neither man had a positive ambition for the honor; both said, in advance, about all that a responsible citizen can say, to avoid nomination, and both stopped just short of an absolute, Sherman-like refusal to serve; because both happen to possess a moral sense which constantly reminded them that in an era when many men give their lives for their country, no man can refuse to give his years and his personal happiness.

So the soldier who once said that no professional military man should be the chief executive is now working to be the chief executive. So the civilian who once said that he was not mentally, physically or temperamentally fit for the presidency is now working to be the president. Neither man is likely ever to refer to this statement by his opponent, but we can expect that others will; when lesser Republicans trot out the Stevenson statement, lesser Democrats will trot out the Eisenhower statement and vice versa. And understanding voters will probably be little affected by either reminder. They will comprehend that Eisenhower is the most civilian-minded of the soldiery that one could find, with a reverence for the constitutional authority; they will comprehend that a youthful, humorous Stevenson has proved himself more than fit, in every respect in a most arduous governorship, and that, indeed, it was his reverence for the presidency which prompted his self-depreciating statement.

The parallels in these two human natures can be extended quite a way; neither is efficient, in any machine-like manner, as no tolerant man with the instinct for taking pains can ever be; so neither would make a "good administrator" as the idiom of American business employs that phrase; both Eisenhower and Stevenson are quick with praise and slow with reproach, and both have a fear of ~~working~~ ~~other~~ hurting

others; both have an exalted and somewhat misty view of the presidency and both are uneasy in the presence of hack politicians, despite the gregarious instincts they hold in common; both have a natural dignity that is utterly uncontrived and a quick directness of remark that is likely to create embarrassments for themselves; each talks easily and well in private, though with Ike it is like a warm flood of feelings, and with Adlai it is like a cool running brook of mental clarity. Both these men give much affection to many people; both can hate an evil influence but neither can hate the human creature who may embody the influence. Both listen a little too long and earnestly to conflicting advice, and the one who enters the White House will suffer the pains of learning quick decision. Both rise early and work late; both are careful about food and drink; both are a bit concerned about their waistlines; each is something of a worrier, but neither is a brooder.

It is possible that we have in these two men, our most articulate political leaders, a certain stroke of good fortune, if one believes, as does this observer, that the chief failure of the present administration has been its incapacity of expression; there has been, in fact, no clear, compelling "voice" of America, at home, or abroad in the world. It is true that in respect to his words, Ike has recently disappointed many and Adlai has recently excited many. But Stevenson cannot always reach his recent standard, and after all, Eisenhower did write the unforgettable Guildhall speech of London.

At their best, both men have made utterances that will long remain, and the feeling persists that no man capable of such words can fail to have, somewhere within him, some element, at least, of greatness.

Eric Sevareid - July 30, 1952 - Analysis

CBS Radio

The 1952 Democratic convention is going to be written and argued about for many years to come, particularly if its nominee should become president. Already there is a stiff little battle going on in the public prints between those who maintain that the Stevenson nomination was a genuine draft and the cynics who claim the draft was a phoney, for one, or both of these alleged reasons: that Stevenson himself privately connived at the nomination, and that party bosses, so-called, not the convention itself, put him over.

In our own view, his nomination was a draft in the essential meaning of the term, that is, that the convention chose a man who asked repeatedly not to be put in nomination and who took no positive step, in public or private, to aid those who wanted him selected; it is perhaps more strictly accurate to say that Stevenson was a hesitant prospect, rather than an unwilling one, but the hesitation persisted to the end, and was never resolved in his own mind, so that this is a distinction without a real difference. It was a convention draft, as was the nomination of Garfield in 1880, the last real draft American history records. That it took 35 ballots before the Grant-Blaine-Sherman deadlock was broken, and only three before the Kefauver-Russell-Harriman deadlock was broken, does not destroy the parallel; the truth is that the convention of last week was deadlocked before it opened; Russell, as a Southerner, was impossible; Barkley, as an elderly man, was impossible, Harriman had no chance at all, and neither Russell nor Harriman was ever willing to assist Kefauver, who could not have made it without such assistance. There was never a chance to draft Truman himself, so it had to be Stevenson, the only man on whom a majority could agree. The fact that most of the Russell and Kefauver votes stuck with them to the end does not change the draft characteristic of this convention. After all, when the majority turned to Garfield, in 1880, Grant still kept his 300 odd votes to the end.

The fact that regional party bosses, or leaders, supplied the final margin for Stevenson is a fact of no particular significance. That is the normal course for all conventions. In any case, some bosses last week remained against Stevenson, some

controlled only part of their delegations and some delegations set free by favorite sons, who are bosses themselves, split up, with many individual delegates voting for Stevenson entirely on their own.

The claim of the cynics that Stevenson was privately conniving for his own nomination has no basis in fact. Had that been so, one simple, positive statement from him before the convention began would have released the floodgates for his nomination and avoided all risk of missing it. Had that been so he would not have begged the Illinois delegation on Sunday not to vote for him; had that been so, he would not have refused to make any committment on the vice presidency, as both Kefauver and Russell supporters tried to get, before he was actually nomination; had that been so, he would not have been still scrawling his acceptance speech in pencil while the climactic vote was near at hand; had that been so, he would not be in the predicament he is in today, with no campaign staff decided upon and no national committee chairman picked out to replace McKinney.

To be aware that it might happen, then that it is happening, is quite a different thing from conniving to see that it does happen.

The stories that Stevenson was in a huddle with his convention managers before nomination, are untrue. The self-appointed Stevenson floor manager, ex-Senator Myers of Pennsylvania, had never even met Stevenson until he was voted in.

This was not only a draft in the real meaning of the term, it was a draft of a man who became the nominee of a divided, factionalized, angry convention, without having to make a single promise or committment to anyone, not even to the real party boss, the president, who lost in the end, a president's final and traditional perogative, the real power to select his successor.

Eric Sevareid - July 2, 1952
CBS Radio

One of the evils of Communist rule is that the rulers reinterpret past history to suit their present needs. Thanks to George Orwell's book, this weird process is now called "double-think." And as Hitler predicted, the methods of totalitarian society force imitation of those methods in free societies. It seems to us that a perfect example of this occurred in the United States Senate today; the most powerful single individual there, McCarran of Nevada, reported on his long investigation of the private, international research group called the Institute of Pacific Relations. This group was composed of scholars, diplomats, professional and business people of various countries. Undoubtedly, it contained some Reds, some pro-Reds, some fuzzy thinkers; undoubtedly also, the great majority of the Americans in it were perfectly loyal and patriotic men and women.

It is hard to weigh with accuracy the influence of the Reds and pro-Reds on the organization itself; even harder to weigh the influence the organization had on American government policy towards China; and it is extremely hard to decide just what effect American official policy had towards the conquest of China by the Reds. But not for Senator McCarran. For him it is all very simple. This is the categoric statement he made today, "I am convinced, from the evidence developed in this inquiry, that but for the machinations of the small group that controlled and activated the IPR, China today would be free..."

This surely is ~~double-think~~ double-think on a scale to make one's reason totter; the boiling force of a profound revolution involving hundreds of millions of deperate Asiatics, nine or ten years of struggle with Japanese invaders, vast famines and floods, the endless movements of great armies over enormous distances, the power strokes of the Soviet empire, the successes and mistakes of the United States and allied nations--wild epidemics of inflation, the hopes, the fears, the hatreds, the apathy of the most populous country on earth--the outcome of all these surging forces and conflicts, we are asked to believe, was produced by the work of a small

group of men, mostly academic in temperament, who mostly thought and wrote in settings thousands of miles away from the scene.

This is Hollywood history in glorious technicolor; this is dime store history in who-done-it form; this is strongly similar to the methods of Stalin's commissars, purging deviationist intellectuals; this is double-think, redoubled.

Not a word in McCarran's speech about the material conditions of China during and after the war. No reference to the facts that the Chinese Reds, for years and years, controlled 90 million people with a powerful, disciplined army; that Chiang's China was never unified, but an uneasy, shifting coalition of local warlords; that inflation ruined his economy, that his soldiers were ragged slaves in vast numbers, that his generals again and again refused battle with the Reds, even to defend the Yangtze; that his troops deserted to the Reds on first contact over and over again. Not a word about the long, dreadful American struggle to ~~strengthen~~ strengthen his armies--the hundreds of American kids who died in the green jungle hell building the Ledo road to free China; the innumerable smoking wrecks of our planes across the hump, where Americans died trying to reinforce ~~China~~ Chiang; no mention of the hundreds of millions in loans and grants to Chiang, the bridge of ships carrying post-war supplies, the mass flights of American planes carrying Chiang's troops into position against the Reds and Russia.

All this and more is simply stricken from the record as if it never happened; much neater, much easier, to ascribe the fate of teeming, sorrowing China, to a handful of American intellectuals, scribbling at their library desks.

How simple history would be to understand, if such things were so.

EDWARD R. MURROW WITH THE NEWS
THE CBS RADIO NETWORK

WEDNESDAY - JULY 2, 1952
7:45 - 8:00 PM EST

This is the news:

The Republican National Committee continued hearing cases of contested delegates today. It seated 17 delegates - favoring Senator Taft, one delegate - who is supporting General Eisenhower. Newsmen were permitted to attend these sessions, but newsreel and television cameras, still photographers and those with recording equipment were not allowed to enter the room. I'll have more to say about this matter in a few minutes.

The Committee, after first agreeing to hear only four contests involving delegates-at-large from Georgia, changed its mind. It decided to rule on the two opposing full 17-man delegations. The group supporting Eisenhower claimed it was the regular party organization in Georgia. But the National Committee, by a vote of 62 to 39, voted to seat the group supporting Taft. Harry Soomers, the National Committeeman from Georgia, refused to take part in the argument - though he is recognized as a membdr of the socalled "regulars" who were for Eisenhower. Immediately after the decision was made known, Eisenhower supporters claimed a "double cross by Sommers." Senator Lodge said this was more than "just a steamroller", and that public opinion won't stand for such "shennanigans." He said he will carry this and other contested seats to the Credentials Committee and the full Convention.

Latter in the day, the Committee agreed to seat one delegate from Kansas, who favors General Eisenhower for the nomination. He was approved after showing that he was legally elected by a more than 8 to 1 majority. Twenty-three Republican Governors sent a telegram to Chicago. In it they urged the Committee not to allow contested delegates to vote on their own eligibility, when the Convention convenes. The governors said they were concerned that those supporting Taft and Eisenhower might let the situation get out of bounds.

The Republican Platform Committee had another full day of hearings,

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and tomorrow the sub-committee on foreign policy will meet in closed session. John Foster Dulles, who is helping in the draft of the foreign policy plank, said in its final version it will call for a "major departure in U. S. foreign policy." He didn't elaborate.

President Truman was in Arkansas on what he said was the first "whistle-stop" tour of the 1952 campaign. At the dedication of two power projects, the President said the South has made more progress under the New and Fair Deal Administrations, than any time in its history. He attacked the private power projects, the American Medical Association and the real estate lobbies. He described them as "reactionary lobbies", representing "selfish interests", who promote "lying slogans" and yell "socialism every time the Government tries to do something in the interests of the people."

A Senate Sub-Committee on Internal Security issued a report today. It recommended that the Justice Department look into perjury charges against Owen J. Lattimore, Johns Hopkins professor, and John P. Davies, Jr., a political adviser to our High Commissioner in Germany. The Committee contended that both men lied in previous testimony before Congressional Committees. In the case of Lattimore, the report said he was a knowing instrument of the Soviet conspiracy, and that the Institute of Pacific Relations, of which Lattimore is a trustee, also served International Communists Interests. Davies said he denies this accusation. And Lattimore in a statement tonight, said: "I have denied under oath any sympathy for or participation in Soviet activities. The new suggestions are untrue and are not supported by any credible evidence."

Senator McCarran, in a speech dealing with the Committee's report, said: "I am convinced that, if it were not for the machinations of a small group in the Institute of Pacific Relations, China today would be free."

In the past week, we suffered 965 casualties in Korea - the largest single week's increase in the last 7 months. Our total casualties now stand at 111-thousand 576. At the same time we have killed, wounded or captured 12-

thousand, 416 of the enemy in the past month - the biggest total since January.

The Army has issued a draft call for 30-thousand in September. And with many service terms expiring, will have to draw on active units for overseas replacements. This means the regular Army, Active Reserve and National Guard. Minimum tours of duty in Europe are also being extended from 36 to 42 months.

Bernard Baruch, speaking in Norfolk, Virginia, today said Congress and the Administration are playing politics in refusing to support an all-out war effort. He said the real danger is not militarism but civilian indecision. He resents efforts to reduce the military to secondary citizenship. Mr. Baruch said: "I don't understand the argument that military men have less desire for peace, or have narrower minds than civilians."

Communist police in the eastern zone of Berlin have arrested three American Catholic priests and a woman employee of a Catholic Welfare Organization in Germany. The party of four stopped their car along the border to take some pictures; the police entered the car and drive it across the border. All four are still being held by the Communists. We have demanded their immediate release.

In Korea, bad weather kept air action to a minimum again. There were no significant changes on the ground. General Van Fleet, our 8th Army Commander arrived in Pusan for talks with South Korean President, Syngman Rhee. The truce sessions resume tonight and Van Fleet told newsmen that if we had more air power, and struck heavier blows, he believes we could force the Communists into signing an armistice.

A special House Committee, looking into the Katyn Forest massacres of 1940, says there is no question that the Russians killed 15-thousand Poles. The Russians have denied this. The Committee noted a striking resemblance between this incident, and what it described as the mass killing of American war prisoners in Korea. It recommended an appeal to the U. N. and an independent investigation of other possible massacres by the Russians.

The Air Force announced today that it has a new all-weather interceptor

jet - the F-94-C. It's entirely armed with rockets, has a speed of more than 600 miles an hour, and has a tail parachute for landing on short air-strips.

Yesterday the Republican National Committee voted 60 to 40 to ban all television cameras, microphones, newsreel cameras - in fact all methods of reporting except pencil and paper from the hearings having to do with contested delegations. The Committee is, of course, sovereign, and entitled to establish its own rules of proceedure and methods of reporting. In general, the Eisenhower supporters wanted the meetings wide open - fully reported by radio and television. It can be presumed that they took up this position not because of any great fondness for these new-fangled gadgets, but rather because they thought a full airing of the proceedings would advantage their candidate, General Eisenhower. Today no one seems to be very eager to accept the responsibilities for throwing out microphones and cameras. Senator Taft said he didn't have a thing to do with it. Says he told Gabrielson, the Chairman of the National Committee, that he'd abide by the committee's decision. Nevertheless, the Committee divided pretty much along Taft and Eisenhower lines, with the Taft supporters, led by Clarence Brown, voting to eliminate the modern instruments of communication. It was alleged that all those lights and cameras would make the proceedings appear like monkeys in a cage. This would seem to be well nigh impossible, because the camera or the microphone has not yet been invented that can transform statesmen into monkeys, or monkeys into statesmen.

No one who has experienced the impartial scrutiny of lights and cameras will deny that the experience is somewhat upsetting - not altogether condusive to logical and dispassionate development of a line of argument. The network's case would have been stronger had they gone to the National Committee originally, with the proposal that these hearings be covered on what is called in the trade "a pool basis", that is, for one camera and one set of lights to service all networks desiring to carry the proceedings. This would have reduced the confusion, the number of cameras and technicians and the intensity of light required.

It would seem that certain people who want no part of this argument about radio and television coverage are being involved in it. It was reported that former president, Herbert Hoover, had sent a telegram to the National Committe saying that absolute freedom of the press is the foundation stone of American liber Mr. Hoover's office in New York said no telegram had been sent. Carroll Reece, Southern campaign manager for Senator Taft said there ought to be an investigation into this hoax; it shows an evil motive on the part of someone, undoubtedly in the opposition camp. Now it isn't enough to be for or against Taft or Eisenhower; you must be for or against radio and television reporting. And the line of limited logic now being developed in Chicago implies that if you favor radio and television coverage, than you support Eisenhower, and if you're against it, you're a Taft man. If you just want to use these two instruments to report, you're outside the door. Of course, these hearings before the National Committee, and later before the Credentials Committee, are just the preliminary bouts: the main event will take place on the floor of the Convention where we shall all be able to witness the final round.

There seems to be an impression current that this argument about radio and televisinn reporting implies that there is something new and different in this situation. There isn't: - it's happened repeatedly before. Full visual and oral reporting of the proceedings, step by step, might of course tend to persuade the citizen, be he Democrat or Republican, that he really doesn't have very much to say about the selection of his Party's candidate. Political conventions, viewed at close range, seldom represent all that is noble and admirable in the democratic processes. I do not pretend to know what the public reaction would be if cameras and microphones were permitted to see, hear, and transmit whatever they could pick up, but it would at least be interesting, and my guess would be that the public could stand it. Whether some of the politicians could survive it is another question. These artificial limitations could become ridiculous. For example: yesterday, Charles Hacker, Sergeant-at-Arms of the Republican National Committee,

banned television cameras and still-picture men from the huge International Amphitheater in Chicago. Said his order was designed to prevent the making of "premature" pictures of the Convention sight. Today, he lifted the ban. No reason given. Maybe something matured out there near the stockyards.

This is Ed Murrow. I'll be back in a moment with the "Word For Today." Now, here is Bob Dixon.

BOB DIXON: COMMERCIAL

MURROW: In the midst of arguments over fuller coverage of the Convention activities, these words by Charles Bradlaugh would seem appropriate: "Without free speech, no search for truth is possible and no discovery of truth is useful. Better a thousand-fold abuse of free speech than denial of free speech. The abuse dies in a day, but the denial slays the life of the people and entombs the hope of the race."

Good Night and Good Luck!

Eric Sevareid - CBS - June 23, 1952

Many Americans and much of the world feel doubt at times that the United States has the moral resources to long sustain its own free society and to defend the free area of this earth. Almost nobody has doubted that we have the material resources. The minerals, fuels, timber, the foodstuffs, the energy sources, that lie in and upon our national earth, the very substance of our physical life.

But something has happened; it happened during the last ten years. It occurred silently, almost invisibly, and not one American in ten thousand understands what it is and what it means. It is one of those motivating occurrences which basically alter our position in the world, and turn our history into a different channel; it is of an order of magnitude comparable to such events as the opening of the west, or the policy of free immigration.

It is, briefly, this fact; that from the time of the Pilgrims until the last decade of this ~~xxxxx~~ century, the United States produced more than it needed; but that now, and for as far as we can see ahead, the United States needs more than it produces. In terms of raw materials, the source of our physical life and strength as a nation, we have crossed the great divide, the fateful forties, which brought us to the atomic era, also brought us to the era of insufficiency in raw materials.

That is the central point of a bulky document today laid upon the White House desk by a group of men known as the President's Materials Policy Commission, headed by Mr. William S. Paley. After fifteen months, with the aid of hundreds of others in government, in private business, in the universities, these men have searched out, assembled and interpreted, the fantastically complex bits of the puzzle; a job that should have been done many years ago, in the name of common sense and our common security; but at least it has been done now, and the picture is clear and complete.

One short broadcast can barely touch the subject, and we will have more to say about it later. Without considering now what should be done on the basis of these facts and figures, let's consider for a moment some of these findings as this first volume of the Commission's report sets them forth and you may get some idea of how and why we have crossed the great divide.

The amount of metals and mineral fuels our country alone has consumed since the first world war is greater than the total consumed by all mankind in all of its history before the first world war.

Our country has less than ten percent of the free world's population, eight percent of its area, yet it used up more than half of the free world's 1950 production of oil, rubber, iron ore, manganese and zinc. Little wonder that Britain and other free nations are alarmed.

As our demands continue to soar, our supplies continue to dwindle. In 25 years, our demand for minerals will practically double; demand for agricultural products will be up forty percent, for timber about ten percent; it will double for energy in all forms, double almost twice for industrial water. Already we must import ten percent of our raw materials supplies; in 25 years, we'll have to import about twenty percent. Obviously the self-sufficiency goal of the isolationists is an empty and dangerous dream. Of 74 categories of critical defense materials, we import forty, entirely; we import some of nearly all the rest. Indeed, there are today, only two metals in sufficient domestic supply--magnesium and molybdenum; as the rest of the world grows more dependent on us for finished goods, we grow more dependent on the rest of the world for raw materials.

Our whole position has changed; but it is by no means a fatal position; the immense resources of human ingenuity and discovery are still at hand; and we shall know far more how to apply them for the future, now that we know where we stand in the present.

COMPTON ADVERTISING, INC.

630 Fifth Avenue
New York

TYPED 12/4/52

IVORY SOAP

December 11, 1952

LOWELL THOMAS CBS

AS BROADCAST
COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM
ANNOUNCER
PRODUCTION Jean Seight

COMMERCIAL NOTES

	No.	Topics	No. Wds.
OPENING SIGNATURE			
OPENING	#3	BATH	130
CLOSING	#13-D	DISHWASHING	115 (Body Copy)
CLOSING SIGN-OFF			
			245
TRAILER #5			

PRODUCTION NOTES

ENGINEER: PLAY OPENING DISHWASHING JINGLE #13-D - BANDS 1 or 2--
15-SECONDS - FROM RECORD (CLOSING)

PLAY CRISCO TRAILER #5 - BANDS 1, 2 or 3 (FROM RECORDING)

COMPTON ADVERTISING, INC.

630 Fifth Avenue
New York

TYPED: 12.4.52

IVORY SOAP

Week of December 8, 1952

LOWELL THOMAS CBS

OPENING SIGNATURE

SOUND: (TICKER MOUNTING UNDER:)

ANNOUNCER: From (NAME OF CITY) ... (NAME OF CITY) ... (NAME OF CITY) ... (NAME OF CITY) comes the news. Reported by the world's most famous newscaster, Lowell Thomas ... presented by the world's most famous soap -- Ivory!

.03

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COMPTON ADVERTISING, INC. 630 Fifth Avenue New York

"Ivory girl - o you hands"

RO #609

(typed 12/4/52)

IVORY SOAP WEEK OF December 8, 1952

LOWELL THOMAS CBS 115 Words (:55) (Body copy)

CLOSING COMMERCIAL #13-D

(OPENING DISHWASHING JINGLE #13-D BANDS 1 or 2 - 15 SECONDS - FROM RECORD AS FOLLOWS:)

SINGER: Oh - your hands aren't made of china
1-57:19 You need a soap for the skin ... in ...
2-12:18 the dishpan. That's Ivory.
Your hands aren't made of china. (END OF RECORDED JINGLE)

CASE: Ever think about that? Y'know, these new detergents may be all right for the dishes - but what about your hands? Your hands aren't made of china. They need a soap made for the skin. A cake of pure mild Ivory! Ivory, y'know, is the only leading dishwashing product that's a genuine skin soap. Good to hands.

You can prove it. If some unkind detergent has made your hands feel dry and look coarse - try a cake of Ivory. More doctors advise Ivory for the skin than any other soap. In seven days, you'll definitely have nicer-feeling, nicer-looking hands.

1-58:18 Your hands aren't made of china. When is Ivory Soap going into
2-13:16 your dishpan?

******

COMPTON ADVERTISING, INC.

630 Fifth Avenue
New York

(typed 12/4/52)

LOWELL THOMAS CBS

December 9,10,11 & 12, 1952

CLOSING SIGN-OFF

CASE: NOW FOR IVORY

Lowell Thomas says ....

THOMAS So long until tomorrow (Monday)

CASE: :08 Lowell Thomas is presented by Ivory Soap - 99 and 44/100ths percent pure - IT FLOATS!

This is Nelson Case speaking.

SOUND: (TICKER PAD IF TIME PERMITS)

ENGINEER: PLAY RECORDED 40-SECOND TRAILER

ANNOUNCER: LISTEN AGAIN TOMORROW (MONDAY) NIGHT FOR LOWELL THOMAS AND THE NEWS.
(SYSTEM)

****

COMPTON ADVERTISING, INC.

630 Fifth Avenue
New York

RO #377

TYPED: 12.4.52

AS RECORDED FOR STATION 11.30.51

CRISCO

LOWELL THOMAS CBS

December 11, 1952

CAKE - CREAMIER CRISCO

113 Words (:40)

1 - 58.39
2 - 13:37

TRAILER #5

ANNOUNCER: Say -- are you cookin' with Crisco? Just try it for cakes!

Listen! Those lighter, richer Crisco cakes are now even easier to make! Y'see, Crisco's now creamier - easier-blending than ever before. And y'know, Crisco has a wonderful cake-baking secret blended into it -- specially developed by Crisco to give you higher, lighter cakes than any other type of shortening! Crisco makes any cake a success. And try those quick-method recipes on Crisco labels. You'll get cakes that are lighter and richer, moister and more tender than you get with any other type of shortening or ordinary recipe!

Get the New, Creamier Crisco -- for lighter, richer cakes -- now even easier to make!

1 - 59.20
2 - 14:19

******

COMPTON ADVERTISING, INC.

630 Fifth Avenue
New York

RO #541

TYPED 12/4/52

IVORY SOAP

December 11, 1952

LOWELL THOMAS CBS

130 Words (:46)

1- 45:16
2- 1100:17

OPENING COMMERCIAL #3

CASE: Let's start off with a little rhyme
If your bath is just routine
Try Ivory Soap -- get more than clean.
Get pleasure from the bath you take
Use Ivory Soap -- for pleasure's sake.

Ease into the tub - and just relax. You can with friendly Ivory. There it floats - always at your service.

When you decide to lather up - a few pats on that big white cake brings suds aplenty! You realize -- Ivory lathers faster than any other leading bath soap.

Then you stroke those suds over you -- and you get the baby treatment. They're pure and mild. After all more doctors advise Ivory than any other soap.

1- 46:04
2- 1101:05

So handy! So much lather! So refresingly gentle! When you're in a bath with Ivory Soap -- you're in for pleasure. Pure pleasure!

(PAUSE) That's the way the ball bounces

Now, Lowell Thomas.

THOMAS: NEWS (WHICH SHOULD END AT APPROX. 6:57:15 AND 11:12:15)

* * * * *

CBS RADIO DIVISION

LOWELL THOMAS

Thursday, December 11, 1952
6:45 - 7:00 P.M.

ANNOUNCER: ... (C O M M E R C I A L) ...

THOMAS: Good evening, everybody! General Eisenhower is receiving a tumultuous welcome in Hawaii. He arrived in Pearl Harbor on board the cruiser Helena; thousands at the dock to greet him, including, of course, the traditional bevy of hula girls, who greet all arriving celebrities. Ashore - he was met by Charles E. Wilson, his Defense Secretary-to-be, General Omar Bradley, Chairman ofthe Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Admiral Radford, commander of the Pacific Fleet.

Wilson and Bradley had been with the President-elect in Korea. But they flew on ahead to Hawaii, there to arrange for various military discussions, and other important meetings.

General Eisenhower reviewed the local garrison to the blaring of 3 service bands; then a triumphal motorcade through downtown Honolulu. In traditional Hawaiian style, the next American President wore a lei of carnations around his neck, riding through cheering crowds in that fabulous city of the Sandwich islands, ancient capital of Liliuokalani.

He visited the memorial cemetery of the Pacific, in that vast bowl above Honolulu. Then retired to headquarters at a Marine Air Base. After a series of conferences, the President-elect will fly to New York this weekend for that much-heralded meeting with his old chief, Douglas MacArthur, to discuss the Korean war. The first meeting between the commander of victory in Europe and the commander of victory in the Pacific, in a long, long time.

Today, the news about President Truman is in a somewhat familiar vein, but even so, it does seem a little odd, in a way; a slam-bang attack on the two generals who once served him, MacArthur and Eisenhower. The President told a press conference that he believes neither general has a concrete plan for ending the war in Korea. He referred to the Eisenhower trip to Korea as something that came about as a result of campaign demagoguery. In Mr. Truman's interpretation, General Eisenhower mentioned his intended trip to win votes.

Then was forced to go through with it, after election. But the President saved his most scathing remarks for General MacArthur.

He went back to the time when MacArthur was commander in the East, out there in charge of the Koream war. According to Mr. Truman, MacArthur gave him a lot of misinformation at that famous meeting on Wake Island. Misinformation like the statement that communist China would not intervene in Korea and that the fighting would soon be ~~fa~~ over. Also, said Mr. Truman, General MacArthur did not report to the White House after he'd been relieved of his duties in Tokyo. The chief executive added that any decent man would have reported to him in similar circumstances.

Then the President made it clear that he does not want to see MacArthur and will not ask for his views on Korea. Still, that MacArthur is not barred from the White House, becausethe President claims that he would not be discourteous to any one, even Douglas MacArthur.

It all sounds as if President Truman was getting off his chest a lot of pentup feeling about the general; the general so often referred to as one of the great military commanders of history, and who later became one of Mr. Truman's bitter enemies. Or is popularly considered to be so.

The British government wants to hold discussions with General Eisenhower before his inauguration on Jan. 20th. Winston Churchill so stated in the House of Commons today. Replying to Labor opposition, the British Prime Minister said that hewould lose no opportunity for private and informal contacts with the American President-elect. He addedthat he would like to meet the newly-elected American President soon. The reason? - that Churchill wants to find out if Eisenhower intends any radical change in foreign policy. The British are jittery about this. They had it all figured out that Stevenson was going to win the election. Now they fearthat under the new administration we will turn our attention less to Europe than to Asia, despite the fact that General Eisenhower was head of NATO.

Left-wing Socialists like Aneurin Bevan claim that if General Ike listens to General MacArthur the Korean war will probably spread. They oppose

MacArthur when he was commander in Tokyo, charged that he wanted to carry the fighting north of the Yalu into that Manchurian sanctuary from which the Reds strike at the UN forces.

Questions Churchill wants to discuss with the man who will be in the White House for the next 4-yrs., and he hopes to do it soon.

The Russian satellite states in eastern Europe are suffering from severe food shortages. The condition of the captive peoples is described by UP correspondent Russ Jones, in a dispatch from Vienna. He says the facts have been pieced together from reports of refugees, travellers and diplomats, also the direct admission of communist leaders in the east. Many satellite countries have held purges of food officials, using various people as scapegoats. In Romania, charging maldistribution of food stocks. In East Germany, removal of officials responsible for the food supply. In Czechoslovakia, complaints of sabotage as the cause of a famine in bread and potatoes.

The correspondent states that every day dozens are convicted in the communist states. A farmer, who fails to produce his quota, is guilty of sabotage. An independent farmer, who succeeds when communist farmers fail, is called an enemy of the people and so on.

More trouble reported from North Africa, Morocco. It flared up after the French staged a mass arrest of communist and nationalist leaders, and banned their political parties. Anti-French forces struck back by calling a 3-day general strike. In Casablanca, the nationalists tried to organize a demonstration. It was broken up by the foreign legion.

The European quarter of the city now is cordoned off; protected against violence from the inhabitants of the casbah, the old walled city. The French say they can maintain order; they claim there is no mass following behind these anti-French leaders.

France facing the old problem in North Africa. Trouble caused by a few malcontent leaders, and perhaps some sympathy from North America. All symptomatic of a strong current of nationalism, runningthrough populations nearly everywhere.

The fighting in Korea is flaring up again. There was a temporary lull just after General Eisenhower finished his tour of inspection and started home. Many observers thought the war might settle down to a stalemate for the winter. But now the Chinese Reds have broken the lull. Hurling their biggest attack in 2-mos. against Little Nori Hill, some 40-mi. north of Seoul.

A dispatch describes the battle as swaying back and forth; positions changing threetimes. One South Korean counterattack succeeded in retaking the hill after the first communist assault. But the Reds came back again. Under the cover of fierce artillery and mortar barrage fire they stormed to the top. Latest reports indicate that the Reds are still in command of that position. Allied guns, planes and tanks are shelling Little Nori. And another South Korean counterattack is imminent.

A ship with 53 people aboard collided with another, andwent down, in San Francisco Bay. But not a life lost. The accident caused by that well known meteorological phenomenon, the San Francisco fog. Visibility almost nil. The S.S. Hawaiian Rancher and the Norwegian motor ship Fernstream collided a mile off Alcatraz Island, and the Norwegian vessel went down. One of her crew described what happened in these words: "There was a big crash. Water started pouring through the sides. When the water was about 4-ft. deep, the chief engineer told us, about 8 of us, to scramble up the ladders and get out. When we reached the deck lifeboats were already being loaded - and in short time, we too went over the side." The transfer from the stricken ship to the lifeboats was orderly. Everyone from aboard, 42 crewmen and 11 passengers, picked up by the Coast Guard. A tragedy barely averted in the famous fog of San Francisco Bay.

According to a late bulletin, President Truman once again is using the Taft-Hartley law in a major dispute. The President has been one of the most outspoken opponents of that law - ever since it was passed by Congress. But now he wants the Justice Department to seek a Taft-Hartley injunction to end the C.I.O. United Steelworkers strike at Dunkirk, New York.

Two little girls getting a giant steel plant underway. That's

the story from Morrisville, Pennsylvania. The plant, the new Fairless Works - of U.S. Steel. The girls, two granddaughters of Benjamin Fairless, chairman of the board of U.S. Steel. Nancy Fairless, 7-yrs. old, touched an oil torch to a 6-ft. fuse andthe fuse set off the first blast furnace. From now on that great blast furnace will be known as the Nancy, for its young sponsor, Nancy Fairless.

Then Nancy's 5-yr. old sister Carol touched a button that started the No. 1 hearth furnace, open hearth.

Present for the ceremony were Ben Fairless and several hundred officials of the company. The new plant will produce almost 2-million tons of steel annually, it is hoped. The men responsible for it are determined, says Ben Fairless, that America shall never lack the steel it needs to grow or the strength that it needs to defend that freedom.

Nancy and Carol may not have realized what was going on, but they must have enjoyed watching those tremendous furnaces blazing into action for the first time.

Now for a bit of translation, not from a foreign language, though it's just as incomprehensible. Let's interpret the following statement: "We've got shosh time and toxin trouble so we'll chuggy along." That's the way the ball bounces. Sounds like incomprehensible jibberish. Ah, but it's GI lingo, in Korea. Leave it to the American soldier to invent a new slang wherever he goes.

In Korea, we're told, you don't hearthe old catch-words of World War II - snafu, for example. That's completely out of order now, obsolete. Instead, there's a brand new vocabulary, featuring Japanese and Korean words. That is, the way they're chewed up by the GIs.

The New York Times prints a list beginning with skosh; that'sfrom the Japanese 'shikoshi,' meaning little. So a soldier will say, "We've got skosh time." Not much. The opposite in Japanese is 'takusan', meaning large, a lot. The GIs pronounce it 'taksan,' - they telescope it, and they say, "Having taksan trouble." Lots of trouble. Another favorite is the Korean

word 'chuggy.' The GIs pronounce it correctly, more or less,but give it a different meaning. 'Chuggy' is a board the Koreans use in strapping packs on their backs for carrying a load up a hill. So the soldiers - they use chuggy as meaning simply 'to go some place.' A GI will say, "Well, guess I'll chuggy along."

In Straight English they have a fatalistic expression: "That's the way the ball bounces." Meaning, that's the way things go and you can't do much about it. So now, Nelson, we have a translation of the statement, "We've got skosh time and taksan trouble, so we'll chuggy along." That'sthe way the ball bounces.

ANNOUNCER: Or as they used to say in my ward, 'Twenty-three skiddo.' Spanish-American War, of course. Now, Ivory Girl ...

(C O M M E R C I A L)

This is CBS Radio Network.

Ed. trans. P. O.

Dec. 11, 1952

Lowell Thomas
Pawling, N.Y.

KOREAN WAR. The fighting in Korea is flaring up again. There was a temporary lull just after General Eisenhower finished his tour of inspection and left for home. Many observers thought that the war might settle down to a stalemate during the winter.

But now the Chinese Reds have broken the lull. They hurled their biggest attack in two months against "Little Nori Hill," about forty miles north of Seoul. A dispatch describes the battle as swaying back and forth, the position changing hands three times. One South Korean counter-attack succeeded in retaking the hill after the first Communist assault. But the Reds came right back. Under the cover of a fierce artillery and mortar barrage, they stormed up to the top. And latest reports indicate that the Reds are still in command of the position.

Allied planes, guns and tanks are shelling "Little Nori." And another South Korean counter-attack seems imminent.

CHURCHILL. The British government wants to hold discussions with General Eisenhower before his inauguration on January Twentieth. So stated by Winston Churchill in the House of Commons. Replying to the Labor opposition, the British Prime Minister said he would lose no opportunity for private and informal contacts with the American President-elect. He added that he would like to meet Eisenhower personally.

The reason is, of course, that Churchill wants to find out if Eisenhower intends any radical change in American foreign policy. Many people in Britain fear that under the new administration we will turn our attention from Europe to Asia. Socialists like Aneurin Bevan claim that if Ike listens to General MacArthur, the Korean War will probably spread. They opposed MacArthur when he was our commander in Tokyo, because they charged that he wanted to carry the fighting north of the Yalu and into China.

These are questions that Churchill wants to discuss with the man who will be in the White House for the next

four years. And so Winston hopes to meet with Ike sometime within the next few weeks.

EAST EUROPE. The Russian satellite states in Eastern Europe are suffering from severe food-shortages. The condition of the captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain is described by United Press Correspondent, Russell Jones, in a dispatch from Vienna.

According to Jones, the facts have been pieced together from the reports of refugees, travelers and diplomats. Also from the admission of Communist leaders in the East.

Many satellite countries have held "purges" of good officials, who were used as scape-goats and blamed for near-starvation conditions. In Roumania - a trial of "subversive elements," blamed for the mal-distribution of food-stocks.

In East Germany - removal of officials responsible for the food supply. In Czechoslovakia - complaints of "sabotage" as the cause of a famine in bread and potatoes.

Russell Jones states that every day dozens of persons are convicted in the Communist states. A

farmer who fails to produce the quota set by the government, is guilty of 'sabotage' according to the Reds. Similarly, an independent farmer who succeeds when Communist farmers fail, is called "an enemy of the people."

Observers from the East say that floods, frost and drought have had a disastrous effect on crops. But there are other reasons which the satellite leaders never mention. For example, Russian demands. Exports to the Soviet Union are said to receive top priority in each satellite, unless, the local situation gets out of hand. Again the Eastern armies have to be fed, and this drains much of the food away from Civil populations. Finally, the Communist system has dislocated farming in the East. The result is that some areas are overstocked with food, while others are living in famine.

The Communist leaders never admit their system is wrong. They never blame the Russians for

oppressing them. And so we see the spectacle of repeated trials in the Courts, as the Reds produce scapegoats to take the blame for everything that goes wrong.

STEEL PLANT. Two little girls getting a giant steel plant under say. That's the story from Morrisville, Pennsylvania. The plant - The new Fairless Works of the United States Steel Corporation. The Girls - two granddaughters of Benjamin Fairless, Chairman of the Board of U.S. Steel

Nancy Fairless, seven years old, touched an oil-torch to a six-foot fuse, the fuse then setting off the first blast furnace. From now on that great blast furnace will be known as the "NANCY," for its young sponsor, Nancy Fairless.

Then Nancy's five-year-old sister, Carol, touched a button which started the number one open hearth furnace.

Present for the ceremony were Ben Fairless and some two hundred officials of the company. The new plant will produce almost two million tons of steel annually. The men responsible for it are determined, in the words of Ben Fairless, "that America shall never lack the steel it needs to grow, or the strength that

it needs to defend its freedom."

Nancy and Carol may not have realized what was going on. But they must have enjoyed watching those tremendous furnaces blazing into action for the first time.

Today the news about President Truman is in a familiar vein. He makes a slam-bang attack on two generals who once served him - Generals MacArthur and Eisenhower.

The President told a ~~press~~ News-conference that he believes neither general has a concrete plan for ending the Korean War. He referred to General Eisenhower's trip to Korea as the result of campaign demagoguery. In Mr. Truman's interpretation, Ike mentioned his intended trip in order to win votes. And then was forced to go through with it after his election.

But the President saved his most scathing remarks for General MacArthur. He went back to the time when MacArthur was our commander in East, and in charge of the Korean War. According to Mr. Truman, MacArthur gave him a lot of misinformation at their famous meeting on Wake Island. Misinformation like the statement that Communist Cina would not intervene in Korea, and that the fighting would soon be over.

Also, said Mr. Truman, General MacArthur did not report to the White House after he had been relieved of his duties in Tokyo. The Chief Executive added that any decent man would have reported to him in similar circumstances.

The President made it clear that he does not want to see MacArthur, and will not ask for the General's views on Korea. Still, MacArthur is not barred from the White House, because the President claims that he would not be discourteous to anyone - even to General MacArthur.

It all sounds as if President Truman was getting off his chest a lot of pent-up feeling about the General who was once one of his ablest commanders, and who later became one of his bitterest enemies.

EISENHOWER General Eisenhower is receiving a tumultuous welcome in Hawaii. He arrived at Pearl Harbor aboard the cruiser, Helena, About a thousand people were at the dock to greet him, including a bevy of hula-hula girls. The area was heavily guarded as Ike came ashore. He was met by Charles Wilson, who will be his Defense Secretary, General Omar Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and Admiral Arthur Radford, Commander of our Pacific Fleet. Wilson and Bradley had been with the President-elect in Korea. They flew on ahead to Hawaii to arrange for military discussions during Ike's visit.

Eisenhower reviewed attending troops, to the blaring of three service bands. Then came a triumphal motorcade through Honolulu. In traditional Hawaiian style, Ike wore a lei (pronounced lay) of ~~carna~~ carnations around his neck as he rode through cheering crowds in the capital city of the islands. He visited the Memorial Cemetery of the Pacific, and then retired to his quarters at a Marine Air Base.

L.T. 13

After a series of military conferences, the President-Elect will fly to New York this week-end. He is expected to meet General MacArthur early next week, to discuss plans for ending the Korean War.

General Eisenhower completing his campaign promise to visit Korea, and to seek advice from every authoritative source on how to end the fighting.

L.T.14

SOKOL A dispatch from Vienna reveals that the Czechoslovak Reds have virtually destroyed one of their country's most famous institutions. The sports movement, known as "The Sokol," is to be reorganized by the Government.

"The Sokol" means "the Falcon". It was founded in the nineteenth century as part of the Czech nationalist movement. It became a center of resistance first to the old Austro-Hungarian monarchy, and later to the Nazis. Recently it has been a thorn in the side of the Communist regime. The Reds have decided to end this opposition, and "the Sokol" will be supervised from now on by the Communist "League for Defense" and by the Communist trade unions.

So passes, at least for the time being, one of the most famous sports organizations in Europe.

MOROCOO Tonight more trouble is reported from French North Africa. This time from Morocco. The trouble flared up after French authorities had staged a mass-arrest of Communist and Nationalist leaders, and banned their parties.

The anti-French forces struck back by calling a three-day general strike of Arab workers. In Casablance, the Nationalists tried to organize a demonstration, but it was broken up by French troops. The European quarter of the City has been cordoned off by the army and the police, to prevent Arab violence against the inhabitants of the quarter.

The French authorities claim that they can maintain order. They claim there is no mass-following behind the anti-French leaders. But one Frenchman was not so optimistic about the situation. Said he; "Nobody can say what will happen, or what will not happen, in the next few hours."

France is facing the old imperialist problem

in North Africa. Is the trouble caused by a few malcontent leaders? Or is it symptomatic of a strong current of nationalism running through the whole population? When these questions are answered, we will know more about the future of the French protectorates.

FERNSTREAM A ship with fifty-three people aboard, collided with another and sank in San Francisco Bay. But not a single life was lost.

The accident was caused by that weel-known meterological phenomenon, San Francisco fog with visibility very poor, the S.S. Hawaiian Rancher and the Norwegian motorship, Fernstream collided a mile off Alcatraz. The Fernstream sank. One of her crew described what happened in these words: "There was a big crash and the water started pouring through the side. When the water was about four feet deep, the chief engineer told us men - about eight of us - to scramble up the ladders and get out. When we reached the deck the lifeboats were already being loaded, and in a short time we too went over the side."

The transfer from the stricken ship to the lifeboats was orderly. And everyone from aboard - forty-two crewmen and eleven passengers - were picked up by the Coast Guard. A great tragedy barely averted in "the fog of San Francisco Bay."

FORMOSA FILM SCRIPT

January 12, 1953

Dear Fred:

We got the film on the Chinese Nationalist Army training operations on Formosa off this morning. By the time you get this we will probably be on or near the mainland. From there, if we get film, we'll do the Okinawa story on our way back to Japan, unless you or Ed have other ideas. We are all pretty beaten up from these living conditions, but all of us are still enthusiastic. I hope the Formosa deal works out. We'll be anxious as hell to get your reaction. There is a story to be told from here. I hope we've captured it. A reporter can't possibly document the story after only seven days on the island. You can ask one-hundred people what they think about the efficency and the potential of the Free China Forces, and come up with an equal number of opinions. I know because I've done that.

Our pictures must be tempered with solid narration. As they stand now the forces look pretty perfect. They are not. While the individual soldier is pretty well trained there is much to be accomplished in the leadership. The real snafu seems to be at bagiment and divison levels. There is still a good deal of politics in this army. Too much of it. The Chinese idea is to tell the story on the basis of showing the best they have. I'm sure that the best materials they have here we would consider junk or outmoded. Under no circumstances have Ed picture the Chinese Army as ready and able to take off and successfully invade the Mainland. Off the record: I've talked to many MAAG people here and many of them dealing with the Air Force, infantry and artillery are pretty discouraged. The Chinese in these branches pretty much run their own show...don't understand us..don't seem to want anything but our material help and, if they got it in full force, wouldn't know how to use it properly to the full advantage. If everybody here were honest there is still the big problem of teaching them how to maintain equipment and handle supplies. They like to hoard. Conditions are much better in the Navy and Marine Corp. Both seem to be better trained and handled. Their officers enjoy working

[redacted] with Americans. In the other branches of the service our advice is sometimes resented.

The United States hasn't done all it could either. We are behind the schedule we promised. But, up to this point, hoarding has been a problem. Some people I've talked with say an unestimatable amount of equipment and parts have been hidden away in all kinds of places, including caves. WHEN [redacted] found, all or most of it is useless today because there is inadequate protection against the elements. Some of it was brought over from the mainland, some captured from the Japanese, and some of it supplied direct from us. It's their way of thinking. Even the honest ones believe that, for example, if you have a new cigarette [redacted] lighter and you put it in a cave it will be there, in perfect condition, when you return to use it fifteen years later. They refuse to believe that anything needs protection against the elements. One person I talked with says that not all of this is ignorance. We have photographed one bit of evidence of hoarding and the damage it can do. You'll see it on pictures. The Chinese Army and Air Force has no decent supply or maintainance sections. Our pictures show an estimated one-million-two hundred thousand dollars worth of engines. Some of the engines have zero hours on them. Most of them are beyond repair. It isn't, in this case all the fault of the Chinese. They never got the parts with which to get [redacted] all of these engines running. This, however, is an example of how little care they take to protect what they have. It is also an example of bad logistics. They never had enough planes and haven't now to use this many engines.

As I do the captions, I'll try to let you know everything that can be used about the subject we've been photographing.

Give my love to Betty and tell her not to worry too much... I'll make it back.

Regards,

Ed.

Dope sheets on the Formosa Story.

Sound Roll #1 Interview...without Scot t. Mayor General Willicam C. Chase. Chase is Chief of MAAG (Military Advisory Assistance Group) on Formosa. He makes a pitch for more aid. He makes an ass of himself on camera. Nothing I could do about it. He's well loved by our GI's (MAAG) personnel. I don't believe what he says, elimanating the "this beautiful island," could happen.

We visit the Chinese Army Artillery School at Tainan. A combat unit demonstrates how to handle 75 mm Howitzers. Major Glen Bailey, Oklahoma, requests demonstration. AS YOU KNOW...MAAG'S POSITION IN THIS WHOLE SHOW IS STRICTLY TO ADVISE.

Here's what the Chinese Nationalist Army is said to consist of. Twenty divisions in ten armies. These are combat troops. A division is somewhere between ten and twelve thousand men here. At the outside that is about 250-thousand combat infantry and artillery men. They claim an overall force of somewhere between 500 and 600-thousand [redacted]. There is one other combat division said to be operating in off shore island operations. It is composed of regular and guerilla type troops. Last year this division, up to and including September, made 380 attacks on "enemy installations in cities, towns and islands." It seized 36-ships, junks and motorized patrol craft. The Government Spokesmans office says it destroyed 573 other ships and captured 53 artillery pieces and more than 4-thousand smaller weapons.

Four unnumbered eyemo reels. Shots from the air establishing Formosa. We fly over the Formosa Strait and into the coastline. Over the City of Taipeh. Some good coast line approach shots. Bocky is somewhat worried about rough flying, but I'm sure we got enough to give Ed a way into the piece, if you want to use it as an opener.

Another unnumbered Eyemo.

Sign establishing [redacted] Chinese Army Artillery School at Tainan. Dependicualr sign says: "Loyal to the leader." The horizontal one: "Eliminate the shame." Most people here agree that there is great loyality to Chiang Kai-Shek. They also point that it will be suicide to attempt a [redacted] landing with so few troops against the enemy hoards on the other side of the water. Also some pretty good

military men are convinced they just haven't got the weapons to do it with. One other consideration. There has been improvement in the troops, but they are getting older and their combat efficiency may not be as keen as it should be due to sitting on the sidelines. Nevertheless, each year Chiang promises that "this will be the year." Some people point out that these troops have never lived so well. Like all troops they are stealing the natives blind. The conclusions which can be drawn from this is that at least some would rather not gamble on going back to the old way of life, if they have to try it alone.

Eyemo # 1.

CU of faces at the Army's artillery School

Sound Roll # 2.

Military slide rule class at the Artillery School. Major Mort Birdseye, Raleigh, N. C., MAAG gunnery advisor, gives Chinese Colonel Lee a problem to interpret to a class. This class is made up of Majors, Lt. Colonels and Colonels. In the class room all military rank is removed from uniforms and, it is said, all are considered equal. One of the more serious problems in the Chinese forces is the class system. Wealth and family determines some of the highest military rank. Many of MAAG advisors point to this system as the root of much of their trouble. Guys who should be butchers...in the extreme example...are leading lights in battalions and divisions. Every body agrees that any improvement in leadership has been accomplished below these levels.

Sound Roll #2. (continued)

A meteorlogical class. Corp. Richard I. Proctor, Scarboro, Mass., instructs thru an interpreter. The class releases a weather balloon. The order the Chinese is giving is: "warning" then "release." They learn wind directions, etc. for artillery calibrations.

Eyemo #2. CU of class faces to be used with slide rule class on sound roll number two.

Here is some background on the Chinese Artillery School...Tainan. It has an enrollment of seven-hundred officers and enlisted men. The advance officers training and the non-commissioned officers' courses take about 18 weeks. Among things taught are weapons maintainances,

AAA weapons, officers' communications. The school has 20-American officers. They act only as advisors, as in every operation. The school was founded in January 1952 and has graduated 520 officers; one-thousand and seventy enlisted men. When graduated from any of these military schools the men return to their units. One of the stories told by the more bitter people, and it is not entirely untrue, is that the graduates go back in their units and refuse to disclose what they have learned because then the other men will know as much as he does. OR IF IT HAPPENS TO BE A Sgt. HIS LT. WILL RESENT NOT KNOWING AS MUCH AND SLAP THE GUY DOWN.

Sound # 3.

Ping Tung Air Force Base. Eleventh Fighter Group. Ten newly painted B-51s put on a defense maneuver. There is a problem of an attack landing by an enemy at the Dang Shu River. Establishing shot of the line of planes at the Ping Tung Base. Picture of the Base Operations Building. A U. S. Sgt., Edmund Depesquale, Montgomery, Alabama, gives an interpreter advice. Our pictures show the ten best painted planes owned by the Chinese Air Force. They look better than our Air Force says they are inside. Maintainance problems again. Capt. Henry E. Skusa, Decator, Illinois, advises how to load 50-calibre machine guns. Rocket loading is directed by Sgt. Earl Coyle, Fort Walton, Florida.

Establishing shot of a briefing of Chinese pilots. These pilots are good flyers. You'll see. They are going on their mission...a defense maneauver---with rockets and napalm. Major Donald R. Maudley, MAAG team commander, passes on briefing to Col. Chiang And Col. Chio.

Sound Roll # 4.

CU of Major Maudley in breifing session. CU of Major Maudly, Chin and Col. Chiang. CU of men--pilots listening. Pilots introduce themselves. Ready room. Alert and scramble. CU of pilots getting into aircraft. Taxi to takeoff.

Eyemo...unnumbered. Shot by Scott because Bocky had to get sound takeoff from ground. It was completely impossible for this amateur to hold the camera steady in the fighter plane. Other material on this roll is an attempt by me to get rocket fire from the ground. Keep it quite and don't blame Bocky for this roll.

Eyemo # 4.

Shots of the 101 engines for F-47s and C-47s, worth an

estimated million or so dollars. They are rusting and filling with moisture in an old bombed out hanger. This is at the Ping Tung Base. Some of the engines have been wasteing away since 1951. Our MAAG people have advised them time and again to do something about it. In another case, hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of penicillan and other drugs were found stockpiled away....completely ruined because OF overage.

Alo most everything that is not right here is blamed on the Political Department. This department, it is said, runs the whole military. It's the Generalissimo own Gestapo and has its finger in everything, according to those who don't take this situation too lightly.

Sound #5.

Takeoff of the P 51s. They fire their rockets and napalm at the target. Should be great stuff.

Sequences at the Chinese Military Academy, Feng Shan. This is supposed to the West Point of China Nationalists. The men volunteer to attend. The school has three regiments. The 24th Regular; the 25 Regular; and one reserve regiment. The average age of the men in the 24th is 22 years; the 25th..twenty-one. The course is two and a half years for the regulars. The reserve regiment is made up of university students. They attend for one-year and are returned to civilianlife. Their average ag e is 24. Physical requirements for the reserve troops is not quite so strict as it is for the regulars. The men receive courses in basis training, combined arms, branch specialization, chemistry, foreign languages, etc. Cadets who qualify are supposed to be High School graduates, at least, to get in.

The Fourth Company of the 25th Regiment goes thru rifle practice on the range. During the rifle range course, each man expends one-thousand rounds of ammo. He goes to the range once-a-week to put into practices what he learns about rifles in the class room. On each range session he fires three rounds. Thirty-six is perfect scoring; sixteen is passable. Second Lt. Lee Mo Kon

gives the drill orders in Chinese. English translation: "Put stools down." "Be Seated." CU and all the trimmings. Men working on light machine guns.

Eyemo # 5. CU of rifle cadets. Chinese Military Academy. School motto in Chiang Kai-Shek's handwriting. "Friendly, Love, Faithful.

Silent shots for cut-ins aboard Chinese Navy Ship...on Sound Roll Six.

Sound Roll #6.

Chinese CAVALERY [redacted] officers in training at Kang Shan. The Chinese Army has no CAVALERY [redacted]. Officers are being trained but the have no troops. The horses are about all there are in Formosa. The Chinese explain the operation this way. It is known....not classified...that the reds have at least two regiments of cavelry on the mainland. They reason when they get back to the mainland and capture the horses and geaf these officers will know how to handle the situation. The men are said to be crack lancers. The boys we consentrate on are, as you can see, newly arrived. Those who think the operation completely silly will tell you THERE [redacted] are no troops to go with the officers and the these horsemen are used to dress up dress parades, etc.

Sound Roll # 6 continued. Establishing shot of the bow of the U. S. DE (DESTROYER ESCORT) we have given to the Chinese Navy. Bugler sounds "standby" and "castoff." CU to cut-in to bow shots. Men at their sea stations. Flags for signals are hoisted. Guns 1st 3m FIRING TARGET BURST 20mm, 40mm fire on their target.

Eyemo # 6. Flag hoisting. Cut-ins for ship firing.

Sound #7. Cut-ins and CU for ships departure sequences. Captain on on bridge issues orders. The English translations you hear are for the MAAG inspectors aboard who are observing the progress of the Chinese seamen. A group of sailors introduce themselves. Some in English...some in Chinese. The Chinese characters across the hats say: Republic of China Navy. [redacted]. This is the order in which the men appear before the camera. 1. English. 2. Says he's Wei Chung Yu, gunner first, four years in the Navy. 3. Says he's Ma Chin-Hui and is a petty officer. 4. English. 5. Says he Wei Chung Yu, gunners' mate...five years in the Navy. 6. Says he's Chang Kan Yun, five years.

7. Chou-Chung Chaun. He says he is a CPO signalman who has served seven years in the navy. Has been on ten combat missions. 8. Yang Teh Chun, gunners' Mate. Says he has served six years in the navy and has been on six combat missions.

Sound seven continued. Chinese rating schools at Tsoying Naval Base. A physical education class. Effect shots of sailors.

Here is the story on the Navy. It is made up of about 42-thousand men. Individually, like all other branches of the service, the men are well trained. What they have they keep in pretty good shape. But there is a question how much more their present personnel can keep afloat. They haven't enough trained personnel to handle what the Admiral asks for. The Navy at the present time consists of six DEs, 10 LST, 7 minesweepers AM, six LCIs, six LCM (small) and a number of other patrol and gunboat craft. It has one ex-U. S. tanker too. Obviously, it hasn't enough to make only the briefest landing operation. Even this would have to be done at the most unpopulated spot. One of the top naval experts here says "it would be the briefest landing in history." The Chinese Air Forces is inadequate for any such operation. So, any such operaton would require our whole hearted assistants and participation. They are kidding themselves or someone.

The relationship of the Chinese Naval personnel to our MAAG people is much better than in the Army, [redacted]. They are anxious to learn and willing to take our advice.

Sound #8.

Feet shots to go with the end of Sound Roll # 7. Chinese troops prefer to wear sneakers. They don't like shoes. What kind of a situation this would cause in a cold weather operation is something to consider.

Chinese Marines. Strength, 13-thousand odd. Singing and dancing. We found this happening when we made our preliminary visit. It was a Sunday morning and I think it is great. The men dance and sing for their own entertainment and relaxation. The Marines are, in my opinion, the best trained unit in the whole show. There is no doubt that these men are ready. Here is the translation of the aboriginal song they are singing. It is not a literal translation but it is the best I could get. "Blue mountains high, clear water in the

creek. The girls in Ali mountain are as beautiful as the water. The lads in Ali mountain are as strong as the mountain. Blue mountain as high as ever, quick water as clear as ever. The girls and the lads never part.

All our usual CU and cut-ins.

Sound # 8 continued. No sound. Fire control class at the Naval Academy for cover material so Ed can talk over. The weapon is a 75 mm howitzer. The marines are great. In my opinion, if the rest of the troops as units could come somewhere near the Marines...we would have little to worry about. They show inginuity and are willing to help themselves. This must be our fault someplace along the line in other branches of the services. But in must be kept in mind that the Marines are a small unit by comparision with the Armies and they have gotten the cream, along with the Navy, of the men.

Sound #9. Marine combat exercise. Pan from flag to the men. The cry we hear is the equivelent of "Die you son-of-a-bitch." We can say "Die you devil." Semi close-up of practice. I would NT want to be the practice target. Pan shot of the Marine's hasty barracks.

Further example of the Marines willigness to make for themselves. All these barracks, which can house 13-men, are new. Last year, a tornado hit hard. Most every building was demolished. This is what they have done to restore their housing. The barracks are built of straw, mud and some concrete. Damned if they aren't better for the climate, and are much cheaper to construct.

The Marines practice landing on a beach with LVTs. (LANDING VEHICLE TRACT) Shots on shore CUs, etc. We used a Chinese photographer to shoot from one of the craft coming in. We tried it with the sound camera and got a few shots. I shot the stuff on the marines going from the beach to the woods. Bocky made all the [redacted] sound.

Sound # 10.

Short take of the Marines landing on beach. CUs.

Marine Major Robert B. Carney, Jr. He is the son of a famous [redacted] father who is an Admiral. I have great respect for the work

Carney has done. He is one of the great guys here. His title is Staff Officer Marine Section (MAAG). You'll see I've let him talk more than I should have, but some part of it should be heard by the American people. [redacted] I'm enclosing his full thoughts on the matter. He and some others like him are the people who will eventually make this army. [redacted]

The only place this army can go is here. It should be trained to be intergrated into our forces in the event of a [redacted] third world war. Off the record that is the thinking behind the Marine training. They are being trained to fight side by side with our Marines whether they know it or not. And they are ready to take their place.

Navy Commader J. G. Claes, assistant chief of the Naval Section.. MAAG. He's another hep guy. He tells what he has accomplished and what he lacks. [redacted]

Eyemo # 11

Marine maintenance of [redacted] vehicles. This is no phoony. The marines take care of what they have better than the other land services. They listen to American officers. The vehicles in the background of our first shots are on deadline for six-thousand mile inspection. They are not allowed to be used until greased. They have been deadline because there was no grease. It did arrive recently and the vehicles will be rolling soon. In the Army, the same vehicles probably would be run until they broke down. Don't ask me why.

Sound #11. Rear Admiral Liang Heu Chao, Commanding Officer, Navy Afloat Training Command. He asks for more ships and tells his mission. At best, I'm told, if he got everything he asks for he couldn't man the ships with trained personnel. Invasion without our complete support is impossible so most experts say. All he might be able to do is patrol this coast a little better than it is being done now.

Sound #11 continued. Scott opener. Pan from me to rice paddy; past mountains and a pineapple grove to more mountains. CUs and additional pans. I say something like this:

This,Ed, is Taiwan, better known as Formosa. It's a land of rice paddys, sugar cane, pineapples and bannanas. It was returned to China as a result of the Cairo Conference in 1945. Behind all this agricultural plenty is training the Chinese Nationalist forces, etc.

January 12, 1953

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Eyemo # 1.

CU of faces at the Army's Artillery School.

Sound Roll # 2.

Military slide rule class at the Artillery School. Major Mort Birdseye, Raleigh, N. C., MAAG gunnery advisor, gives Chinese Colonel Lee a problem to interpret to a class. This class is made up of Majors, Lt. Colonels and Colonels. In the class room all military rank is removed from uniforms and, it is said, all are considered equal. One of the more serious problems in the Chinese forces is the class system. Wealth and family determines some of the highest military rank. Many of MAAG advisors point to this system as the root of much of their

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Sound # 3.

Ping Tung Air Force Base. Eleventh Fighter Group. Ten newly painted

B-51s put on a defense maneuver. There is a problem of an attack landing by an enemy at the Dang Shu River. Establishing shot of the line of planes at the Ping Tung Base. Picture of the Base Operations Building. A U. S. Sgt., Edmund Depesquale, Montgomery, Alabama, gives an interpreter advice. Our pictures show the ten best painted planes owned by the Chinese Air Force. They look better than our Air Force says they are inside. Maintenance problems again. Capt. Henry E. Skusa, Decateur, Illinois, advises how to load 50 calibre machine guns. Rocket loading is directed by Sgt. Earl Coyle, Fort Walton, Florida.

Establishing shot of a briefing of Chinese pilots. These pilots are good flyers. You'll see. They are going on their mission...a defense maneuver--with rockets and napalm. Major Donald R. Maudley, MAAG team commander, passes on briefing to Col. Chiang and Col. Chio.

Sound Roll # 4.

CU of Major Maudley in briefing session. CU of Major Maudley, Chin and Col. Chiang. CU of men--pilots listening. Pilots introduce themselves. Ready room. Alert and scramble. CU of pilots getting into aircraft. Taxi to takeoff.

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Eyemo # 4.

Shots of the 101 engines for F-47s and C-47s, worth an estimated million or so dollars. They are rusting and filling with moisture in an old bombed out hanger. This is at the Ping Tung Base. Some of the engines have been wasting away since 1951. Our MAAG people have advised them time and again to do something about it. In another case, hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of penicillin and other drugs were found stockpiled away...completely ruined because of overage.

Almost everything that is not right here is blamed on the Political Department. This department, it is said, runs the whole military. It's the Generalissimo's own Gestapo and has its finger in everything, according to those who don't take this situation too lightly.

Sound # 5.

Takeoff of the P 51s. They fire their rockets and napalm at the target. Should be great stuff.

Sequences at the Chinese Military Academy, Feng Shan. This is supposed to the West Point of China Nationalists. The men volunteer to attend. The school has three regiments. The 24th Regular; the 25 Regular; and one reserve regiment. The average age of the men in the 24th is 22 years; the 25th..twenty-one. The course is two and a half years for the regulars. The reserve regiment is made up of university students. They attend for one year and are returned to civilian life. Their average age is 24. Physical requirements for the reserve troops is not quite so strict as it is for the regulars. The men receive courses in basic training, combined arms,

branch specialization, chemistry, foreign languages, etc. Cadets who qualify are supposed to be High School graduates, at least, to get in.

The Fourth Company of the 25th Regiment goes thru rifle practice on the range. During the rifle range course, each man expends one thousand rounds of ammo. He goes to the range once a week to put into practice what he learns about rifles in the classroom. On each range session he fires three rounds. Thirty-six is perfect scoring; sixteen is passable. Second Lt. Lee Mo Kon gives the drill orders in Chinese. English translation: "Put stools down." "Be Seated." CU and all the trimmings. Men working on light machine guns.

Eyemo # 5. CU of rifle cadets. Chinese Military Academy. School motto in Chiang-Kai-Shek's ~~handwriting~~ handwriting. "Friendly, Love, Faithful.

Silent shots for cut-ins aboard Chinese Navy Ship..on Sound Roll Six.

Sound Roll # 6.

Chinese Cavalry officers in training at Kang Shan. The Chinese Army has no cavalry. Officers are being trained but they have no troops. The horses are about all there are in Formosa. The Chinese explain the operation this way. It is known..not classified..that the Reds have at least two regiments of cavalry on the mainland. They reason when they get back to the mainland and capture the horses and gear these officers will know how to handle the situation. The men are said to be crack lancers. The boys we concentrate on are, as you can see, newly arrived. Those who think the operation completely silly will tell you there are no troops to go with the officers and

these horsemen are used to dress up dress parades, etc.

Sound Roll # 6 continued. Establishing shot of the bow of the U. S. Destroyer Escort we have given to the Chinese Navy. Bugler sounds "standby" and "castoff." CU to cut-in to bow shots. Men at their sea stations. Flags for signals are hoisted. Guns 1st 3 in firing target burst. 20 mm, 40 mm fire on the target.

Eyemo # 6. Flag hoisting. Cut-ins for ship firing.

Sound # 7.

Cut-ins and CU for ships departure sequences. Captain on bridge issues orders. The English translations you hear are for the MAAG inspectors aboard who are observing the progress of the Chinese seamen. A group of sailors introduce themselves. Some in English..some in Chinese. The Chinese characters across the hats say: Republic of China Navy. This is the order in which the men appear before the camera. 1. English. 2. Says he's Wei Chung Yu, gunner first, four years in the Navy. 3. Says he's Ma Chin-Hui and is a Petty Officer. 4. English. 5. Says he's Wei Chung Yu, gunner's mate..five years in the Navy. 6. Says he's Chang Kan Yun, five years. 7. Chou-Chung Chaun. He says he is a CPO Signalman who has served seven years in the Navy. Has been on ten combat missions. 8. Yang Teh Chun, gunner's Mate. Says he has served six years in the Navy ahd has been on six combat missions.

Sound 7 continued. Chinese rating schools at Tsoying Naval Base. A physical education class. Effect shots of sailors.

Here is the story on the Navy. It is made up of about 42-thousand men. Individually, like all other branches of the service,

the men are well trained. What they have they keep in pretty good shape. But there is a question how much more their present personnel can keep afloat. They haven't enough trained personnel to handle what the Admiral asks for. The Navy at the present time consists of six DEs, 10 LST, 7 minesweepers AM, six LCIs, six LCM (small) and a number of other patrol and gunboat craft. It has one ex-U. S. tanker too. Obviously, it hasn't enough to make only the briefest landing operation. Even this would have to be done at the most unpopulated spot. One of the top naval experts here says "it would be the briefest landing in history." The Chinese Air Forces is inadequate for any such operation. So, any such operation would require our wholehearted assistance and participation. They are kidding themselves or someone.

The relationship of the Chinese Naval personnel to our MAAG people is much better than in the Army. They are anxious to learn and willing to take our advice.

Sound # 8.

Feet shots to go with the end of Sound Roll # 7. Chinese troops prefer to wear sneakers. They don't like shoes. What kind of a situation this would cause in a cold weather operation is something to consider.

Chinese Marines. Strength, 13-thousand odd. Singing and dancing. We found this happening when we made our preliminary visit. It was a Sunday morning and I think it is great. The men dance and sing for their own entertainment and relaxation. The Marines are, in my opinion, the best trained unit in the whole show. There is no doubt

that these men are ready. Here is the translation of the aborigine song they are singing. It is not a literal translation but it is the best I could get. "Blue mountains high, clear water in the creek. The girls in Ali mountain are as beautiful as the water. The lads in Ali mountain are as strong as the mountain. Blue mountain as high as ever, quick water as clear as ever. The girls and the lads never part."

All our usual CU and cut-ins.

Sound # 8 continued. No sound. Fire control class at the Naval Academy for cover material so Ed can talk over. The weapon is a 75 mm howitzer. The Marines are great. In my opinion, if the rest of the troops as units could come somewhere near the Marines..we would have little to worry about. They show ingenuity and are willing to help themselves. This must be our fault some place along the line in other branches of the services. But it must be kept in mind that the Marines are a small unit by comparison with the Armies and they have gotten the cream, along with the Navy, of the men.

Sound # 9. Marine combat exercise. Pan from flag to the men. The cry we hear is the equivalent of "Die you son-of-a-bitch." We can say "Die you devil." Semi closeup of practice. I wouldn't want to be the practice target. Pan shot of the Marine's hasty barracks.

Further example of the Marines willingness to make for themselves. All these barracks, which can house 13 men, are new. Last year, a tornado hit hard. Most every building was demolished. This is what they have done to restore their housing. The barracks are built of straw, mud and some concrete. Damned if they aren't better for

the climate, and are much cheaper to construct.

The Marines practice landing on a beach with LVTs. (Landing Vehicle Tract.) Shots on shore CUs, etc. We used a Chinese photographer to shoot from one of the craft coming in. We tried it with the sound camera and got a few shots. I shot the stuff on the Marines going from the beach to the woods. Bocky made all the sound.

Sound # 10.

Short take of the Marines landing on beach. CUs.

Marine Major Robert B. Carney, Jr. He is the son of a famous father who is an Admiral. I have great respect for the work Carney has done. He is one of the great guys here. His title is Staff Officer Marine Section (MAAG). You'll see I've let him talk more than I should have, but some part of it should be heard by the American people. I'm enclosing his full thoughts on the matter. He and some others like him are the people who will eventually make this army. The only place this armycan go is here. It should be trained to be integrated into our forces in the event of a Third World War. Of the record that is the thinking behind the Marine training. They are being trained to fight side by side withour Marines whether they know it or not. And they are ready to take their place.

Navy Commander J. G. Glaes, Assistant Chief of the Naval Section.. MAAG. He's another hep guy. He tells what he has accomplished and what he lacks.

Eyemo # 11.

Marine maintenance of vehicles. This is no phony. The Marines take care of what they have better than the other land services. They

listen to American officers. The vehicles in the background of our first shots are on deadline for six thousand mile inspection. They are not allowed to be used until greased. They have been deadline because there was no grease. It did arrive recently and the vehicles will be rolling soon. In the Army, the same vehicles probably would be run until they broke down. Don't ask me why.

Sound # 11. Rear Admiral Liang Heu Chao, Commanding Officer, Navy Afloat Training Command. He asks for more ships and tells his mission. At best, I'm told, if he got everything he asks for he couldn't man the ships with trained personne,. Invasion without our complete support is impossible so most experts say. All he might be able to do is patrol this coast a little better than it is being.

Sound # 11 continued. Scott opener. Pan from me to rice paddy; past mountains and a pineapple grove to more mountains. CUs and additional pans. I say something like this:

This, Ed, is Taiwan, better known as Formosa. It's a land of rice paddys, sugar cane, pineapples and bananas. It was returned to China as a result of the Cairo Conference in 1945. Behind all this agricultural plenty is training the Chinese Nationalist Forces, etc.

Manuscript

Off the Record

Informational Conversation

Federal Chancellor Dr. Adenauer--Mr. Murrow, Mr. Leiser, CBS

Thursday, April 2, 1959, 11:30 AM

Palais Schaumburg

Mr. Murrow:

Mr. Chancellor, do you consider the possibility of a war because of Berlin as a serious danger?

The Chancellor:

I do not believe that Khrushchev wants war, because of two reasons. He knows very well that, if there should be a hot war, Russia, along with other countries, will disappear. Secondly: He wants to swallow Europe by way of a world economic ~~[illegible]~~ might and to overtake the United States by a "cold" route. Therefore, I believe that there will be no such war because of the Berlin question.

If you are interested, may I talk to you generally about my views concerning the Russian plans; based on this background one may alone judge accurately, I believe. Mr. Khrushchev, in my opinion, has two motives, two aims. By himself, he has the same position as Stalin: Prime Minister, Party Chief; but he does not have Stalin's standing (prestige). Stalin was the revolutionary, the Marshal during the war. He is regarded in Soviet Russia as one of the winners of the war, while Khrushchev has risen to his current position from within the party organization. Therefore, he seeks to be put on the same level as Stalin in the eyes of

the Soviet Russian population. That is why he wants a summit conference. Stalin had the summit conference. Khrushchev up to now has not had one, a fact which for him is very important for interior political reasons. Secondly, he wants to achieve world domination of Communism under Soviet Russian leadership, not through a hot war.

In October 1955 I was in Moscow for six days and every day I had discussions for several hours with Bulganin, Khruschchev and other gentlemen, but also with Bulganin and especially with Khruschev alone. He was quite open toward me and asked for our help. He asked for German help, because Soviet Russia's tasks were tremendously difficult. Three tasks he named: one, to raise the living standard of the Russian population; two, to rearm like the United States; thirdly, to fend off Red China. For this, he asked our help. There was no mention of war in these discussions. He also said: Whether you are in NATO or not--we would have preferred that you did not join NATO--but it does not matter to me. There was only the topic of economic questions, of economic aid.

Mr. Murrow:

If I understood correctly, do you believe that it is one of the main aims of Soviet policy to break up the Western alliance, but without war?

Answer:

I was coming to that. Khruschchev said that the only two adversaries Soviet Russia had are the United States and Red China. I am quite frank with you and I rely on you to keep this strictly confidentially. I also want to tell you what he told me about Red China. He said: They suck us dry like leeches. Imagine, please,

more than 600 million human beings, each year 12 million added, where shall it end? And he added: These are people who live on a ~~handful~~ handful of rice. Therefore, he said: Help us!

Also during this conference I convinced myself completely that this man really believes that the way of life and economics, which he calls capitalistic, will perish, for he also said: You will disappear from earth with your economic ways, and our way of life and economics will dominate the earth.

If he wants to dominate the earth, then he does not want to dominate an earth devoid of people, and therefore he does not want the hot, nuclear war. His sole aim is to conduct economics. Now I come back to where I started out. He has Stalin's position, but not Stalin's power and prestige, and therefore he wants to achieve, what Stalin did for Russia during the war--elevate it to a world power--in the area of economics.

I believe that he is serious about his seven-year plan. Of course, the figures are exaggerated, but the nucleus is an earnest will to increase Russia's economic power as much as he possibly can. If he should succeed in dominating Western Europe not through a devastating war, then the Soviet Russian economy would be far, far superior to the American economy, and then it would be within his power to hurt seriously the American economy at its sensitive points, and from this, the United States would have to draw political conclusions. Just what political conclusions, no one, in my opinion, can foresee now.

Since the establishment of NATO, Soviet Russia has not progressed a single step into the West. This period is now over. Now he

is attempting, since he is in this position--for reasons which I just developed--to expand into Western Europe via Berlin and the Federal Republic.

Mr. Murrow:

May I ask a question in connection with Berlin? May I again refer to what you said before, namely Russia's attempts to break the Western Alliance? Some time ago, I was in England and there gained the impression that the British attitude concerning Berlin is much more flexible than that prevailing in Germany. May I ask whether this does not disquiet you?

Answer:

Perhaps we can now say a word concerning this; I will be finished in a few sentences.-

If Khruschchev should succeed in incorporating Berlin into the DDR (Eastern Germany), to make the Federal Republic communist by way of a confederation, then Western Europe would be finished. We are the dam here, we Germans, the dam against Communism. The Communists are a very strong party in Italy, and in France, despite DeGaulle, whom I admire very much--they are also a strong party. If we were communistic, Western Europe would be finished. It would come into the communist, the Russian maelstrom. A destroyed Western Europe is of no interest to Khrushchev; a working Western Europe is of great interest to him. Alone in the six nations of the European economic union live 164 million industrious people. Those he would gain power over. The export potential along of the six nations of the Common Market is roughly as large as the entire export potential of the

United States. If he could succeed only in ~~to get~~ getting these six countries--via Germany--into his economic suction, then, together with her own economic power, Soviet Russia would be the first economic power in the world. She is then superior to the United States, and you should also consider that a dictator can treat people quite differently than a democracy. Then, Soviet Russia can prepare a catastrophy for the United States in the economic field, and her position toward Red China will be quite different from what it was, because then he will have 164 million people more and a quite different eceonomic power at his disposal.

Mr. Murrow, if you put yourself into Khruschchev's position--and that one has to attempt to do in order to see what he wants--and if you are then convinced that Communism, under Russian leadership, shall dominate the earth, then it would be sheer stupidity to start a hot war; then he would attempt by means which I just outlined, by way of a Cold War, the undermining of the Western European peoples, to become the paramount economic power in the world within a relatively few years. I do not know whether you know the speech which Khrsuchchev delivered in Leipzig on March 7, in which he said--he speaks as a Communist--:"The national boundaries will become indistinct for the Communist"--then, I believe, my thoughts will become easily understandable.

Before I come back to the question of Berlin, I would like to say a word about England. I am very unhappy about Great Britain, ~~many~~ really unhappy. I want to talk to you frankly. The current English government sees everything from the point of view of upcoming elections. In that, it is indescribeably shortsighted so that I

am quite shocked. What is the result of the English behavior? For one, the socalled flexibility; then, this lightly-armed zone in Middle Europe, which is complete nonsense from a military point of view. After all, we will never attack Poland or Hungary or Czechoslovakia, and certainly not Soviet Russia. If we should want to attack Poland or Hungary or Czechoslovakia, and Russia would come to their aid, we would be lost. Also, should we attack Soviet Russia, we would be lost. European security can not under any circumstances be separated from security in the world.

And what do we have now? If the West is not united ~~and~~ offers a firm front, we are lost vis-a-vis Soviet Russia. But Great Britain is about to evoke the greatest doubts in the unity and firmness of the West. And that is the worst that could happen. For one, no one on our side would trust the other, and secondly, Khrushchev, the Russian, says: The West is already falling apart! But now Berlin! The Western Allies are in Berlin, and they have the right to be there. They have the right to free access, also the right of free access by the civilian population from the West, based on agreements made before the Allied victory, based on the taking over of complete governmental power in Germany, and based on the Paris Treaty of 1949, which terminated the airlift episode. There I can only tell you what John Foster Dulles told me when he was in Bonn: If we Americans should relinquish such a right on Khruschchev's demand, then we would lose face not only in the West but also in the East, then we would be a second power.

Mr. Murrow:

Mr. Chancellor, occasionally there have been proposals--some coming from Washington, some from London--that the United Nations should be present in Berlin. What do you think about that?

Answer:

This thought has occupied my mind already months ago. During the Foreign Ministers Conference which just took place, there was little leaning toward it--I just received the telegram--little leaning apparently because one does not feel sure of a majority in the UN. Actually, I want to tell you, it wouldn't be so bad if the matter would finally be brought before the United Nations, provided one has a majority. But the United States is the foremost power of the Free World--we others are nothing comparatively--England is nothing, we are nothing, France is nothing, Italy is nothing. Only together with the United States do we amount to anything--the United States must not lose face, for God's sake. That would hit us all, that would hit the entire free world.

Mr. Leiser:

Mr. Chancellor, if we consider political realities as their are, that the British are facing an election, that Khruschchev does not want war, if you wanted to prophesize under these conditions or imagine how the entire matter of Berlin will end, what would your thoughts be?

Answer:

There I want to ask a counter-question. Now we have English elections, next year the American elections--if we always would have to consider elections, then the next thing will be that all

of us will find ourselves at the North Pole, but no longer in our countries! In 1961 we will be having elections, then in 1964 you have again Presidential elections. And so it goes ad infinitum. One has to make clear to the British that their own interests demand a different policy. I cannot imagine that the laurels, which Macmillan is now wearing, will whither away very soon. Naturally, one has to negotiate Berlin now, but if one shows a banner in advance reading, "I am flexible," then it is better not to negotiate at all!

Mr. Leiser:

Mr. Chancellor, perhaps I may formulate my question a little more precisely. If we assume that the British could be persuaded into a more reasonable attitude, that during a summit conference there will be satisfactory unity on the part of the Western nations, what would you consider as the possible, but also satisfactory solution or result of this conference which would solve not only the Berlin question, but also the other questions connected with it; for example, the proposals that were made concerning confederation; in other words: what possibilities do you see to get out of this crisis?

Answer:

You have asked many questions. I will attempt to answer them. The fact of a summit conference is for Krushchev of the utmost importance from the point of view of interior politics, and I do not see why one should make him a present of it. I think that Eisenhower was right in saying: If the conference of foreign ministers shows that a summit conference would be fruitful, then Yes. Why don't you wait to see whether or not, during this foreign

ministers conference, Khrushchev is not prepared to settle the Berlin matter in exchange for a summit conference! You just wait! But the West cannot run fast enough to make offers, offers to Khrushchev. Our Social Democrats, for instance now, a folly without equal--Ollenhauer goes to Khrushchev alone, doesn't speak a word of Russian, doesn't even take along his own interpreter. He does not even know what they really said. Then, Schmid and Erler go there. They return, actually knocked out (impressed) by Khruschchev, and a week later they make a program for the re-unification, through which, I guarantee, we would have Communism in all of Germany within three or four years. I do not understand the whole thing: Khruschchev gets everything he wants, only through his bluff. Let us, for a change, do some bluffing, and I repeat: Let us sell him that Summit conference dearly. That is what I told Macmillan. For the fact that a summit conference is coming up, he must pay, he must make some concessions in advance for a change. Because it is quite an achievement to sit down with the Soviet at a summit conference after all that happened. And then I would drag out the summit conference as long as possible, with long intervals in between, for Khrushchev needs peace as much as we do. We always forget that, he needs it too. You see, Stalin went to a summit conference, and then nobody went, and now Khrushchev comes to a summit conference. I emphasize again: for that he will have to pay. In my opinion, these summit conferences should lead into negotiations for the general controlled disarmament of nuclear and conventional weapons. If that is not achieved, then the whole thing is in vain, then the

tension remains as it is now. If, through a heavenly miracle, Germany should be reunited, tension in the world between the Soviet Union and the USA would be exactly what it is now. What I regret so much, gentlemen, is that in all the countries the questions are looked on in an isolated way, forgetting meanwhile that the several questions are all interlocked and that no single question can be solved without solving the main question, namely that the tension will disappear through disarmement.

Mr. Murrow:

Do you have any hope that something genuine and ~~serious~~ concrete will result from a summit conference?

Answer:

Khrushchev also want a lessening of tensions. He needs it. He is bound to his Seven-Year Plan, he has to raise Soviet Russia economically, he is afraid of Red China, and he still has no quiet ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ inside his own country. Stalin simply removed people. He (Khrushchev) cannot do this any longer. Bulganin, Molotov, Malenkov and others still are living. Khruschchev also wants peace, if at all possible. I do not believe that he could use a war, and therefore I think that one has to arrive at disarmament.

I would like to tell you something else confidentially, gentlemen: Recently I was in Paris and there I heard the following from a very reliable source: The Polish Acting Foreign Secretary came from Moscow and he said that the Russians were quite amazed over the West's reaction over the Berlin matter. Not a single soul would dream of starting a war over Berlin. Therefore, they them-

selves were shocked by the echo in the free world. I only wish the free world would cause such reactions more often.

Mr. Murrow:

Would it perhaps be possbl,e, Mr. Chancellor, to sum up your point of view thus: The West is just now engaged in entering into negotiations, and does so under pressure, under a certain amount of threat; but it (the West) does not recognize that this is a fact?

Answer:

I would like to insert, that the greatest asset of the West is its unity, but does not recognize that either.

Mr. Murrow:

Mr. Chancellor, we may not have exhausted all of our questions, but I fear that we have exhausted your patience. I wish to apologize that I do not speak German and could not converse with you in German. However, I believe that, based in our conversation and based on the openness with which you spoke to us, I will be in a position to speak--in English--a little better, a little more intelligently.

Answer:

I thank you very much for what you said. I understand a little English, but do not speak it well. I have tried to talk to you openly about my thoughts and deliberations in the interest of world peace. I know the great influence America has, the great influence you have in America, and I would be very pleased if our conversation at least has contributed a little toward the establishment of sensible order in the world.

CBS RADIO NETWORK

THE WORLD TONIGHT

Friday, July 29, 1960
8:00 - 8:15 P.M.

Program Transcripts
SPECIAL PROJECTS DEPARTMENT
CBS News

CLARK: This is CBS News in Chicago - Blair Clark reporting THE WORLD TONIGHT.

Richard M. Nixon, the Presidential nominee of the Republican party , has been telling everyone he sees here in Chicago that this election will be the closest in a long time. And he's made it clear that he's going to wage a very hard campaign. The morning at his first post-nomination news conference, Mr. Nixon was asked whether he had plans to take any rest before the campaign begins:

VICE PRES. NIXON: We always run a rather intensive operation whether it's going to Moscow or to Missoula, and I feel I've made a very careful consideration of this, and I have decided there just isn't any time for any vacation between now and November 8th, and I intend none. Now, obviously, I don't intend to campaign on sundays, so that may be the answer to your question.

CLARK: And so as far as the Vice President is willing to go on this point is to say that he won't do any actual campaigning on Sunday. He did not say that he won't spend the day of rest working on speeches. It would seem this country is in for quite a campaign. And now that story.

The Republican party got through the business of making a platform and naming a ticket in four days, one day less than it took the Democrats. And today this city of Chicago is getting back to normal. The delegates are dispersing to the four quarters. The hangers-on, the demonstrators, the flag wavers, the calliope players, the Star Spangled Banner singers, the orators, and the audience are leaving town. Chicago can forget national politics for a while. But

this morning, at his first news conference since the nomination, Vice President Nixon made it plain that the Republicans are going to do their best to make the nation remember. Restating his determination to start the campaign now, Mr. Nixon said he would take no vacation and only an occasional Sunday off between now and November 8th. He was asked about the Republican prospects for winning control of Congress:

VICE PRES. NIXON: From my conversations with the delegations, from the reactions thatwe have had to this convention and to our ticket, I believe that we now have a fighting chance - and when I say a sighting chance I mean that not in any sense of indicating any defeatism - a fighting chance with the strong kind of a campaign that we can put on to win the House of Representatives. There is one area, however, in which we must (indistinct) if we are to win the House of Representatives, and that is in the farm belt. In the farm belt, we have suffered great erosion, andconsequently, the kind of a farm program we are to develop must be one that our House members can run on. And in that respect, may I say, I've been delighted with the reaction to our platform on the farm program, which, while general in character, nevertheless does have some specifics. It has been very favorably received by those who are incumbents in the farm belt and those candidates who are running in the farm belt. So we have a fighting chance and, of course, we have no chance in the Senate.

CLARK: The Vice President said that President Eisenhower who had telephoned him this morning from Denver, was tremendously interested in the campaign, at least as much, he said, as he ever was in one of his own races. Mr. Nixon has already said the struggle for Congress offered the GOP no more than a fighting chance. What then about his own prospects for election as President?

VICE PRES. NIXON: My feeling at this time is that anyone running on

the Republican ticket, at the national level, would have a hole in his head unless he said that he was starting behind. Because we know that from the standpoint of party registration, that there are more people registered as Democrats than there are as Republicans.

We also know that as far as Congressional strength is concerned - and this is terribly important - there are far more Democratic Congressmen and senators than there are Republican and this, of course, strengthens their local tickets and a strength in your local ticket strengthens your Federal ticket. And therefore while I believe to a certain extent the fact that people in recent years have developed the idea of voting for the man rather than the party, which incidentally, helps us rather than them, or has helped us more than them - I wouldn't be here if that hadn't been the case, incidentally, because in California we always have that problem - but since people have developed this voting pattern, we start with no pessimism. We believe we will win. But we believe at the present time that they start ahead and I can see some advantage, as a matter of fact, in having our people believe that the other side, which is a fact, that the other side starts with an advantage because that means there's no possibility of over-confidence, there's no possibility of the spirit of 1948 in this campaign.

CLARK: In Mr. Nixon's acceptance speech last night, he said we should carry the fight against communism right into the Communist camp. "How?" Nixon was asked, would he propose to do this?

VICE PRES. NIXON: What I was trying to indicate in that respect is my complete disagreement with the concept of co-existence as Mr. Khrushchev interprets it. His interpretation of co-existence, which we of course agree with - we all want to exist and exist together - but his interpretation of co-existence is that the Communist world is rigid, unchangeable, but that the Free World must, eventually, reach its ultimate destiny of

becoming Communist. So when he talks about peaceful competition, he always is talking about competition in Asia, in Africa, in South America, even in the United States but never of competition in ideas in (indistinct) satellite countries of the Soviet Union. Now, we cannot accept this concept. We must make it clear that whether it's exchange of persons, information or any other area that if peaceful competition is to take place, that it can't be a one-way street. The Free World must not accept the Khrushchev doctrine that what has happened in the Communist world is finished and cannot be changed and that we must at every opportunity develop programs and take attitudes in our dealings with them which will enable us to compete in the field of ideas, in their world as well as in ours. And I have some ideas as to how we can expand our competition in ideas in the Communist world that I will, of course, develop later.

CLARK: As Nixon spoke, his running-mate, Ambassador Lodge, sat beside him and heard him say that he planned to delegate powers to him that would be more than just coordinating agencies.

And later in the day, Lodge held a news conference of his own. He spoke of his past history with that other Massachusetts man, Senator John F. Kennedy.

LODGE: Well, in Massachusetts, the first thing I (indistinct) is that Senator Kennedy is extremely popular in Massachusetts. Of course, an election for the Senate in 1952 and an election for President in 1960 are two different things. Every election is different from every other, that's possibly because a certain number of people have passed off the scene and a certain number of others that have come into the ranks of the voters. But even if that happens (indistinct) people are interested in different things. So while I say that Senator Kennedy is extremely popular, it's

also, this is a different year, a different set of issues, and the people of Massachusetts, as I well know, often to my own advantage, are extremely independent. So I think we ought to present ... submit (indistinct) the voters in Massachusetts.

CLARK: Tomorrow Mr. Nixon meets with party and farm leaders on the agricultural problems ahead. And that's our story of the Republican windup and the start of the campaign, from Chicago tonight.

On the Democratic side of the fence, this was far from an idle day. Vice Presidential nominee Lyndon Johnson was on his way to Hyannis Port, Massachusetts, to confer with the head of the ticket, Senator Kennedy. And on his way, Senator Johnson stopped off in Kansas City to have lunch with former President Truman. "I've got to learn to be the best Vice President there ever was," said Johnson, "and I'm here checking with the man who ought to know." The Senate majority leader said he was going to be talking with Kennedy about plans for the reconvening of Congress two weeks from Monday.

And tomorrow in Nashville, Tennessee, he's scheduled to begin his part of the campaigning with a speech.

Senator Kennedy was asked by reporters today what he thought of a statement by Nixon that implied unity between himself and Lodge on the GOP ticket, and disunity on the Democratic side. Kennedy rejected this implication and said, "Senator Johnson is going to work very strongly with us." Adlai Stevenson will be visiting Kennedy tomorrow and he predicted a Democratic victory with a large margin.

In France, a meeting this week-end of the European continent's two chief leaders, de Gaulle and Adenauer. It could have important consequences. That story now from CBS News correspondent Lou Cioffi in Paris.

CIOFFI: The two elder statesmen of Europe are meeting to-

day outside of Paris, in what may be either an historic moment or just another false alarm. Konrad Adenauer of West Germany flew into Paris this morning, drove directly to Rambouillet Chateau outside of Paris where he immediately went into a secret meeting with Charles de Gaulle of France. All during this week-end the two men will be discussing de Gaulle's idea fora way of creating political unity in Europe. The General's initiative came at a moment when Communist pressure on the Free World has been increasing, and when American leadership has been (indistinct)

De Gaulle has for a long time been arguing for a voice in Western policymaking, but he apparently realizes that France alone does not speak loud enough - just as he is convinced that Great Britain is not a neutral partner in the policymaking of the West. But he knows that Europe, speaking with a single voice, would be listened to, not only by its partners in the Free World b t also by its enemies in the Communist world.

The main question being asked in Paris tonight is, how far is de Gaulle willing to go? As usual, the General is keeping his own counsel. But informed sources here insist he is not thinking of a federation with an elected assembly but rather a confederation responsible to the individual governments which would retain their sovereignty.

What diplomats are watching closely is the function of this organization: Will it be able to make decision? Or, will it simply consult? Because if it is a consultative body, it won't mean much. But if it can act, and have real powers to form a common policy, then an historic milestone will have been reached in Europe - a turning point in this old continent's history.

De Gaulle is reported to feel that it would be best to begin with the six nations that already make up the Common Market and then to spread out. And this in all eyes would be placed in Great

Britain. England has refused to join the Common Market but it might be tempted to join a political grouping.

Supporters of a United States for Europe say this is not enough, that Britain must join in both the economic and the political organisation, not just one of them. But whether this has meaning is a question for the future. What is important, that Europe, once badly divided, is moving closer together and Charles de Gaulle has lent his powerful voice for the means for bringing it even closer together. It could be an historic moment or it could be a false alarm. We'll see.

Now, back to CBS News in America.

CLARK: In the Congo - the United Nations peace force is building up steadily to about 12,000 men and UN Secretary General Hammarskjold is on the scene in Leopoldville but there are still trouble spots. The situation in the rich province of Katanga is said to be tense tonight with opposition growing to its secession from the Congo.

In Washington - there was news of a troublesome delay in the nation's space program, and of ambitious new programs for space exploration. Actually, there was news of two delays. One took place when an Atlas missile, carrying a working model of a man-in-space capsule, blew up 65 seconds after launching at Cape Canaveral. Scientists said that if a man of Project Mercury Astronaut had been in the capsule, he might have been ejected and survived the blast.

On the whole Atlas program which has been plagued by a series of work stoppages, Defense Secretary Gates called a meeting in Washington of construction and industry leaders to try to get the lagging ICBM effort back on schedule. It is as much as five months behind what was planned, partly because of strikes and jurisdictional disputes, and partly because of technical problems.

Also in Washington - the Space Agency - NASA - announced a timetable of space explorations that would cost from 12-to-15

billion dollars over a 10 year period. The program includes no man on the moon before 1970.

This is Blair Clark in Chicago - reporting THE WORLD TONIGHT.

ANNOUNCER:+ Meet your neighbor - know your world - through this station of the CBS RADIO NETWORK.

Trans. - P. O.

So we want to build a television news show for Murrow. What should it be basically.. before we get around to details? What should the guiding factors be? We know that the Murrow A-M show is this: a think piece by Ed, fill it up with news, adds word for today... use overseas reports live when valuable...use the resources of CBS correspondents plus Ed's personal contacts to build the Murrow piece.

Television isn't that simple. We have an eye factor. Something has got to give. We shouldn't sacrifice any of the keys to the success the A-M show enjoys. I presume they might be called, honesty, interest, change of pace, adherence to the important to the disregard of the trivial, a sort of ethical standard which doesn't make dramatic use of the murders, divorces or similar stuff of the day's news.

Where do we go from there? I don't think we can do what is generally known as a "weekly news review". That would be: a summary of the week's important developments at home and abroad, with emphasis on what is available pictorially or can be produced by means of graphs, charts, etc. I don't think we can do this -- straight, that is -- because the net result, considering the general unavailability of film, would be dullish... would stress the intellectual-government-philosophical approach to the news. With words and Murrow A-M this is not a great task. Because the difficult can be broken down into the simple. In pictures--for the eye's mind--it would be more difficult because of the general absence of the pictures we would want.

For the sake of future discourse I feel the best contemporary counterpart in print or in the aim of what we should try to do...is Life Magazine. Time, Newsweek, the New York Times Sunday weekly review are all, in their way, admirable jobs. But they are taking advantage of their factors: newsprint, ample research to find the interesting story...casual pictures which are frequently used as much to dress up a page or the front or back of the book as they are used to tell the story. The only part of Time that is original (outside of its writing and backgrounding) is its cover. Newsweek, in my view, does a less interesting if sometimes more factual job. The Sunday Times...I state all this to get terms of reference correct for future discussion...is to my mind the best weekly review of the news.

One more paragraph on these three approaches: The Sunday Times Review is actually what it says it is: a review of the week's news. But only the more important news...analysis is stressed...side angles on big stories (I'm talking about the whole section, not just the first two pages)...byliners are given liberty to probe where they will...overseas correspondents build up for a weekly summary of possible future developments. In contrast, Time and Newsweek are not weekly reviews at all. They are, more precisely, reviews of what happened since the last time they closed for the printer...presumably Tuesday or Wednesday night...in comparison with the New York Times Saturday night deadline.

So, in planning any weekly TV show we have this target: to outdo Time and Newsweek insofar as the time element is concerned..."up to the minute" we must be....and to outdo the New York Times review by being lighter, easier to take, more sprightly; at the same time being equally informative, partially as analytical (because we can't cover as much ground) and equally authoritative and honest. In other words: tell 'em as much as we can tell 'em...play no angles.

We come to Life, which is something of a success. I don't know just how the Life formula can best be expressed. What they think their formula is...or what it really is. But measured against the preceding thoughts of mine, Life does this: they take out a big section on an important news story.....not actually a news story of the week (they too have a printing schedule)....but they make a big story. They make it with emphasis, with pictures, with text, with charts. They give it...sometimes in a phony way....the impression of importance, if not for current values, then for the future. I think that any TV show Ed does on a weekly basis should combine this type of element. I believe it's almost impossible...under current conditions...(meaning mostly cost and general unavailability of film)...to do a 100 per cent honest TV news job. In other words, just as the newspaper can supply texts...the radio, bulletins....so TV must supply — at the top standards — a general interest to overcome the detail of text, the speed of the bulletin, and present something equally appealing: more information from the point of view of understandability...

more material peculiarly suitable to TV (film, for example)...pictures...than available to either print or A-M.

This will not mean a rigid pattern. Nothing rigid can succeed in any part of the news business. Events don't happen on schedule. But it does call for a pattern...a thing we'll want to do every week.

For the sake of discussion I put it rougly to paper this way: by using the best selections from the best available film...by procuring through our own resources that film footage which we deem necessary to adequately present other stories...by the best available or developable form of charts, graphs, etc...(I think they call it animation)...to present weekly a summary of the major aspects, and some minor aspects, of the news of the week, which will leave each viewer with the feeling that aside from being interested in what he saw and heard for a half hour, he is carrying away some information which he has not seen or read in any other media.

I think that's the objective. There are others that probably attend all magazines, newspapers and A-M news shows: to give 'em something they can't get any place else...to make it as entertaining as possible while sacrificing none of the Times-Trip stature to make the Daily News circulation. We should also aim to be the conductor of a better understanding of what's going on in the world...(not merely to keep the eye moving...

and use as much film as possible, either because we paid for it or because people want to seen film on television.) As far as news goes, I think that's not a correct assumption. I think TV viewers want to see something...but by no means does it have to be film.

I think the most adequate substitute for what is being done presently, is personality. By that I mean Murrow and any other person, any other thing, any other picture, graph, drawing, cartoon, chart, map, etc. that can be tied to personality.

Getting back on the major track: Here are some things I think we must keep in the back of our heads:

The general proposition that a cold or hot war is going to be with us for the foreseeable future...certainly a major factor in planning detailed approach.

The idea that we need latitude. That nothing but ourselves should confine us to any rigid approach. We cannot be a weekly news review because we won't want to actually summarize, briefly, everything of importance that happened last week. So we need a broad, general working title to permit the inclusion of anything we deem advisable without our critics pouncing on us for getting away from what we're trying to do.

My best working title is Edward R. Murrow and the News TV....there will be news all right....but we should not be held accountable for anything we leave in or out...except our own standards.

We must introduce to TV....within the limits of cost alone...although this not be

the guiding factor..."new methods of visual presentation." I don't mean by this more elaborate or complicated charts than the next guy's...I mean a feeling for the eye's mind; i.e., can we best tell the story of the U.S. budget by piling cute dollar signs into little piles and then parenthesizing portions of each pile to indicate relative costs. Or can we do it by getting the Budget Director and forcing him to prove himself...to tell us as simply as he knows how what it all means...by answering the average man's questions...and, if he will, using his - or our - charts to make his point.

Without apologies for the limitation of this medium....TV...we must find a way. The documentary A-M show (Corwin) can give us different accents and voices to make a point...ask a question...provide an answer. The documentary film can express the conditions of 1932 by showing us pictures of closed banks...ruined fields...breadlines. We must find our substitutes to make the major points. When the FBI can't find a picture of Public Enemy X they recreate a portrait from the best available information. It's this sort of approach, through the side door if the front door is closed, that we have to search for. This is not an easy task. But, I think it's one, which has been holding TV news presentation in check: the reliance on the technique of the newsreel....which never has been good and has been dictated by a variety of extraneous factors.

We must think along these lines: radio will beat us to the bulletin or flash... newspapers will supply the details, the text, the original map, some of the background. We

will have to uncover the facts, personalities, issues, behind the news...we will not summarize it as much as we'll analyze it...take it apart....not to reach a conclusion...although such will be inevitable...but to find out what makes it tick....why it happened (if possible) what it's going to mean...what its effect is or can be on other things. This, in general, might be described as ERM's radio approach....although confined, daily, to immediate and pertinent issues. We'll have to do it for the eye...in some cases a great aid, in others a heavy thought-provoking burden.

We must add to the news...dissect its parts...bring it down to earth...at least to viewable range. I hold that generally this can be done by television with the aid of the skilled guide, in turn aided by a behind-the-scenes corps.

We will need much more research than now used in either radio or TV. Not as the basis for complicated charts, etc., but so that we know where in the story we can find visualization material. Times sums up Korean casualties with a story (two pictures) on the first G. I. killed. That's our baby. Because in this boy's home and family background we pluck the core of all casualties and the relatives of all man.

So much for general theory. I have not included details to make any points because some of the details escape me. I think I recommend the road I've traced above...we'll have to join, with others, to find the stopping off places that make the trip interesting and informative.

I'd like to put down a few pages of notes on what I'll call the administrative plan...how we're going to get the show on the road.

I think we'll have to work many weeks in advance. We just can't meet on a Thursday, or Friday or Saturday to decide what to do on a Sunday. We'll have to have our ready morgue full to the brim...we'll have to have someone working on the next national holiday...someone collecting (not for an obituary morgue) material for a thing we can do some time on TV. We must also be ready to undo everything we have painstakingly done: i. e., a week-long build-up on the Brannan plan or Point Four might have to be laid aside for six months because of a Korean war. We'll have to be set with enough personnel that such switches will not throw us.

Because of the general unavailability of ERM, (I mean the other things he has to do), we could profit by basing each week's show on a piece he has done during the early part of the week for AGM. This won't be a standard procedure....can't be. But to keep Ed tied up a minimum of time...to give other staff members a maximum of time to get going... if we could, for example, determine that ERM's Monday A-M piece was sufficiently attractive to warrant inclusion in the Sunday show, we could then start the staff to work to illustrate the point Ed has made. This gives us a tentative working text....and something to start biting on that is of current information.

I think we should figure a working schedule that would demand the least possible

time from ERM. There should be enough daily time for consultation with him...future planning... commitments....interviews for him to do in N. Y. or elsewhere. But the business of putting the show together should not concern him after the plans are made. For argument's sake, we should be able, after daily consultation, to say good-by to ERM Friday at 8 P.M. and then have him show up two hours before air-time Sunday to run through the whole thing.

The matter of personnel is a little beyond me, but here's my stab; I'm assuming, and basking these thoughts, on the premise that we are not connected with any going organization...such as CBS-TV news. I also acknowledge many needs of which I have no present information. Cassirer will fill us in on that. For example, I know film cutters are used in CBS-TV. I don't know who they are, what they do, what jobs they double in, how technical a task it is.

<u>2 research writers in N. Y.</u>; I think this is a minimum for reference work...for checking pictures...for accumulating current and future material...for setting up interviews....directing photographers...dealing with picture-film agencies...worrying about network TV demands...rehearsals...these are the people who will hop to it if ERM suggests "what the hell is Korea like".....these people should never be unbusy....they should be (I'm assuming best workmanlike characteristics of all personnel)....able to contribute ideas...approaches, techniques....to get along easily with people....to work through the night when necessary...to interview people for background information...contact news sources

as regular reporters.

2 reporters in Washington: I would hunch that these people would be the major cogs in the machine. I see them: arranging interviews...if in N. Y. or Washington.... guiding photographers...establishing contact with all possible film and our-type-of-information sources in Washington and (thru Washington when possible) with state capitals... with industry representatives. I see them working with U.S. department statisticians, graph men, information agents, to dig out stories (like Time cover pieces). I would want them to review all propaganda and releases available in Washington for our use...to answer questions from New York...to have ready access to Library of Congress and any other defense or department, agency sources of film, pictures, facts. This is much more of a job for TV than it is for A-M. It needs in effect a Murrow bureau...instead of the Murrow man now employed for A-M.

2 artists in New York: I let Cassirer suggest more or what types...but I say two, only because I have seen inordinate pressure on a one man operation in this department. Might be better idea to have three men...considering that we are working for distant future as well as for deadline.

2-man camera crew in N.Y.: for sight and sound....to be available on 24-hour basis...for set-up or spot news...to be available for travel...possibly doubling as inside-men technicians if this within their capabilities.

1 camera man in Washington; to be our boy ready to do and go where wanted... Cassirer suggests can always get sound man or light man on spot basis...may be able tie up here with generally available man CBS-TV outlet.

1 camera man for roving assignment Europe or Asia or both; (Cassirer says $250 per 2-3 minute special story thru agencies) —— until and unless Cassirer can knock this down with explaining how "exclusive" film generally available through other than present formal sources....I think this essential. A good man in this spot can do for us what Life's excellent photographers do for them: i.e., form time to time supply such an accumulation of good footage as to make the news story of the week.

2 secretaries; for obvious reasons....

1 messenger boy; essential and not borrowable from any news room because I envision a great deal more running around...to airports, embassies, film headquarters, libraries, than now part of task of any such office boys.

I have avoided any discussion of editors...executives...and the like...because I think that must work out eventually. Generally, there will have to be someone in charge of the whole shebang....another in charge of, for want of a better word, the idea-script division....a third overseeing mechanical elements: photographers, artists, research and reporters, availabilities, agencies, etc.

Cassirer should give us details on what film agencies we want to subscribe to.. on regular or irregular basis...where we can get one-shot photographers...how can we cover world aside from job presently being done. I would like to know from him means of contacting free-lancers for specific jobs we outline from New York...in this country as well as overseas.

The business of photographers interests me to this extent. I think our staff men should be artists. I intend no esoteric discussion. But just as Life can select from thousands of pictures the comparatively few that will make each edition....so I want on our staff photographers to do more than take a few feet of a Senator spouting off, with the usual glaring lights, newsreel-like techniques. I think we have to do a film job where possible. I would like a photog who can make an airplane or a bomb look as formidable as it can be...not a guy to run down, press a button and then develop. If we're to deal in film....as we must....we have to make the film do more than hold up in the show...it must stand out.

A photographer who would let the newsreels take footage of Lattimore before the Senate committee while he concentrated on exclusive film of McCarthy's reaction....Men who could go into war zones and produce good stuff for us alone. A man who, with time, could produce a picture story on, say, British airfields, or Yugoslav defenses....who could spend a few days in casualty hospital and come up with four or five minutes that might

in themselves make a "short". My ignorance as to why this sort of thing is not being done now is exceeded only by my interest. Cassirer will have to fill us in.

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I now append some notes under the heading "Materials to work with"....

1- We shall need one wire service...I don't think two are necessary for our job. This needs investigation through CBS contracts etc....what cost additional service would be. Of course both are readily available....can be consulted in CBS newsroom....we'll have to find out (possibly UP) which can render type of background service we need....which can best help visual presentation.

2- I presume we'll have to make deal with Telenews, major TV news supplier at moment. I imagine...Cassirer expert here....general newsreel films not available except at exorbitant cost.

3- our own photographers and staff personnel mentioned earlier.

4- choice on pay-per-use basis...of all available stills...Acme, AP wirephoto, INS.

5- same basis availability of best photographers' morgues: Harris and Ewing...Underwood... Brown Brothers, etc.

6- working deal with all governmental film divisions; signal corps, etc.....

7- United Nations film offices

8- film facilities all foreign embassies. I think this is a generally untapped source

because not very useful on spot, daily basis. But certainly the Indian embassy, for example, should be able produce films of big religious ceremony...state affairs...either at our request or because generally available at home. Also imagine we can work deals wherein we want Nehru explain Korean maneivarings. We send over question. India arranges footage Nehru replying: "Mr. Murrow, the answer to your question is this, etc." Whatever costs involved, should be nominal compared impact personal message for Murrow TV audience...this along lines Ed's frequent A-M suggestion that we go to the source for info. Imagine most foreign governments, with any ample funds, be glad to play along with us on this sort of approach where subject matter not too distasteful. In any event would want have this thoroughly explored as means of getting film from distant places with partial cost borne by home governments.

9- also think there is untapped source material in publicity outfits big corporations. For example, might be able work deal with Cadillac whereby they would film for us the new tanks they making (if not on secret list, etc.). Or say a new "revolutionary" auto comes off one production line. Why shouldn't manufacturer be willing to bear cost special production for us...possibly with executive showing ERM around production lines. Think that film of and by industry would make logical contribution to show under proper arrangements. Of course, I'm well aware it's now being done on small scale by sharp operators who successfully sell TV news footage mostly through beauty appeall...sex.

10- we must investigate present state CBSTV and use of cameras by correspondents...could

be source good backstop material. Also imagine that if this project should develop into CBS show Columbia stringers overseas could act as hiring agents of free lancers to work on spot one-shot basis.

11- As tentative idea of explorations we must make...I suggest looking into feasability of getting footage from Hollywood on any movie we might like to review. Perhaps not as general, weekly project. But, for example, when picture such as "The Men"...dealing war paraplegics....comes out of Hollywood, couldn't we best review it by summarizing story and then showing minute or two excerpt...much in fashion of "coming attractions"...only selected to make our point of view. Seems logical to review movie with footage excerpt as to review book by quoting prominent passages.

12-; we should have general knowledge of what film available in private, small-scale movie makers....such as "News of Year"...."FDR"....etc., which might provide just excerpt or touch we need for backgrounding to make current story come alive.

13- we must bear in mind that universally used Telenews film of week may become almost exclusive by way of special treatment. Here idea of Senator Brewster asking for atomic bombing of Korea. TV news presented it as straight news story...because Brewster available for their cameras...thus giving his statement an importance and stress which not deserved. We might use this from weekly pile but carefully buttress it with ERM saying how unimportant suggestion is...and why. Might also follow by having McMahon in studio to answer Brewster

suggestion. In other words, even the much-used film will become more interesting when handled properly...just as many columnists can derive different approach and conclusions from same presidential statement.

14- Could we improve on some of available telenews film by having correspondents overseas get recordings from pictured personalities. Example: Telenews shows Churchill making speech politicalI rally...commentator describes it...camera to crowd...Churchill gesticulating. Could we have CBS correspondent London put tape before Churchill wherein he says: "The point I tried to make at this London speech, Mr. Murrow, was that unless Europe etc." It wouldn't be a film and voice synchronization, but the personality's comment on pictures of himself...and might add measurably to value, impact of film. Same technique might also be used in perennial picture of Administration leaders coming out of White House, smiling, posing, while newsreel commentator sums it up. Why not, later same day, take tape to Barkley office and him him say: "I can't give you the details but the President told us he will do everything possible etc." In other words, this just one thought on stepping up value of available film.

I now add some details which seemingly fit no general classification, which sometimes are of a minor nature, but which seem to me of likely importance:

1- the need to have one of our staffers be a transportation expert in regard to when and how to ship and expect films from this country and overseas. A man to arrange with

airpotts and airlines just how best to send, how quickest to receive.

2- would want standing orders for us to get all available texts, documents, handouts. official publications, etc. for "animation" while ERM explains. For example: Might be very interesting have London Express newspaper copy so could show headline "Peasants outbattle US Troops" (or whatever it was). "Might want to show briefly printed Congressional record while Murrow proceeds summarize interesting debate. Few of us have ever seen the Congressional Record, a real live bill, a committe report, "close-up" of paragraph wherein Tydings group says McCarthy perpetrated "hoax"...a badly typed, badly mimeographed statement calling up Reserves might have great impact...to open or close a story..editorial cartoons (to be discussed elsewhere) also fit in here. How about a Pravda story...just for a few seconds glimps... perhaps newspaper headlines of week in a montage might help us sell something...when Truman makes a whistle-stop tour a quick flipping of the five or six pages of itinerary might help.. there is so much in actual print that has a force of its own...a handwritten note from ailing Cordell Hull...briefly answering or turning down a ERM query...should be strikingly more interesting than"Mr. Hull had no comment." what does a congressional medal of honor citation look like, we've read text, but is it the sort of impressive thing we think it is? ...when a Lieut. General is made a general if we can't get Truman signing commission (and that's dull enough) how about the general holding it while ERM reads it...what does a casualty "list" look like? .... who except Senate or House visitors has ever seen the official roll call sheets...

and the obit that says: "his college yearbook called him most likely to succeed" why not get the yearbook and show it...The freedom train had impressive working documents from World War three, could we take still show of one page and point out detailed planning that proceeds a major military operation. Etc.

3- we should have some guide as to what we want most. I think it could be something like this: people live...people film current...people film background...then I'd say props... and add dead film, charts, maps, graphs, etc. The thing that interests me here is props. We got to "show em" being the TV viewer. A still of a tank is deadly to those who don't know tanks...(being practically all of us) If we can't get a film of a tank...in some cases even if we can...I suggest a prop...a miniature model tank...a mock up...something that ERM or guests can move around in hands...point to turret and say these are the guns.. most weapons of war—at least old ones...available for this sort of thing, i.e., miniature soldiers, war-ships, srtillery, tanks, armored cars, etc. The idea being: whereas radio can only talk about it, and newspapers and news mag. can only photograph it, we should be able through TV and personalities to give the things dimension...tactile value.

4- There is a tendency — in my opinion — of TV news artists to get fancier and fancier thus attracting eye to gadgetry of the drafting board rather than actuality of the presentation. I've seen shadowy planes dropping cut out bombs on map of Korea with each target then giving off explosion indicating bomb hit. I think approach much better to avoid this

sort of gadget and have ERM say "the planes hit here...let me put a pin in map for you... and here and here and here...now you see where bombs hit." I have fears that intricate, if clever, visual presentations too often attract eye and mind to the symbols rather than to the facts.

5- I think there is no place for music on a news show...no background music, no mood music... no national anthems...Under certain specific conditions I could be wrong but in general I feel there is no music in the news.

6- I dislike simulated sounds unless identified as such...A film of a jet with a sound track always leaves me wondering if a man flew in lower plane to record same. I feel the zooming plane and the booming gun have become to TV news what the bathing beauty show and the fancy diver have been to newsreels. A bore.

7- I think ERM should do all voicing during show except where we have guest, or film with sound. In other words, I don't think we should have second man (like Camel Caravan) reading descriptive material when new subject films are on screen.

8- I would like to add informality and personality to show by avoiding set word cues as present practice CBS-TV. In other words, I don't think that ERM should be bound by any particular script cue to switch to film or chart, etc. I would prefer...this only a suggestion...that the cues be given by some means of lights. In this way, perhaps Ed could press an unseen button to light green light when he approaching cue and then flash

red light for switch. There may be a better way. But seems to me too many times presently, even with word cue before director and cameramen, a word cue is followed by a pause of two to three seconds which gives viewer feeling that everything has gone wrong.

9- I favor no technique to hide fact that ERM reading from script when he actually reading. My impression has been that effort to hide copy behind prop is usually a failure and makes announcer-commentator forget all about audience reaction to furtive eyes sneakingly seeking out hidden script. I think script should be viewable to audience and means found to let 'em know it's being used in interest of accuracy. The business of reading off printed cards may work...that will depend on ERM preference and reaction.

10- on business of interviews I wonder what could be done about having camera over each man's shoulder to get full face of other man. I feel today's screening of interviews usually demands an unnatural seating...for benefit of camera broad and close-up views. If we could catch each man's face...full...as he answers questioner...and put said face on screen I think we'll achieve a much more natural effect than usual business of "looking at the camera that has the red light." In this way the guest will be speaking to ERM but actually to all viewers, instead of posing for same.

11- I'm a little lost on the matter of a general set. My working idea is this: the thing to be set up closely paralleling ERM present office. In other words a desk...two easy chairs...a lounge...a newspaper reading stand....the stand could be used for

graphs, charts, etc....with Ed casually rising from desk and saying "let's go over to the reading board and see what this means." Chart then in place at board, and camera ready to go, with Murrow lending hand to trace eye progress. I think the war room, map room idea could well be placed on what now clock-wall in ERM office...out of way for camera movement when necessary, in place at other times. If background should not be plain... technically...I suggest changing maps....sort of map of week...being duplicate of one we'll use for illustration later in show. I don't know whether we should show a mike. I guess TV presently considers this cardinal sin...even though the shadow of a boom is ever present. Seems to me most people know that there is radio in television...that what a voice says must be picked up by a mike. It may be advantageous...and help Murrow character... to have a mike in front of him while he speaks....with usual boom stuff in other locations when necessary. I think the mike is a sign of the trade...like the camera to the photographer....the typewriter to the reporter.

12- I favor complete informality until and unless we know how we can do split second job otherwise. I see no harm in ERM saying: "Now let's go over to our maps and have the camera give you a close-up of just where our troops have been fighting this week." I think this much more appreciated by viewer than having Murrow say: "The fighting took place around Taejon"....with map suddenly dissolving or fading to replace ERM face..

13- I think this informality must extend throughout show so that if on a Sunday

there is a big news development Ed could lead with it...If nothing important happening he should be able to summarize latest news at proper place in show. Certainly we must include Sunday news...which usually dull and puffed up...some place in this show.

14- I think where we have an exceptionally good recording we ought play it from a transcription table and keep camera moving between interested ERM listening and perhaps still or film of guy who speaking....even if scene of speech and current voice don't match. In other words, I deem it proper to use a good recording on a TV show even without film or picture... For example, Ed might say: "The point on how our troops are doing in Korea was perhaps best made by my colleague Bill Downs reporting from Tokyo this week. Here's what he said: (ERM then goes over to transcription table and turns dial which starts pre-set recording. M listens to 15 or 20 seconds...then returns to desk or lounge chair commenting: "Downs, who has seen a lot of war knows what he's talking about, etc." The transcription table gives us another prop...a logical one...and fits the whole concept.

Same might be done with Truman speech: "Let's play a record of excerpts from the Truman speech and see what he asked for." (Then hear Truman say army must be increased so much....chart could show same, as Truman drones on.) ED: "The President also wants power to increase steel production. (Show present steel production on chart and where he wants increase it.) ED: "No small job...but the President wants more."...(switch Truman record) ...and when all through Ed lifts needle, and that's that.

15- This sort informal approach might also call for small screen that Murrow could pull down from map roll when we to use film. "Let's go over to the screen and see what the fighting on one sector of the Korean front looked like." ERM rises from desk, walks to mpa roll...pulls down screen...camera closes up on it and film is on TV viewers' screen.

****

This is an attempt to provide, in the rough, a sort of shooting script for ERM and the News TV. It is based solely on the Sunday Times editorial section of July 16 plus extracts from the preceding and following issues of Time and Newsweek -- where the news fell in the week preceding the 16th. I am hunching most of the animation. Some of my references to still pictures are to pictures printed in one of three sources.

MURROW: This is the story of one boy in a land of 150 million people. It started last Tuesday.....at least the chapter we want to examine. It started in Korea and it cam to America by wireless and radio and then it went to the American people. I have a recording of an 8 a.m. radio broadcast last week. I'd like to play part of it for you.

(M. leaves desk walks to recording machine puts head down and we listen and watch.)

RECORDING: So our troops have fallen back again. And General MacArthur announces the name of the first foot soldier killed in Korea. He's Private Kenneth Shadrick of Skin Fork, West Virginia....killed in action while engaged in a withdrawl operation somewhere on the Korean front.

MURROW: (lifts recording, head, snaps off current....returns to chair behind desk.) Kenneth Shadridk....who ever heard of him? Skin Fork, West Virginia, where's that? Well it's close enough to a radio receiver....close enough for someone in Skin Fork to hear the news...rush to the Shadrick home....interrupt Father Shadrick and his wife with a breathless: "Kenny has been killed. The 8:00 radio just said so. There are only about 150 people in Skin Fork, miners, most of them....including Kenny's dad...Ted Shadrick. We sent our camera reporters down there to ask Mr. Shadrick how he got the news:

FILM ANDVOICE: explains story of son.. 19....how got into army. adds: I just know Kenny was fighting against some government....out there somewhere where my boy got killed....in Korea.

MURROW: Kenny Shadrick was the first G.I. casualty to be listed. There were others... some officially up to a few minutes ago. Here's the latest picuture his have of Kenny Shadrick.

STILL: of Shadrick

MURROW: And here are the latest films showing various scenes at the battlefront.

FILM: stock telenews supply whatever available.

MURROW: (reading through film.) Private Kenneth Shadrick died, but a number of other foot soldiers had a chance to tell what was happening on the front. Not in the lofty words of the Communique. But with the anger of the G.I. (Murrow speaks through film) reading from script, of course.) Lieut. John Childers of California said: "it was a slaughterhouse.". Lieut. James Glawson of Texas said: "it was hell.". Captain E. R. McDonough of Mt. Carmel, California, was almost loquacious: "I don't claim to understand the grand strategy of this thing but I'll never again lead men into a situation like this one. We were ordered to hold at all costs. We did, but the cost was awfully high as far as I'm concerned." The cost was awfully high for Colonel Robert Martin....a 48 year old infantry officer of Toledo, Ohio.

CAMERA ON MURROW: Colonel Martin received the first Distinguished Service Cross in Korean campaign. The citation says: he stood his ground before a Communist tank...fired his last bazooka rocket when the tank was only 15 yards away. Colonel Martin was killed in action. The award was presented this week to his son....Robert Martin, Jr., 19...a third classman at West Point.

MURROW: (gets up and walks to empty chair adjoining one Martin seated in. Sits down and compliments Martin....chit chat...)

MARTIN: I'm sure my Dad died the way he wanted to....in the service of his country.

MURROW: Some people weren't too happy about the way things were going in South Korea. (gets up and walks to newspaper stand) I have a copy of Lord Beaverbrooks London Evening Standard here. Let me show it to you.

CAMERA: (on paper which spread out on reading board.)

MURROW: (reading) Peasants outclass mighty USA....true people, some people in Britain, and some in other parts of the free world are getting a sort of sly comfort from our difficulties. But, true enough, the vast majority of the British people and our allies understood the truty: vastly outnumbered American forces....perhaps a total of 3500 were being outclassed by peasants...if you can describe the men fighting under the banner of the North Koreans... well trained, well equipped, well lead, as mere peasants.

What has been going on in Korea...for these past two weeks? Let me show you on our map.

Murrow: walks to map room or wall...camera closes up on map....Murrow orientates key cities...that's Seoul up there on the left...Suwan below it...here's Tajeon and down here is our big and perhaps only port of Pusan.

CAMERA: now on map following Murrow who can read following unseen to audience. explains first stage crossing 38th...second SK tried use Han...couldn't..... reorganized line down here at Suwan...our planes in action 3rd day...but Commies took Seoul here and pushed down...our troops into action but couldn't hold em.. Suwon falls...then advance on Taejon....Friday we retired behind Kum...yesterday they breached our new line in spots... latest communique today says they got more beachheads.

CAMERA ON MURROW: So we know now where the Communists are. Where do they want to go? The best information we can get at Pentagon figures it this way.

CAMERA: to map: want capture Tageon...drive Tegu....capture Pusan before we adequately reinforced/ We hope save southeastern corner for our supplies and men.

CAMERA: to Murrow; The best information we have ...and it's been revised twice...is that the Communists have ten to fifteen divisions...150 to 200-th men... some 220 tanks...almost unlimited supplies from Siberia and Manchuria. We have...at least as far as has been made knows...some 3500 men...no tanks so far...no heavy artillery...a few planes based nearby....and the major source of our strength in the United States 7-thousand miles away.

(Cont'd)
to Murrow: Les's see if we can put all that down on paper for you.

CAMERA TO CHART: which will best sum up opposing strength and forces plus South Korean estimate.

MURROW: You see it's not a pretty picture....that's why the few fighting men we have at the front are crying their hearts but to reporters. No one...at least no one who is informed...is optimistic.. Take General Bradley.

STILL of Bradley coming out committee room.

MURROW: What are we going to do? It seems very clear this week after a loss of 15 hard miles in South Korea that the battle is going to be much more than a police action....it's not going to be a pushover. We'll need men..heavy weapons.. and planes. I've asked two Defense experts to tell us what can be done.

MURROW: walks from desk to double chairs...."Hello Colonel. This is Colonel so and so.... assistant chief, plans, tank section, etc...Colonel...we want no secrets... no inside dope...but we would like you to tell us what the enemy knows and what we should know. What do we have in the way of tanks...what do they have:

CAMERA: now alternates between Murrow, Colonel and props.

COLONEL: to Murrow: I've brought along the models we use for insturction...proceeds show and explain various US and Russian tank models...outlining gun power armor...height...all statistics. Murrow says this too much for him get into head...Colonel produces still pix and charts (prepared by either us or Defense...two go to reading board...camera behind and between their heads and explanation then should be as complete and simple as possible.

MURROW: Thank you Colonel soandso. Hope you'll be available come back explain any new developments later. Perhaps you'll want to hear what colleague Major Smith has to tell us about the airplane situation.

MURROW: walks back to desk where Major Smith seated: hello and introduce...

(if can't get Smith in NY...he can be in Washington...with camera splitting screen between Murrow in NY asking and Smith in Wash. answering)

MURROW: asks how many planes we supposed have...how may in mothballs...what production rate...how long took us last war to step up prod. (from 19th in 1943 to 85-th year 43, how many delivered last year... how many expected this year, how many years for full production, (ALL THESE ANSWERS IN PUBLIC RECORD, SEE TIMES, NEWSWEEK.)

SMITH: answers above.....then to explain tells story how takes twice as long build new bomber as to send boy through college..demonstrates with story birth and life Boeing's B-47 medium bomber....started 1943...due be delivered next few weeks ....shows models of five or six stages plane went through, explains how and why speed over 600 mph.... carries over 10 tons....secret rengae (all this in detail in Time mag.)

MURROW: thanks Smith: Well, I know more that I used to about the tank and plane situation. Now how about the men...the man power...most experts expect the President to put the draft law in operation, perhaps call up some reserves, ask Congress for more money. Perhaps he'll do this, in message to Congress this week. But there is one important man who have been called to action that we do know something about. He's Lieut. Gen. Walton H. Walker...appointed by General MacArthur as ground commander in Korea. Here's the latest picture we could find of General Walker.

CAMERA: either stock file show or film available from front..if not telenews perhaps own crpst or contract job. If still shot:

MURROW: Let me read you what we know about the General..reads, color story, with quotes, background, Patton connection, west Point record, quotes by friends notes has order of Sovet Order Fatherland...recalls he fought under Patton motto: "in spite of hell and high water."

MURROW: if film available: briefly describes where and when taken...reads same as above.

MURROW: one of the things General Walker will take quick action on is the matter of atrocities. Here is the most discouraging and most disheartening picture to come out of Korea this week.

CAMERA: still shot GI, hands tied behind back..."It was taken by AP photo ABC who told general headquarters: This is not killed in action. I call it murder."

MURROW: Tryvie Lie, the UN sect general asked both sides to observe rules of war. stop atrocities...South Koreans not blameless...both replied they observing rules of war. Mr. Lie was sort of on the sideline s as the Indian government, Through Pnadit Nehru tried to get peace in Korea. (briefly summarizes Nehru note. Wash. reaction our minimum demands... Russian reaction)

We asked the Indian embassy to arrange for Mr. Nehru to summarize for us just what he trying do. Here's Pandit Nehru.

FILM: Nehru: "Mr. Murrow what I'm trying to do is this....

MURROW: So, we've tried to give you in outline what has been happening in the Korean war this week. Now, if you'll permit the intrusion of one reporters opinion, I'd like to read you a few notes I've made on...(single subject, rephrasing or repeat of one daily peice)

MURROW: Now let's look at some of the people who made news this week. First, a man who knows the Russians but is far removed from them today.

STOCK OR NEWS SPOT: Jimmy Byrnes.

MURROW: explains background, he nominated Dem. candidate, etc....people don't know what to call me now, can call me Governor.

MURROW: Next a man who must keep an eye on what the Russians are doing...Gordon Dean

CAMERA: news spot

MURROW: named to head atomic energy commission, etc. (all texts to be briefest possible so as not to outlive picture)

MURROW: And Sumner Pike

CAMERA: late shot.

MURROW: confirmed by senate, etc.

MURROW: In San Antonio, an old soldier had something to say about Korean war

FILM: General Wainwright saying he'd answer red atrocities in kind

MURROW: another old soldier was worried -- among other things -- by a pers onal problem.

CAMERA: out photo Ganeral Eisenhower walking past students Columbia University as MURROW explains Ike asking students say hello when pass him on campus streets because lots of people not students think he is crazy when he says hello/

MURROW: and far off in famous Bastogne (still or film if available)

MURROW: General Anthony McAuliffe at dedication memorial 76-th GI casualties battle Bastogne

MURROW: The French got a new premier ...Rene Pleven

SPOT NEWS:

MURROW: ....the 13th since war...a middle of roader..etc...etc.

MURROW: In Britain Mr. Strachey and schuman plot

STILL:

MURROW: to which Manchest Guardian said.

STILL: close up guardian comment Strachey a liability

MURROW: and in Athens, the US prepared close out another war...Lieut Gen James Van Fleet

FILM: could be ordered advance or signal corps, laying wreath unknown warrior tomb Athens.

MURROW: said goodby his tour arm command Greece...wrote poem that goes: (reading)

Poem, see Time or get original in generals handwriting whileMurrow reads.

MURROW: In Detroit, another long battle ended this week...Haywood Patterson last scottbosor boys, free as Ala officials drop extradition. Case 19 years old...lets take quick look aid of camera to courtroom scent day they convicted.....

(tells briefly what case about...what happened other guys...end with still of smiling Patterson, this week.)

MURROWP Hollywood was busy this week..because of the war in Korea. Forty eight hours after start war Republic Picutres released one reel Battle of Korea..rushed 3-thousand prints to US theaters. Other studios made up for this by registering titles that included: (See Time for list 8 titles)

And as the movie industry prepared to take on a new war United Artists released a picutre that concerned the men of the last war. It's called "The Men"...story deals with touchy subject salvage war-wounded paraplegics.

MURROW: (Cont'd) Producer Stanley Kramer handles it with frankness, taste and powerful emotion. Briefly XXXXX its story...(review story) Perhaps one scene that will remain longest is when Marlon Brando..who lived part XXXXX for month to get feel, etc...finds the other boys can get along pretty well. Here's brief excerpt from the hospital scene.

FILM: Run 2 minutes (have to gigure this out...basis availability)

MURROW: in another hospital ...In Boston...a big strong healthy 100-thousand a year man was in a hospital. Ted Williams (explains how hurt in all-star game... throw in latest baseball results today...We sent our camera crew to Boston's Bean Hospital to ask Ted how it feels:

WILLIAMS: Well Mr. Murrow it's no fun, etc. (script written by us and his agents)

MURROW: There's one political note that was almost lost in the news of the week... reviews defeat this session Congress (?) bill. (15-20 seconds)

MURROW: Each week we'll try to bring you a few of the outstanding editorials of the week...not the printed word...but the cartoon...the power of the pen and pencil, the brush and ink which frequently -- in the hands of some of America's great craftsmen and editorialists -- tell at a glance that such apprentices as I need many minutes too. Look for example at the way the world-famous David Low of the London Evening Standards reviews Mr. Stalin's phoney peace parade.

CAMERA: close up Low cartoon...needs test to see if Murrow must read captions and describe cartoon being seen or if will stand up.

MURROW: And let's see (walking to reading XXXX board for Low...he remains there....with Murrow shots after cartoon and reading of texts) how an American, a Briton and a Frenchman summarized the menaing of the Korean incident.

MURROW: (rapidly...would be my hunch don't need more than 7-8 seconds each cartoon if don't have to read texts)

Here is Daniel Fitspatrick in the St. Louis Post Dispatch

CARTOON:

MURROW: Curry in the Paris Franc-XXXXX Tireur

CARTOON:

MURROW: Butterworth in the Manchester Daily Dispatch (all cartoon samples from Sunday Times, July 16th)

MURROW: The cartoonists had almost as many ideas about the Korean police action as their editorial writers of their newspapers.

MURROW: here's Herb Lock of the Washington Post worried about Chiang Kai Shek's position.

CARTOON:

(two or three of same to follow)

MURROW: and the men who weild the brush and ink offered us their thoughts on the home front.

(same technique...two or three...also readily available ...concerning economy, controls, inflation)

MURROW: Almost every day on my radio newsprogram I receive dozen of letters asking what I think of this or that...suggesting things I should talk about, etc. Indeed there are many that remind me that I am not always right. A good reminder for anyone to get...I hope I'll get it from you. Usually I answer my radio mail...by mail. I hope, here, in this television newsroom, to be able, from week to week to give you my best on any question you may have. I'm not the answer man. My prediction record is poor...I try not to make any. But perhaps what interests one will interest more than one. As the announcers say: Send your questions to me...Ed Murrow, Box X, NY ..and I'll try to answer a few of the more interesting ones each week. For today, a brief look at what's on my desk now: Mrs. ABC of D asks: "What do you think"?

CAMERA: close up potent portion of letter.

MURROW: will happen in Russia after Stalin dies.

(same technique to time for system...this X is variable where add or subtract from letter pile depending on how time works out)

MURROW: I'd like to end this sort of sort of reviewer of things...with a pertinent reminder of what has been said in the past of situation similar to those

MURROW: (Cont'd) facing us now. Perhaps Churchill's statement during the battle of.....

word for today routine

MURROW: Good afternoon ...and Good Luck!

WEEKLY OPERATION COST ESTIMATE:

Salaries	$2,000.00
Film and lab costs	$ 150.00
Art materials and photostat	$ 160.00
Special coverage by assignment	$1,000.00
Services by CBS	$1,000.00
Rent, telephone, etc.	$ 150.00
Set cost, (amortization)	$ 100.00
Transportation, hotels, guest fees	$ 300.00
	$4,860.00
Washington studio	$ 400.00
Washington cable	$ 325.00
New York TV rehearsal	$ 500.00
New York TV broadcast (full network)	$15,000.00
	$21,085.00

Amortization, equipment
purchase and replacement ? ? ?

NOTE: To repeat, this does not include top producing staff, directors' fees, Ed Murrow, and other fees.

EQUIPMENT INVESTMENT:

(This list depends considerably on the arrangements with CBS. It is figured on a minimum use of present CBS equipment.)

Cine Special.....	$ 425.00
Three filmos.....	$ 920.00
Tripod.....	$ 170.00
Lenses.....	$ 300.00
Lights.....	$ 400.00
Two cutting tables, etc.....	$ 250.00
Synchromous motor.....	$ 150.00
Dolly.....	$ 300.00
Projector.....	$ 490.00
Art department.....	$ 800.00
Auricon camera.....	$ 1330.00
	$5,535.00

(Car in Washington also required.)

STAFF:

NOTE: This estimate does not include chief editorial and producing personnel.

Washington:

Two cameramen.....$200.00

Two reporters.....$200.00

Secretary.....$ 50.00

New York:

Two film editors (can also serve as cameramen, film despatchers).....$ 250.00

Sound crew.....$ 300.00

One roving cameraman.....$ 125.00

Two researchers.....$ 200.00

One writer reporter.....$ 110.00

Two secretaries.....$ 120.00

One messenger.....$ 40.00

One grip.....$ 50.00

Two artists.....$ 200.00

Film librarian.....$ 70.00

Extra film man as required, rental of additional equipment.....$ 105.00

$2,000.00

FACILITIES REQUIRED:

Sound coverage abroad — via T N

Sound coverage domestic — our own or through T N

Silent coverage abroad — via T N or CBS correspondents

Silent coverage domestic — our own or via T N and stringers

Through CBS:

Telenews service

Film Library

International News Photos

Wire Service

Use of facilities and equipment

Washington studio and cable

Film Equipment for sound and silent coverage

Art department

New York TV facilities

TELENEWS PRICES FOR DOMESTIC COVERAGE:

Washington sound interviews not feasible

Use of Chicago sound camera possible

Detroit interview out of Chicago, three day job.....$500.00

Silent story, 500 feet, 35mm, near location of cameraman.....$200.00 - 250.00 per story

TELENEWS PRICES FOR OVERSEAS COVERAGE:

London sound interviews.....$400.00

Paris sound interviews.....$200.00

Tokyo sound interviews.....$200.00

Higher price for places other than capitals (one day's work)

Background silent features exclusivity not guaranteed but longer than in reel and possibly exclusive.

2 minute story on Korea.....$300.00

2 minute around Paris.....$150.00

ART DEPARTMENT:

two tables.....$ 80.00

two lamps.....$ 50.00

two sets of brushes.....$ 20.00

type.....$ 200.00

airbrush.....$ 125.00

materials.....$ 250.00

WEEKLY BILL:

Salary - two artists.....$ 250.00

Photostat service.....$ 145.00

materials.....$ 15.00

DEVELOPING:

KINOLUX LAB., Rudolph Pfeiffer, 105 West 40th Street, LO 5-3785; will open any time; (on Saturday and Sunday, extra charge)

$75.00 per half day
$100.00 per full day
After 5:30 P.M. — $5.00 per hour

100 feet of film, incld. developing.....$4.40
Development only.....$2.00 per 100 feet.

VIDEO FILM LAB., Hugh Gwenn, 131 West 23rd Street, WA 4-6156

Supplies Dupont stock at $3.00 without developing
$5.00 with developing
Cost of development along $2.00

Eastman Super XX slightly over $5.00

This includes Saturday developing; on Sunday, $2.50 extra per 100 feet

Sound composite and printing at MOVIELAB, Frank Berman.

De Luxe
W P I X
Ansco
Composite from reversal.....6¢ a feet, $7.50 min.
Print from reversal.....5¢ a foot, $7.50 min.

Jack Mangin, National TV Guild, 545 Fifth Avenue; MU 7-6865

Home; IN 3-0100

He and brother Bill do "Ship's Reporter", using Auricon camera, lights. Are available with their equipment:

$300.00 per week
$ 80.00 per day

For extra man:

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Tentative figures subject to review of your actual requirements.

We will photograph on 35 mm film (properly exposed for TV scanning, subject to your assignment, supervision and direction), and deliver the exposed footage either to you or your laboratory in New York City at the following prices:

Subject not longer than:	Silent	Sound (our system)	Sound (single system)
4 minutes	80	245	275
10 minutes	125	285	315

These stories (the necessary transportation of men and materials is included) to be shot within a 25 mile radius of New york City and in natural light. If lights are required there will be an additional charge of $23.50 per man per day. For stories originating outside the 25 mile radius of New York City transportation costs plus $50 per day for travelling time will be charged. For additional stories to be shot the same day (8 hours) the only additional charge will be the cost of the additional film stock used. For stories originating further than 500 miles from New York, we recommend the use of our resident stringer camera men to save transportation and travelling time costs.

The column "Sound (our system)", above, refers to the system we have been successfully using which utilizes a synchronous magnetic sound track. With this type of track the difference between the recorded sound and the original is practically undetectable.

Albert Einstien May 5, 1957 Awards.

You have done me great honor, and as Shakespeare said: "Beggar that I am, I am even poor in thanks."

To have his ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ name linked, however remotely, with that of Professor Einstein is honor enough for any reporter. "A hundred times every day I remind myself that my inner and outer life are based on the labors of other men, living and dead. And that I must exert myself in order to give in the same measure as I have received, and am still receiving." Those words were Albert Einstein's, but he spoke, I think, for every worthy man and woman who deals with information in the mass media. To him a disinterested love for facts was not enough. He had to care about the bearing of those facts on hopes, fears and destiny. He realized that fear, bigotry and intolerance will not command the land, unless most of us are silent accomplices.

By freedom he understood, "Social conditions of such a kind that the expression of opinions, and assertions about general and particular matters of knowledge, will not involve dangers or serious disadvantages for him who expresses them. He believed in what might be called "a reign of reason" which most of us have carelessly enjoyed, without buttressing its foundations.

Professor Einstein would, I think, have agreed with Milton who said:

(All Corres. in Awards' Folder)

"If the waters of truth flow not in a perpetual progression they sicken into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition." He was ~~XXXXX~~ conscious of the turth of what Lord Acton wrote in 1877: "There are in our day many educated men who think it right to persecute." There are indeed many men in our day who so believe.

Perhaps you will permit me a personal digression in order to apologize for my lack of formal attire. It is not due to persecution, or lack of a dinner jacket but rather to the fact that I have ~~XXXX~~ but just come from a television program where such clothing would have been inappropriate. I am without embarrassment, and seek refuge in another quotation from Professor Einstein: "It would be a sad situation if the bag was better than the meat wrapped in it." Now that we have disposed of the bag we may examine whether the "meat" can find words to say what he feels rather deeply.

You will not expect me to discourse upon Professor Einstein's scientific accomplishments; nor yet to expound upon the brilliant prospects that lie in the future for the Albert Einstein College of Medicine of Yeshiva University. It is the first medical school under Jewish auspices established in the United States. It was established to meet a need, and we are all aware of the desperate and urgent nature of that need.

Even at my advanced age, I have applied for admission to the Albert Einstein College of Medicine. That is only a slight exaggeration, for I did not actually try the patience of the Admissions Officer - merely asked for the application form for admission. It is a most revealing and, I suggest, important and unprecedented document. I am not asked to state my race; no questions are asked about my religion or nationality; no photograph is requested; the College is not curious as to my parents' birthplace; I am not required to give my mother's maiden name. You will have difficulty in finding a similar application form from any other institution of higher learning in this land. They are interested in what academic trails I have followed, and where I propose to go; interested in my qualifications rather than my ancestors. This, I suggest, is the essence of that overworked and often distorted phrase, "academic freedom". We Have rather come to believe that it applies only to professors. In fact it means the right of scholars to pursue the truth wherever it may lead them; to search out the great teachers and to sit at their feet at any institution in the whole academic community. That is the real history and meaning of the migration of scholars from the Middle Ages to the present time. Not all such migrations have been voluntary. There was a movement

from Germany to this country that began in 1934. I should like to tell you a little about it, because I know the details - they have not heretofore been published, and even a brief recital of the facts will suffice to illustrate that the Albert Einstein College of Medicine is in the main stream of a noble tradition.

When Hitler and his henchmen chopped off the highest branches of the German academic tree, those scholars sought exile in many countries. There was established in this country a small committee to aid in the placement of these scholars in American universities. It included such names as Alfred Cohn, Ben ~~Flochner~~ Flexner, Fred Styne, Stephen Duggan, Alvin Johnson, Livingstone ~~Fairand~~ Farnard, and others. It was my privilege to prepare lists of the displaced German scholars, to circulate them to American universities, and then to go before the committee with applications for considerable sums of money to finance the first few years of their residence in this country. Several scores of professors came, and became part of our academic communities from Seattle to Boston. All but an insignificant portion of the money we raised, from individuals, came from Jewish sources. The majority of the active members of the committee were Jews. In presenting applications to the committee I was never once asked : "Is this man a Jew?"

The only questions were: "Is he a competent scholar of standing or promise? And Are his services sought by an American college or university?" And finally almost half of those we financed were pure Aryans even under Hitler's definition. They were men who like their Jewish colleagues refused to bend.

In those days - more than twenty years ago - we used to talk of the cross-fertilization of cultures that might result from this migration, and hope that American students would be stimulated. These men and women represented every academic discipline, and I have been fortunate enough to see the human dividends that have been produced by their labors. In North Africa, in Normandy and in Korea I have talked with young Americans in uniform, asked them whether they had been to college, if so where? And had they happened to have a course under Professor X? Many times I have seen tired, tense faces come alive with memories of the classroom or seminar, and heard the remark: "He's the one who really started me reading", or, "He taught me to doubt", or "That's the one who really stretched my horizon". I can only add that my own small part in this operation has given me more satisfaction than anything I have ever done.

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general area of the Humanities. In radio and television circles that's a pretty highbrow term. And yet the mass media must be concerned with it. It was Joseph Wood Krutch who said: "The humanities, as opposed to the sciences, are concerned with whatever is important to man but cannot be measured and is not susceptible to valid experiment." So radio and television must concern themselves with the Humanities, unless they choose to limit themselves to the function of entertainment. Television is growing so fast that those in charge of it have hardly time to administer it well, let alone to think of its place in civilization. If these instruments are to survive, they must strengthen and affirm the values that are the essence of our civilization. This being true, it is not enough to entertain the greatest numbers; there also must be full appreciation of our historic heritage, wise understanding of our institutions and traditions, familiarity with our classics in literature and the arts, and persistent attention to our ethical principles. I am well aware that the bulk of the money that pays for television and radio comes from a relatively small number of corporations. Hence the thinking of the executives in these corporations will have a profound influence on what happens in television and radio. And that is saying that they will greatly influence and could

possibly decide the course of our civilization. And it is insisting that they cannot abdicate this responsibility ~~and~~ by assigning it to an advertising agency.

We now know that our civilization can be snuffed out overnight. We know that while we ourselves did not create it, we ourselves can lose it. It is committed to us . We also know that we can save ourselves from nuclear destruction by buying a different civilization, one that does not include our values of freedom, or cherish like ours the dignity of the individual. We know we are not making this bargain. We value our civilization. So we begin to know that we must value it if we are not to lose it. But if we are going to survive as a nation and a civilization we must do so consciously. This means that the mass media must pay more attention to the humanities. The Humanist is one who cares, and is preoccupied with what is worth caring about. Another characteristic of the humanist is that he is preoccupied with the mystery of personality. People for him are always persons, and in these days that often makes him lonely. Preoccupation with science turns persons into people - a statistic on a chart. - tendencies and ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ "characteristics symbolized by curves neatly drawn on graphs". The humanist is concerned not with manipulation but with understanding. He is interested

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to state-operated and financed communications. By and large we have freer speech, more information than any state-operated system. We have vastly more money to spend. The system is practically universal. It is, for the individual, both a privilege and a peril. And it is, for those who finance the system, and those who select the programs, a responsibility in the field of communications never before borne by such a small group of men and corporations. I think it was Bernard Shaw who said: "You must get what you want, or you will come to want what you get."

I am sending this check for one thousand dollars to Mr. Alan Paton in South Africa. As most of you probably know, one hundred and fifty men and women were arrested in South Africa on December 5th, 1956, and charged with treason for their outspoken, complete but non-violent opposition to their government's apartheit program. Among those arrested are clergymen, teachers and professors. The defendants are of all races, andof many religious and political beliefs.

Mr. Paton himself is currently a defendant in the Magistrate's Court in Durban, on a charge that he took part in a public meeting at which native Africans were present, without obtaining the prior consent of the city's Mayor. In other words, the "crime" with which Mr. Paton is charged is that he attended and spoke at a meeting not unlike the meeting at which we are here gathered tonight.

~~XXXX

7-B-24

Albert Einstein Award
May 5, 1957

You have done me great honor, and as Shakespeare said: "Beggar that I am, I am even poor in thanks."

To have his name linked, however remotely, with that of Professor Einstein is honor enough for any reporter. "A hundred times every day I remind myself that my inner and outer life are based on the labors of other men, living and dead. And that I must exert myself in order to give in the same measure as I have received and am still receiving." Those words were Albert Einstein's, but he spoke, I think, for every worthy man and woman who deals with information in the mass media. To him a disinterested love for facts was not enough. He had to care about the bearing of those facts on hopes, fears and destiny. He realized that fear, bigotry and intolerance will not command the land unless most of us are silent accomplices.

By freedom he understood, "Social conditions of such a kind that the expression of opinions and assertions about general and particular matters of knowledge, will not involve dangers or serious disadvantages for him who expresses them. He believed in what might be called "a reign of reason" which most of us have carelessly enjoyed without buttressing its foundations.

Professor Einstein would, I think, have agree with Milton who said: "If the waters of truth flow not in a perpetual progression they sicken into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition." He was conscious of the truth of what Lord Acton wrote in 1877: "There are in our day many educated men who think it right to persecute." There are indeed many men in our day who so believe.

Perhaps you will permit me a personal digression in order to apologize for my lack of formal attire. It is not due to persecution or lack of a dinner jacket, but rather to the fact that I have but just come from a television program where such clothing would have been inappropriate. I am without embarrassment and seek refuge in another quotation from Professor Einstein:

"It would be a sad situation if the bag was better than the meat wrapped in it." Now that we have disposed of the bag we may examine whether the "meat" can find words to say what he feels rather deeply.

You will not expect me to discourse upon Professor Einstein's scientific accomplishments; nor yet to expound upon the brilliant prospects that lie in the future for the Albert Einstein College of Medicine of Yeshiva University. It is the first medical school under Jewish auspices established in the United States. It was established to meet a need, and we are all aware of the desperate and urgent nature of that need.

Even at my advanced age, I have applied for admission to the Albert Einstein College of Medicine. That is only a slight exaggeration, for I did not actually try the patience of the Admissions Officer - merely asked for the application form for admission. It is a most revealing and, I suggest, important and unprecedented document. I am not asked to state my race; no questions are asked about my religion or nationality; no photograph is requested; the College is not curious as to my parents' birthplace; I am not required to give my mother's maiden name. You will have difficulty in finding a similar application form from any other institution of higher learning in this land. They are interested in what academic trails I have followed, and where I propose to go; interested in my qualifications rather than my ancestors. This, I suggest, is the essence of that overworked and often distorted phrase, "academic freedom". We have rather come to believe that it applies only to professors. In fact it means the right of scholars to pursue the truth wherever it may lead them; to search out the great teachers and to sit at their feet at any institution in the whole academic community. That is the real history and meaning of the migration of scholars from the Middle Ages to the present time. Not all such migrations have been voluntary. There was a movement from Germany to this country that began in 1934. I should like to tell you a little about it, because I know the details - they have not heretofore been published, and even

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Taylor, Anne

May 20, 1959

Dear Miss Taylor:

Thank you for your very nice note of May 5th.

I am glad to hear that you were pleased with THE EDUCATED WOMAN. A copy of the script is attached.

Sincerely yours,

Miss Anne Taylor
Connecticut College
New London, Connecticut

mac

CONNECTICUT COLLEGE
NEW LONDON, CONNECTICUT

OFFICE OF
THE PRESIDENT

May 5, 1959

Dear Mr. Murrow:

The lines of Mount Holyoke communication transmitted with lightning speed the news of your interview of our fellow alumna. Whether Mount Holyoke or not, we are all pleased over the magnificent blow you struck for the education of women, so obviously important to us, so controversial still to so many.

Is there a prayer of getting a transcript of your program? Or perhaps will it be re-broadcast? Many of us missed it, and we are anxious to read or hear it.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Anne R. Taylor

Assistant in Publications

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

FYI/ Bill Garry

A SPONSOR'S GAMBLE WITH ADULT TV

Terry Asks a F

BY TERRY TURNER

A FAVOR, please.

On Oct, 15, 1958, Edward R. Murrow stood before a Chicago audience and lashed out with an attack against television that still is having repercussions.

Murrow was bitter. He was pessimistic. He was gloomy.

"I invite your attention to the television schedules of the network between the hours of 8 and 11 p.m. Eastern time," he said sourly.

"Here you will find only fleeting and spasmodic reference to the fact that this nation is in mortal danger.

MURROW

"During daily peak viewing periods, television in the main insulates us from the realities of the world in which we live.

"Surely we shall pay for using this most powerful instrument of communication to insulate the citizenry from the hard and demanding realities which must be faced if we are to survive," he continued. "I mean the word — survive— literally."

* * *

MUROW applauded the industry's public service programs but complained that they usually are presented at times when large audiences aren't available—in the so-called "intellectual ghetto" of Sunday afternoons.

He suggested that they be presented in choice evening time spots, on week nights.

He admits the contention that people may not look because they're too complacent, indifferent and "insulated."

Another Reason Viewers Shy Away

There's another reason, also, why people may not look. Let's face it—many of the public service shows are dull, pompous, obvious.

But some are excellent.

For instance, a recent "Behind the News" telecast on CBS, in which Howard K. Smith commented on the history, background, events and possibile future of Tibet, was a masterpiece. (It was on a Sunday afternoon.)

* * *

FEW PROGRAMS of this caliber have been presented on week nights this season.

If a network does decide to present an evening public service show, it isn't sponsored.

This means that stations throughout the country refuse to carry it and, instead, sell the time to a local sponsor and present some ancient movie to make a quick dollar. (Chicago stations rarely do this.)

Murrow thinks good interpretative shows can be effective, can be successful. Why can't some of the big corporations experiment with sponsoring them, despite the fact that the audience may be smaller than for, say, "Gunsmoke"?

Test of Theory Friday at 7 P.M.

On Friday at 7 p.m. Chicago time, on the NBC network, the question will be tested.

CHET HUNTLEY

At that time a one-hour documentary called "Why Berlin?" will be presented, with Chet Huntley narrating.

It will be a story of the key events that have led up to the foreign ministers' conference scheduled in Geneva three days after the telecast.

* * *

NOTE that it's on a week night. Note, also, that it's sponsored.

Well, it's a big gamble for the sponsor. And I'm proud to point out that a Chicago firm, Bell & Howell Co., is taking the risk.

Now for the Favor —Your Response

A Chicago firm will test the theory that TV can effectively inform as well as amuse and entertain . . . in a commercially feasible fashion.

The company's officials are not kidding themselves that "Why Berlin?" will draw a huge audience. Nevertheless, they'd like to present more programs of this nature in the future.

Should they? Is there an audience? That's the favor I'd like to ask you.

If you're near a TV set at that time Friday, will you take a look at the program and then drop me a note about it?

* * *

BE HONEST. If the program bores you, say so. If it informed you, in an interesting fashion, say so.

Any suggestions for improvements? Was the time period an awkward one for you?

Would you like to see more programs of this nature on week nights?

This is a significant experiment and a truly heartening breakthrough in the concepts that previously have guided television. Your reactions would be appreciated.

BQ-5 WBKB-7 WTTW-11

(C) Color

10:15

2—EVENING PERFORMANCE — Feature film. "The Virginian" with Joel McCrea, Brian Donlevy, Barbara Britton. Story of an outstanding man of the West. (1st run.)

10:30

5—JACK PAAR SHOW—Variety.

10:35

11-TV COLLEGE: Humanities—"Lesson 30. Baroque Music" (continued).

11:30

7—MARTY'S MORGUE (L).
9—LATE NEWS (L).

11:45

9—ARMCHAIR THEATER — Feature film. "Play Girl" with Loretta Young, James Ellison. Gambling nearly destroys a happy marriage.

11:55

2—THE LATE SHOW — Feature film. "Operator 13" with Gary Cooper, Marion Davies. A secret army spy in the Civil War turns out to be a lady.

12:00

5—NEWS (L) (C).

12:05

5—MAN BEHIND THE BADGE—Drama. "Dying Past."

12:35

5—FEDERAL MEN — Drama. "Man Next Door."

1:00

9—FAVORITE STORY — Drama. "Rubber Stamp." A chief magistrate of a French island rebels against the dictates of the island's political boss.

1:30

2—MEDITATION.

Thursday Morning

6:15

5—TODAY'S MEDITATION

6:20

5—TOWN AND FARM (L) (C)—Farm program.

6:30

5—CONTINENTAL CLASSROOM—College course for credit on Atomic Age Physics.

6:40

2—THOUGHT FOR THE DAY.

6:45

2—FARM DAILY (L)—Farm show

7:00

2—RAYNER SHINE (L)—Variety.
5—TODAY (L) — News, Special events.

7:25

5—TODAY IN CHICAGO (L) (C)—News. (Also 8:25.)

7:30

2—PAUL GIBSON SHOW (L) — Commentary.
5—TODAY (L)—Variety.
7—NORMAN ROSS AND FAC SIMILE (L)—Music, variety.

8:00

2—MORNIN' MISS LEE (L).

8:05

2—WEATHER (L).

8:10

2—FRANK REYNOLDS, NEWS (L).

8:15

2—CAPTAIN KANGAROO (L) — Children's program.
9—TV TEACHER'S COLLEGE—Program for teachers in cooperation with Chicago Public Schools.

8:30

7—BOOKS AND BRENT (L)—Reviews of the latest books as well as the classic literature.

8:45

9—KARTOON KLUB.

9:00

2—ON THE GO—Tour of the country, visiting interesting people and places.
5—DOUGH-RE-MI (L) — Musical guessing game.
7—CREATIVE COOKERY (L) — Creamed Chicken Oriental in Chafing Dish.
9—DING DONG SCHOOL (L) (C)—Children's show.

9:30

2—SAM LEVENSON SHOW (L)—Variety.
5—TREASURE HUNT (L)—Audience participation.
7—HERE'S GERALDINE (L) — Puppet show for children.
9—PAUL FOGARTY SHOW (L)—Exercises.

10:00

2—I LOVE LUCY — Situation comedy.
5—THE PRICE IS RIGHT (L)—Audience participation.
7—JOBBLEWOCKY PLACE — Children's program.
9—FRAN ALLISON SHOW (L)—Variety.

10:30

2—TOP DOLLAR (L) — Quiz game.
5—CONCENTRATION (L) — Audience participation.
7—BEAT THE BUCS (L)—Audience participation.

RA

This Afternoon

12:00

WIND — Every hour on the hour a five-minute round-up of important news, brought to you by the INDEPENDENT newspaper protecting the public interest . . . the CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

WIND—News; Music
WBBM—Julian Bentley, News; The Little Show
WGN—News; Country Fair
WMAQ—News; My True Story
WLS—News; Markets; Mason and Blanchard

12:15

WGN—Lead-Off Man

12:25

WGN—Baseball: Cubs vs. Pittsburgh Pirates

12:30

WIND—News; Music
WLS—Dinnerbell Time
WBBM—Helen Trent; Couple Next Door

1:00

WIND—News; Music
WBBM—News; Whispering Streets; Ma Perkins
WMAQ—News; Radio Theater
WLS—Weather; Livestock Report; Gabriel Heatter; Bill Mason; Markets

1:30

WIND—News; Music
WLS—Books and Brent
WBBM—Dr. Malone; Second Mrs. Burton

1:55

WCFL—Baseball: White Sox vs. Washington

2:00

WIND—News; Record Shop
WBBM—News; Right to Happiness; Just Entertainment
WLS—News; Jerry Mitchell
WMAQ—News; It's Network Time

2:30

WIND—News; Record Shop
WBBM—Lucky Ladies; Josh and Jone
WLS—News; Jerry Mitchell

3:00

WIND—News; Record Shop
WBBM—News; Gold Coast Show; Music for You
WLS—News; Jerry Mitchell; News
WGN—Scoreboard; News; Music
WMAQ—It's Network Time (cont'd.)

3:30

WIND—News; Howard Miller
WLS—News; Jerry Mitchell; News
WBBM—Paul Gibson
WGN—Musical Sports Parade; Tello-Test; Musical

4:00

WIND—News; Howard Miller
WLS—Jerry Mitchell
WBBM—News; Fred Gage
WMAQ—News; John Doremus
WGN—News; Brickhouse-Hubbard; Sports

Ream, Joe

February 20, 1959

Dear Joe:

Thanks for the kind words. I suppose democratic procedure would have required a national plebiscite but, had we undertaken it, I am afraid the vote would have been overwhelmingly in favour of permanent banishment.

Hope to see you in your fair city some time in April.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Mr. Joseph H. Ream
1735 De Sales Street N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

JOSEPH H. REAM · 1735 DE SALES STREET, N.W. · WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

February 17, 1959

Dear Ed:

I am desolated.

This makes sense from your standpoint, I am sure -- but what about the millions of us who like you on the air?

What sort of a democracy is this?

As ever,

Joe

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Ream, Joseph F.

February 3, 1959

Dear Joe:

Thanks for your Doolittle note. I think to sue the N.A.M. for $1.02. Would you be willing to act as my counsel? Again, thanks.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Mr. Joseph H. Ream
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
1735 de Sales Street N.W.
Washington 6, D.C.

COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, INC.
1735 DE SALES STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

JOSEPH H. REAM
VICE PRESIDENT

January 22, 1959

Dear Ed:

So far this week I have had a strong dose of Murrow, but as Eliza Doolittle put it, I could have begged for more.

With sex and Norfolk and Springdale Gardens, I conclude that the world is in a hell of a mess, but there is basis for hope and perhaps, even better, a little fun.

Sincerely,

Joe

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Resnick, Sheldon

February 12, 1959

Mr. Sheldon Resnick
8333 North Regent Road
Milwaukee 17, Wisconsin

Dear Mr. Resnick:

Thank you for your thoughtful and penetrating letter of February 5. First of all, permit me to enclose a copy of the "word for the day" to which you refer.

I think your point is well taken in the sense that the quotation from Paul Hoffman was rather too cryptic. What was in my mind, and I believe in his, was that, unless an accommodation of some kind is reached with the Soviet Union which will permit an easement of the ruinous economic and armament competition between the two countries, we shall in due course be forced to sacrifice many of the traditional and essential elements in our way of life. If the stalemate continues for a sufficient length of time, there would I should think occur a certain erosion of both our civil and economic freedoms.

Thank you for writing as you did. We shall try to be more explicit and less cryptic in the future.

Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

Feb. 5th 1959

G

Edward R. Murrow
CBS
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow;

Tonight, as I was driving home from my real estate office I happened to tune in on your 15 minute news program. Like so many other individuals, I listen to your comments on the news with interest for they show a keen insight into world affairs.

In your "word for the day" remarks, I was so stimulated to thought and query that for the first time in 31 years I found it necessary to write a radio commentator to expand on a statement he made.

You were making an observation on the flexibility of the Russian diplomatic tactics compared to Dulles' somewhat rigid approach. Then, you continued in saying that unless we can learn to deal more effectively with their maneuvering we will end up in a "stale mate" with them..... and lose (I assume, to their ideology).

This latter statement, Mr. Murrow was as explosive a statement as a bomb, hydrogen variety. This obviously means that you do not believe Russian variety of Communism and Western Democracy can co-exist for any great length of time! The thought is staggering, earth-shakingly new to me if it is valid. Is this the conclusion of a man who has his hand on the pulse of world developments?

I am sure that you must get hundreds of letters daily from crackpots, bigots, sensationalists and many other varieties of listeners. I am none of these nor am I a glib sophist or cynic airing his views. I am simply one person who is concerned about our future and is asking to be enlightened about this most important facet in world affairs if your busy schedule permits it.

Sincerely,

Sheldon Resnick

Sheldon Resnick
8333 North Regent Road
Milwaukee, 17, Wisconsin

Chic Sp.

January 16, 1959

Dear Mr. Lekas:

Many thanks for your kind letter of December 24th.

The article you referred to was, in fact, a reprint of a speech I made before the Association of Radio and Television News Directors Convention in Chicago last October 15th.

There has been considerable and enthusiastic response to this in the form of mail, but so far, no tangible results.

You ask, "What do I suggest as a concrete step?" Frankly, I do not know. Except, perhaps, more talking and reading on the subject. It may be a futile effort, but it has to be made.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. John P. Lekas
Vice President
Genesys Corporation
10131 National Boulevard
Los Angeles 34, California

mcc

GENESYS

CORPORATION

VERMONT 7-5161 · TEXAS 0-2777

10131 NATIONAL BOULEVARD

LOS ANGELES 34, CALIFORNIA

December 24, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I was treated to an unexpected and pleasant surprise last week when I read your article, "How TV Can Help Us Survive."

We are obviously confronted with the ultra-smooth, Madison Avenue brand of fact encapsulation, which guarantees that truth is pre-packaged in the most charming way imaginable so that we can laugh our way into oblivion while our enemies become stronger and more dangerous day by day. In view of this, it was interesting to see you speak out as you did. I am afraid the time has come for all of us who know the truth to be more than academically concerned.

I beleve that the National Association of Manufacturers or the Three Rivers Garden Society or somebody should become a focal point for the dissemination of truth unadorned by aphrodisiac encasements because this is really a battle for survival in magnitude and intensity never before seen or even imagined. If someone doesn't wake up our chubby man in the street there won't be a man, or a street, for very long.

I am really writing because I am curious about the reaction from your article. I would like to see the man on the street surround you with plaudits and I am very much afraid it won't happen; that the connotatiins of this article are just too unpleasant to be allowed to ruffle anyones equanimity. If, however, you have aroused just a few it may be possible to eventually arouse on a larger scale and dispell our national rose-tinted smog.

I suggest, if you get many responses of the latter type, that perhaps there will be some active support for a series of films to be distributed free of charge to local television stations depicting the actual advances made by our enemies and showing how rapidly we are losing ground. I personally was on the firing crew of one of the earliest guided missiles ever fired in this country. I was instrumental in building a model

guided missile which tried in vain to sway a United States Congress into active support of the missile program. I worked with captured enemy components and was startled by their mechanical excellence. In short, I was frightened long ago.

Today "Madisonism" has extended into practically all aspects of our life. We hire "experts" in all phases of some of our most crucial activities and these same "experts" are busy turning out millions of words per month justifying our failures and sugar-coating our shortcomings.

It has become unfashionable to be worried. Our tranquilizer bills alone would probably solve many of the killer diseases that are now murdering us by the thousands, if we could but show some honest concern.

I am with you, Mr. Murrow. Something should awaken our latent pioneer spirit. What do you suggest as a concrete step?

Yours very truly,

GENESYS CORPORATION

John P. Lekas
Vice President

JPL:mw

Chic Sp.

January 12, 1959

Dear Sir:

Very many thanks for your nice letter and comments about my programs.

Enclosed is a copy of my speech delivered in Chicago.

Sincerely,

Reverend Father Anthony Livajusic, D.D.
421 Covington Street
Youngstown 10, Ohio

mcc

Youngstown, Ohio, Dec. 17, 1958.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
% Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

Dear Sir:

Allow me a few lines, and forgive my intrusion. I am a Roman Catholic priest. In my country, Croatia (Yugoslavia) I used to be a professor before World War II. After spending a short time in Tito's prisons, I fled to this country and here I am an Assistant Pastor in a Croatian parish.

I enjoy every program of yours on T.V. and try not to miss any one of them. The reason for my writing today is your recent article in T.V. Guide about the editorials on T.V. I regret that we couldn't get the whole of your lecture on that subject. Would it be possible to get a copy of this ?

Please continue working and fighting for the editorials on T.V. as you have explained it in that article. Many-very many people will be grateful to you if you succeed in this matter. You explained it wonderfully:in 15 minutes (interrupted by commercials 3 times). You cannot give the news without giving why.

Respectfully yours,

Anthony Livajusic

Reverend Father
Anthony Livajusic, D.D.
421 Covington Street
Youngstown 10, Ohio

Russell, Paul
re. Chic Speech

January 8, 1959

Mr. Paul Russell
1021 N. Sweetzer Avenue
Los Angeles 46, California

Dear Mr. Russell:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter of December 29. I am glad you bothered to reread my small Chicago effort. You grasped the essence of it. I am afraid Jack Gould did not.

You ask for "my version of the state of affairs at CBS". I can only reply by saying that television should be judged not by what its spokesmen say it is going to do or is trying to do, but solely by what appears on the end of that tube. Thanks for writing as you did.

Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

1021 N. Sweetzer Ave.
Los Angeles 46, Calif.
December 29, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
C.B.S. Television
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Technically, I suppose, I should be addressing this complaint to someone else at C.B.S. The authority to remove the source of my irritation undoubtedly lies elsewhere; yet, I single you out.

I avidly read your recent address to the broadcasters as it was reprinted in THE REPORTER. I re-read it, with only slightly less interest as it was reprinted in THE NEW REPUBLIC. Here is a man, I thought, who has sound thoughts and who is not afraid to make them known. More important, here is a man who has the ear of the industry; they can't simply shrug him off as a harmless crank.

Now you can see, Mr. Murrow, why I was so thoroughly disgusted when I turned to KNXT last Sunday night and discovered that C.B.S. was so impoverished that, for the first time in ten years, YEARS OF CRISIS was sponsored by someone other than the network.

As you are probably aware, Jack Gould saw fit to comment in THE NEW REPUBLIC that you excused the broadcasters of all responsibility for "public service" programs and that you placed the entire load on the sponsors. I re-read your article once more and, sure enough, you had pointed out that the sponsors should be willing to ante up the time costs <u>and</u> the networks, in their turn, would be expected to pay for the programming costs. I see this as altogether equitable <u>only if</u> your suggestion as to the nature of the sponsors' identification be followed. That was, that there be a modest and brief mention of the sponsor and his product--and no more!

My father, Dan Russell, whom you may well know, has long been in radio. He informed me that the FCC, in stating the need for public service programming, makes no mention of the necessity for carrying such programs on a sustaining basis. In other words, the stations need not necessarily lose money through public service, they may find sponsors.

Well and good. I wouldn't have been entirely happy, but I would not have raised too loud a complaint had your program been introduced with a very short, perhaps institutional message, much in the manner of DuPont and US Steel commercials. Then, as in years past, your show would have unfolded without further interruption. That, as I say would

have been resentfully accepted.

But, instead, I was treated to some four or five full-length, no-holds-barred pitches for, among others, All Bran and Kent. Even worse, at the half-hour break, that horror of horrors--triple-spotting--was foisted upon us. These particular commercials were in no way connected with the subject at hand, nor were they presented in the same spirit--the documentary approach--that characterized the broadcast.

I am in advertising, myself. I will not say that commercials should be relegated to Limbo. I will say that C.B.S. is still remarkably solvent and that profits are at a healthy level. Further, on the same Sunday night, both N.B.C. and A.B.C., the latter perhaps with a good claim to financial woes, both saw fit to present their year-end resumes without benefit of commercial sponsorship.

Certainly, there are expenses involved in setting-up a program such as Years of Crisis. The commentators do have to be flown in from all over the world; there are their expense accounts to be considered; commercial time had to be pre-empted; a staff had to be gathered together to produce the program. In addition, with no sponsorship a selling job would have to be done on the network's member stations to convince them to forego the commercial rewards of that particular hour. And yet, it had been done that way for nine years in a row and it had been done that way by two rival networks on the very same day.

All right, I've run through my complaint. I will return to the crux of the matter: there was no need for advertising on that show! I will yield ever-so slightly and say that, if there were a need for advertising, there was no need for cereal and cigarette pitches but only for a quiet and brief mention of the sponsor.

Before I forget, let me congratulate you for once again giving us, in Years of Crisis, a thoughtful look at our world. As I remarked to my father, I only wish you would bring that wonderfully insightful group together once a month, rather than only at year's end (and, if you please, you could even have an institutional ad at the beginning.)

As it is, I would like, if you can spare the time, your version of the state of affairs at C.B.S. that makes it necessary to break long-standing precedent and introduce commercial sponsorship of your program. And, Mr. Murrow, was I right in detecting your discomfort immediately before each commercial?

Still in your corner, I am

Yours truly,

Paul Russell

Paul Russell

Schneider, John A.

WCAU-TV

The Philadelphia Station for the CBS Television Network · CBS Owned

CITY & MONUMENT AVENUES, PHILADELPHIA 31, PA. · GREENWOOD 7-8300

JOHN A. SCHNEIDER
General Manager

December 27, 1958

Dear Ed:

At 6:30 PM, on Tuesday, January 6, immediately preceding the "Outlook for 1959" program in which you are participating, WCAU-TV is having a buffet supper reception for you, the other correspondents, Dr. Stanton and the civic and governmental leaders of our community on the stage of the Academy of Music.

This letter then is both to advise you of the reception and to invite you to join us.

The Academy of Music is the home of Eugene Ormandy and the Philadelphia Orchestra. This is the first time that anyone has ever had such an affair as this dinner on the premises. We believe you will find it both charming and interesting.

Upon your arrival at the Academy of Music, we will direct you to a dressing room where you can make yourself comfortable and by having both the program and the supper under one roof we should eliminate any potential frantic rushing around.

WCAU-TV is extremely proud to have you come to Philadelphia and we are all looking forward to your presence here with great anticipation.

Cordially,

Jack

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS Television
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Chic Hp

December 5, 1958

Dear Mr. Guilbert:

Many thanks for your cordial letter of November 25 concerning my speech before the Radio and Television News Directors Association.

It is true that there are some areas in which it was deemed unpopular. However, the over-all public response has been very gratifying.

Thank you again for writing as you did. With all good wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Robert M. Guilbert
General Manager
Walter Thompson De Mexico, S. A.
Melchor Ocampo 469
Mexico 5, D. F.

mcc

WALTER THOMPSON DE MEXICO, S. A.

MELCHOR OCAMPO 469
MEXICO 5, D. F.

November 25, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Your speech before the Radio and Television News Directors' Association is probably too thought-provoking to be extremely popular with large segments of people in the United States. May I express my sincere appreciation for it.

This letter is merely to encourage the important and responsible work you are doing and I just hope enough people will get your message in a way that will produce results.

I try to listen to you as often as I can over KTRH when I drive home from work.

With all kindest wishes.

Yours very truly,

Bob Guilbert

Robert M. Guilbert
General Manager

RMG:acr

Bernie Eisman

CBS NEWS NY GA

TWX-A ACR19/WCA1203/TD396 VIA CCC

LONDON 27/24 2 623P

PRESS COLUMRAD

NEWYORK

PROMURROWS OFFICE GABY PLEASE EXPRESS AIRMAIL SOONEST SIX COPIES CHICAGO SPEECH TO MURROW HOTEL DU CERF COMMA CHESIERES-VILLARS SWITZERLAND THANKS

BERNIE

204P UL DEC 2

Chic Sp
f

November 28, 1958

Professor Howard Boone Jacobson
One Ermine Street
Fairfield, Conn.

Dear Professor Jacobson:

Thank you for your letter of November 25. I have pleasure in enclosing a copy of Mr. Murrow's speech.

Yours sincerely,

Sheila Hogg
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

University of Bridgeport
Bridgeport 4, Connecticut

Nov. 25, 1958

Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I thank you for letting me use your recent Chicago speech as a chapter in my forthcoming book on Mass Communication and Society. Perhaps Mr. Gitlin did not mention it, but I will need a copy of the speech. Would you be so kind as to supply me with one. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Howard Jacobson

Howard Boone Jacobson
One Ermine St.
Fairfield, Conn.

Chic Sp.

November 28, 1958

Mr. Edward S. Merry
Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association
P.O. Box 1029
Gallup, N.M.

Dear Mr. Merry:

Thank you for your recent letter and the Ceremonial Magazine enclosed. I have pleasure in sending you enclosed the speech I made recently in Chicago.

I wonder whether you were able to see a program about the American Indian which NBC carried two Sundays ago. It was worth watching.

Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

enc.

A38 ERM FYI - mercer A.P (L.L) Chic

-DASH-

A WHILE AGO EDWARD R. MURROW OF CBS SAID IN A CHICAGO SPEECH THAT IT WAS TIME TELEVISION TACKLED IMPORTANT, CONTROVERSIAL SUBJECTS SUCH AS THE GRAVE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS CONFRONTING AMERICAN INDIANS.

UNKNOWN TO MURROW AT THE TIME, ROBERT MCCORMICK OF NBC NEWS WAS THEN PREPARING A TV PROGRAM ON THE GRAVE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS CONFRONTING AMERICAN INDIANS.

THE RESULT WILL BE SEEN ON NBC-TV SUNDAY, 5 P.M., WHEN MCCORMICK PRESENTS THE RESULT OF FIVE MONTHS OF WORK IN "THE AMERICAN STRANGER."

"I CAME TO THE CONCLUSION," MCCORMICK SAID THE OTHER DAY, "THAT THERE IS A CONCERTED, IF NOT AN ORGANIZED, DRIVE TO GET THE INDIANS SEPARATED FROM THEIR LANDS WHICH ARE WORTH BILLIONS OF DOLLARS."

IN THE COURSE OF PREPARING THE HOUR PROGRAM MCCORMICK VISITED RESERVATIONS OF THE NAVAJOS, ZUNI, HOPIS, FLATHEADS, BLACKFEET AND MENOMINEES. HE "DIDN'T GO NEAR" INDIAN LAWYERS OR THE INDIAN BUREAU AND HE DISCLAIMS BEING "A PROFESSIONAL ADMIRER OF INDIANS."

WHAT HE FOUND, HE SAID, WAS "SOMETHING THAT'S WRONG FROM A PUBLIC STANDPOINT, SOMETHING ABOUT WHICH THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SHOULD BE INFORMED. BY NEGLIGENCE OR DESIGN INDIANS ARE BEING BANKRUPTED SO THAT THEY ARE FORCED TO SELL THEIR LANDS--OFTEN TO ONLY ONE OR TWO POTENTIAL BUYERS.

"NOBODY HAS EVER LISTENED TO THE INDIANS OR TRIED TO UNDERSTAND THE COMPLEXITIES OF THEIR PROBLEMS. THEIR AFFAIRS HAVE BEEN RUN BY A BUREAUCRACY FOR YEARS. MANY PEOPLE HAVE WRITTEN STORIES ABOUT HOW BADLY OFF THEY ARE, BUT SCARCELY ANYBODY HAS TRIED TO FIGURE WHY."

WE RECOMMEND VIEWING "THE AMERICAN STRANGER."

WH422AES

INTER-TRIBAL INDIAN CEREMONIAL
GALLUP, NEW MEXICO
THE INDIAN CAPITAL

Since 1922 America's Outstanding Indian Exposition of Dances, Sports, Arts and Crafts

Inter-Tribal Indian Ceremonial Association

P. O. BOX 1029, GALLUP, NEW MEXICO

An Official Agency of The State of New Mexico

Nov. 18, 1958

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I happened to learn inferentially about your talk on the challenges to television that included some observations on coverage of the American Indian.

I would like very much to have a copy of the talk for information and in the possibility that we might carry the excerpts in the 1959 Ceremonial Magazine for next year with your permission. I am enclosing a complimentary copy of our 1958 magazine to illustrate its nature.

The annual Ceremonial, as you may know, attempts to stress the worth of the heritage and crafts of the American Indian and instill this appreciation both in the Indian himself and his fellow Americans. This we do through a four-day presentation of his dances, sports, and crafts that has been seen in its 37 years by several hundred thousand people. Our magazine plus other activities help carry out this program.

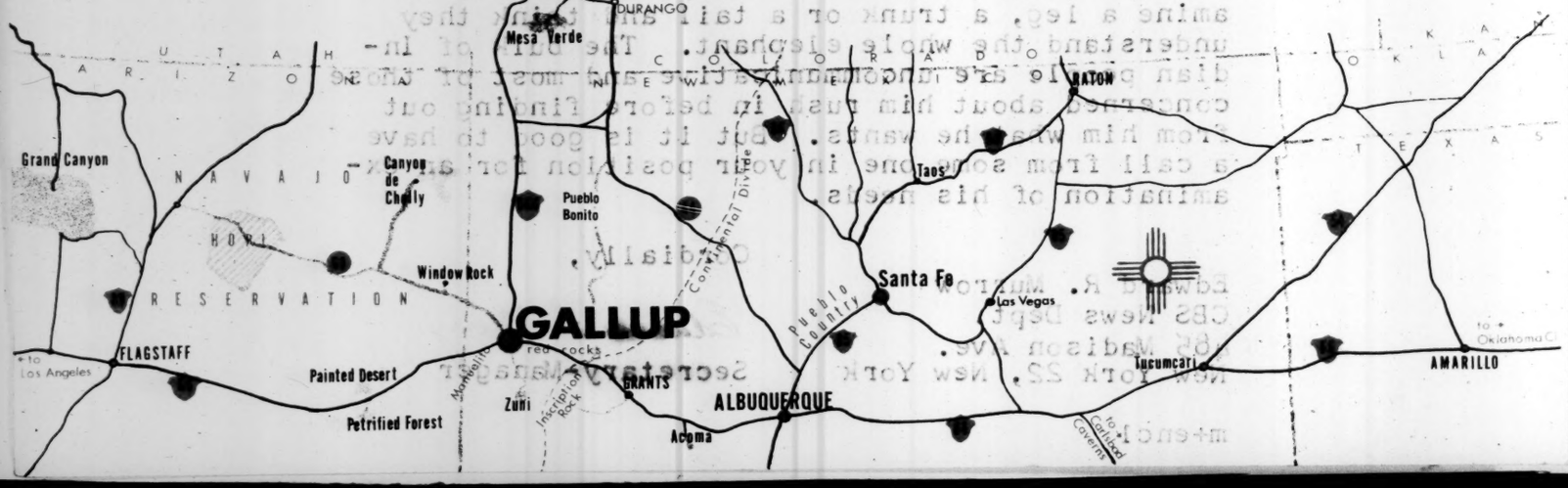
The matter of the American Indian will always be a matter of great controversy because of the conflicting opinions held by the wide variety and motivation of non-Indians who approach his problems. Too many, of course, examine a leg, a trunk or a tail and think they understand the whole elephant. The bulk of Indian people are uncommunicative and most of those concerned about him rush in before finding out from him what he wants. But it is good to have a call from some one in your position for an examination of his needs.

Cordially,

Edward S. Merry
Secretary-Manager

Edward R. Murrow
CBS News Dept.
485 Madison Ave.
New York 22, New York

m+encl


DURANGO
Mesa Verde
UTAH
ARIZONA
NEW MEXICO
COLORADO
KANSAS
TEXAS
RATON
Grand Canyon
NAVAJO
Canyon de Chelly
Pueblo Bonito
Taos
HOPI
Window Rock
RESERVATION
Continental Divide
Santa Fe
Las Vegas
GALLUP
red rocks
Pueblo Country
to Los Angeles
FLAGSTAFF
Painted Desert
Petrified Forest
Zuni
Inscription Rock
GRANTS
ALBUQUERQUE
Acoma
Tucumcari
to Carlsbad Caverns
to Oklahoma C.
AMARILLO

Kollek, Theodore
Chicago Speech -

November 24, 1958

Dear Teddy:

What happened as a result of the speech in Chicago was exactly what I predicted - nothing. Lots of requests for copies, but no action.

Please give me a call when you return to town.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Mr. Theodore Kollek
Embassy of Israel
Washington, D.C.

GRAHAM SPRY

TELEPHONE:- SLOANE 0641.

CABLES:- GRASPRY, LONDON.

Chic. Sp.

Spry, Graham

28, CHESTER STREET,
BELGRAVE SQUARE,
LONDON, S.W. 1.

21st November, 1958.

Sent 11-24 with Note.

The Secretary,
Columbia Broadcasting System Inc.,
Madison Avenue,
NEW YORK 22.
U.S.A.

Dear Sir:

The LONDON TIMES of November 17th published from its Washington correspondent some excerpts from remarks made by Mr. Morrow about standards of broadcasting, particularly television.

I would very much appreciate it if I could be sent a copy of this statement or script. I would be very interested indeed to read the full statement.

Yours sincerely,

Graham Spry

Graham Spry.

GS/emh.

Chic Sp.

November 20, 1958

Mr. Charlton Dietz
900 Bush Avenue
Saint Paul 6, Minnesota

Dear Mr. Dietz:

Thank you for your kind words about the speech I made in Chicago. It is something I have wanted to say for a long time.

I am glad you are enjoying SMALL WORLD. We have high hopes for it. The address you asked for is: Remsult Inc., 425 Park Avenue, New York.

Thanks again for writing as you did.

Sincerely yours,

(signed in Mr. Murrow's absence)

ERM:skh

CHARLTON DIETZ
ATTORNEY AT LAW
900 BUSH AVENUE
SAINT PAUL 6, MINNESOTA
Prospect 6-8511

November 11, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS Television
485 Madison Avenue
New York City, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I have read with great interest your address before the National Association of Television and Radio Newscasters. I wholeheartedly applaud your constructive criticism of the television media. What can we do to arouse more people to show a concern for this lack of information regarding the important problems in the world today?

If you will send me the address of your sponsor on "Small World" whom I recall is the Renault Dauphine, I would be happy to write them and indicate that this is one small voice that sincerely appreciates their willingness to devote advertising dollars to this type of program.

Yours truly,

Charlton Dietz

Charlton Dietz

CD:nk

Renault Inc
425 Park Ave

Chic Sp.

HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY, INC. Magazine Division

530 FIFTH AVENUE · NEW YORK 36, N.Y.

BEN G. WRIGHT
Vice President

FIELD & STREAM
POPULAR GARDENING
NEW HOMES GUIDE
HOME MODERNIZING GUIDE

11-25
Sent script along with short note.

November 20, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting Co.
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Do you, by any chance, have another copy of that magnificent speech you made to the broadcasters some time back - in Chicago, I believe. If so, I would certainly like to have a copy. In advance, thanks, and all best wishes.

Sincerely,

Ben Wright

BEN WRIGHT

BW/ab

Barrett, Edw.

Chic. Sp.

Columbia University
in the City of New York
NEW YORK 27, N. Y.
GRADUATE SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM
OFFICE OF THE DEAN

November 20, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Belatedly, but enthusiastically, I bow to you for that talk before the Radio and Television News Directors Association. Your proposal for a solution is a highly optimistic one, but I haven't perfected any better plan.

Cordially,

Edward W. Barrett

ewb/ap

Chic Sp

November 20, 1958

Mr. Sterling Hayden
Hotel Roosevelt
Hollywood, California

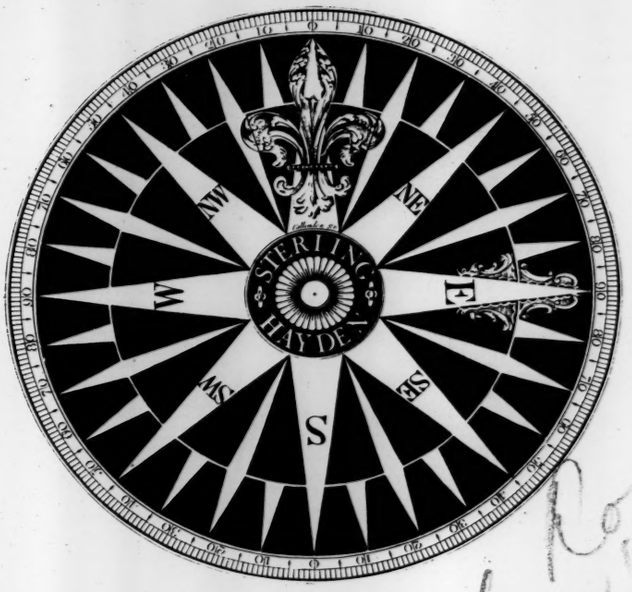
Dear Mr. Hayden:

Thank you for your recent letter, asking for a copy of Mr. Murrow's speech in Chicago. I have pleasure in sending you a copy of the full text.

Yours sincerely,

Sheila Hogg
Secretary to Mr. Murrow

enc.



Hotel Roosevelt
Hwd

November 15, 1958

Henry Jaffe - NY
TV

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
C.B.S. - Television
New York City, New York

CI 5 2400

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I know this will come to the attention of a secretary and there is no need to bother Mr. Murrow with it. I would very much appreciate it if you would send me a copy of Mr. Murrow's speech before the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasts (or whatever the title really is) for last month. I read just enough of it to be extremely impressed and while parts have been published in the local press, I do not have the full speech.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Sterling Hayden

SH:jw

Chic. Sp.

November 20, 1958

Mr. Oscar Katov
Oscar Katov and Company
75 East Wacker Drive
Chicago 1, Illinois

Dear Mr. Katov:

Thank you for your kind remarks about the speech I made recently in Chicago. I understand that the Reporter now has reprints available and I would suggest that you write direct for whatever you need.

Sincerely yours,

OK CO

Oscar Katov and Company

PUBLIC RELATIONS AND ADVERTISING

75 EAST WACKER DRIVE • CHICAGO 1 • CENTRAL 6-8068

November 17, 1958

Tell him to write Reporter!

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I have read with great interest, in the current issue of the Reporter, your recent speech before the Radio and Television News Directors' Association.

My congratulations to you for what, I feel, is the frankest evaluation to date of the television industry's responsibility to the public. As a former newspaper reporter and editor, I share your apprehension that an overwhelming amount of television programing is contributing to the "insulation from the world in which we live". Regrettably, the majority of our daily newspapers and popular periodicals also add their share to this dulling attitude.

Because I feel that your speech can provoke thoughtful discussion I wish to send a copy to each of my clients -- and would therefore like to know if reprints or copies are available. I will require twenty, please.

Thank you -- and keep up the good fight.

Sincerely,

Oscar Katov

Oscar Katov

OK:en

Chic Speech

November 19, 1958

Dear Mr. Hart:

Very many thanks for your cordial letter of November 11th and your nice comments on the speech I made in Chicago last month.

Public response to the speech has been far greater than I had anticipated and your good letter is one of the most interesting I have received.

We are happy to be able to send you two dozen copies of the speech you request. Thank you again for taking the trouble to write.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Robert M. Hart
Business Research Group
930 Grant Street
Denver, Colorado

mce
enc.

ROBERT M. HART
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

ACOMA 2-0067

R.

BUSINESS RESEARCH GROUP
930 GRANT STREET
DENVER, COLORADO

November 11, 1958

Mr. EdwardR. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow;

Having just read your recent speech to the Radio and T V News Directors' Association, as published in the November 13 issue of Reporter Magazine, I would like to take this means of congratulating you on the fearless and very competent statement of ideas to which you have given expression.

In my opinion the virtual denial of the principle of public convenience and dire necessity which has been perpetrated by the radio and T V industry on the American public will, if continued, constitute one of the major internal assaults against the culture and the democratic structure which we are trying with great effort to maintain.

Like many another mature adult (and we must number in the millions) I have long since abandoned radio and T V to my children, with whom the parental struggle for prevention of an over-dose is maintained continuously, if not too successfully. Nor is it at all convincing to us when we hear the industry attempt lamely to shift the burden of responsibility to other media of mass communication. We know and the industry itself knows (and is proving daily and nightly) that the audio-visual technique is by far the most effective means of attracting the attention and maintaining the interest of people on the receiving end of our one way communication systems.

Having abandoned radio many years ago and having found its giant offspring T V even less satisfactory as a possible personal source for entertainment or intellectual interest it follows that such essentials must be available to me elsewhere. One might therefore ask "Why all the concern about the stupidity of an industry in which you have no direct interest?". The primary answer is simple and I think it applies for many people in addition to myself. It seems clear to me that, to use your own terms, my sheer survival and that of my children are irrevocably bound up in the ability of the public at large to achieve some kind of an accurate view of the stark, naked reality of the world in which today we live.

As a member of what the industry, in its short sighted negligence, is pleased to label a "minority audience" I am deeply concerned and even more deeply involved in the repulsive fact that my cohorts in the "majority" are being denied their birthright by that industry controlling the one means of mass communication which can and should most effectively remedy the situation. It is fraudulent for the industry to assert, time and time again, that present program content is what the public demands. The public has never received the option of exercising a free choice because it has never been given any direct empirical knowledge of what the alternatives might be. Under the subversive formulae of the Madison Avenue Motivationists, it might be altogether too risky to let old John Public in on just a glimpse of the truth.

In expressing a desire for the public at large to achieve a more realistic view of the world around them it unfortunately seems essential to emphasize the necessity for including that segment of the public which comprises the policy-makers in your industry as well as their counterparts among the 30 to 50 large corporations whose appropriations are responsible for this great game of Polyanna. If this relatively small segment of the "majority" can be convinced of the ultimate wisdom of your position I, for one, have ample faith in the ability of the vast remainder of the "majority" to absorb, with reasonable intelligence, the traumatic effects which would no doubt accompany the removal of the blindfolds under which they are now unwittingly held.

Now let's proceed one step further with some hard dollar and cents talk, which is what Madison Avenue understands best. It is not too difficult to take such financial information as is released by the Federal Communications Commission which, when, supplemented by data published early this year by a House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee report, permits the making of some reasonably accurate estimates onthe dollar part of the radio-T V picture. In a recent year (and not necessarily the best year) I estimate that the Radio and T V Industry, combined, was able to earn, before Federal Taxes, over 45% on its net tangible property investment. That's not bad for the entire industry, but get this. For that same year the 3 major T V networks, including their 16 owned stations, were able to earn, before Federal Taxes, over 110% on their net tangible property investment. Incidentally it appears that in the same year these 3 New York headquartered networks paid out in commissions to advertising agencies, brokers and others the sum of $75,000,000, an amount which actually exceeds the reported net value of the property, plant and equipment owned by these three networks. Nice work if you can get it.

Here's one final point. Based on figures reported to the Federal government, I estimate that the depreciated value of tangible property of the entire Radio and T V Industry, at the end of 1957, amounted to $430,000,000. What do you suppose the total investment of Mr. John Q. Public in his receiving equipment amounted to? Here is a conservative estimate. 42,000,000 T V sets at a depreciated value of $75 each and 100,000,000 radio sets at an average salvage value of only $20 each makes a total of over $5,000,000,000 (that figure is five billion dollars) of investment by John Q. Public. This is almost 12 times theabove described property investment made by the industry itself. These Madison Avenue boys have come a long, long way from the time when they used to have Gillette give away the razors in order to sell the blades.

Sincerely yours,

Robert M. Hart

RMH/br

P.S. Can your office spare me 2 dozen copies of your recent speech? Bob

Chic. Sp.

November 19, 1958

Dear Shirley:

Many thanks for your letter of November 14th and the copies of some of the letters you received as a result of printing Mr. Murrow's Chicago speech.

Mr. Murrow enjoyed reading the letters and was quite amazed to hear of the number of requests you have had for reprints.

Needless to say, we find the total to date more than gratifying.

Thank you for sending me the reprints I asked for. I think they are extremely well done, and I congratulate you.

All the best.

As ever,

THE REPORTER

136 EAST 57th STREET
NEW YORK 22, N. Y.
Murray Hill 8-4033

November 14, 1958

Miss Katherine Campbell
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Kay:

I think that Ed Murrow might want to see some of the really splendid letters we have received as a result of printing his recent speech.

So far requests for reprints total 2087. The reprints will be sent starting Monday for we did need a bit of time to produce them.

Be sure to take note of the letter, the nicest from our point of view, which enclosed a check for five subscriptions.

As you know, we are most grateful to Mr. Murrow for his permission to reprint the speech and we are, of course, gratified at the response.

Sincerely,

Shirley Katzander
Director of Promotion

P. S. Also enclosed is a list of all persons who have requested reprints. Some merely sent postcards.

SK:sm
enc.

Chic

MURROW REPRINT REQUESTS -- WITH QUANTITY

Mr. Morton M. Epstein 6
Bardonia Road
Bardonia, New York

Mr. Fred Powledge 1
PO Box 462
Short Beach, Conn.

Mr. Jackson E. Eckstein 6
556 West 101st Street
Los Angeles 44, California

Miss Minnie Porter 1
3214 Silverado Drive
Los Angeles 39, California

Major John Barron 1
AFROTC
Michigan State University
East Lansing, Michigan

Mr. Ted Smythe, Public Relations 10
Sterling College
Sterling, Kansas

Mr. Thomas D. Ungs 300
University of North Dakota
Grand Forks, North Dakota

Mr. Herbert E. Evans 150
Peoples Broadcasting Corporation
246 No. High Street
Columbus 16, Ohio

Miss Catherine Wilkes 10
1057 Peabody Avenue, #6
Memphis 4, Tennessee

Mr. David J. McCarthy, Librarian 1
Gray & Rogers
12 South Twelfth Street
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Miss Irene Roth Gould 12
XI 1216
34 West 33 Street
New York 1, N. Y.

Mr. John Dunn 100
Henry Ford Com. College
4824 Lois
Dearborn, Michigan

Dr. Edward B. Glick 50
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Alfred A. Knopf 2
501 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Miss Katherine Campbell 10
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Miss Lydia Hatcher 8
Australian Broadcasting Comm.
630 Fifth Avenue, Room 3320
New York, N. Y.

Mr. Jack Hackethorn 20
Public Relations Director
Missouri Farmers Association, Inc.
Columbia, Missouri

Mr. Richard Rice 5
Storer Broadcasting Company
Toledo, Ohio

Miss Trudy James Sundberg 75
31710 Chicoine Avenue
Hayward, California

Miss Sarah Frank 3
J. Walter Thompson
410 North Michigan Avenue
Chicago 11, Illinois

Mr. Thomas Gorman 10
501 East 32 Street
Chicago 16, Illinois

Miss Lola Kinel 12
2285 San Marco Drive
Hollywood 28, California

Mr. L. S. Schwartz 1
The Advertising Council, Inc.
203 North Wabash Avenue
Chicago 1, Illinois

Mr. Seth Fisher 6
Midland Cooperatives, Inc.
739 Johnson Street NE
Minneapolis 13, Minnesota

Rev. Alan G. Deale 500
2101 Auburn Street
Rockford, Illinois

Miss Charlotte Friel 10
9 Minetta Street
New York 12, N. Y.

Mr. George Reading 6
Capital Cities Television Corp.
Box 10
Albany 1, New York

Mrs. S. H. Farrington 4
29 Dundee Avenue
Babylon, L.I., N.Y.

Mr. R. M. Christinson 100
Department of Government
Miami University
Oxford, Ohio

Mr. Arthur Brin 6
4 Ballantine Lane
Great Neck
New York

Mr. Benjamin Cotler 6
156 Fayette Street
Bridgeton, New Jersey

Mr. Louis S. Kurze 10
1613 Huntington Drive
South Pasadena, California

Professor C. J. Bue 25
School of Journalism
Montana State University
Missoula, Montana

Mr. Robert L. Gildea 50
Television, Radio and Film Commission
Indiana Area of the Methodist Church
527 East 38th Street
Indianapolis, Indiana

Mr. John Clark, Assoc. Prof. 50
Language Arts Division
San Francisco State College
1600 Holloway Avenue
San Francisco 27, California

Mr. H. B. McCarty 50
Director, Division of Radio and Television Education
University of Wisconsin
Madison, Wisconsin

Mr. William B. Macdonald 150
468 West Deming Place
Chicago 14, Illinois

Clara S. Logan 300
National Association for Better Radio and Television
882 Victoria Avenue
Los Angeles, California

Ed Nelson 20
942 N. Church Street
Rockford, Illinois

C O P Y

Bardonia Road
Bardonia, New York

November 13, 1958

Gentlemen:

No doubt Ed Murrow really knows how to say it -- and what he says is so right that it's too bad you had his speech slightly "burried" in the back of Reporter and not right ~~xxxx~~ up front. But, of course, that is also a challenge to thinking people in that they have an obligation to search out the truth wherever it may be and not necessarily have it handed up on a silver platter.

May I please have six reprints of the article?

Thank you,

Morton M. Epstein

TELEGRAPH ADDRESS · LOS ANG

Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corporation

STUDIOS
BEVERLY HILLS, CALIFORNIA

November 12, 1958

Dear Ed and Fred:

Here are the MIRROR-NEWS tearsheets on The Speech. It was like a sudden lifting of smog.

I phoned Hal Humphrey today and asked him what the mail reaction had been. He said the series had unusually heavy response, all favorable, most of it cheering loud. He was particularly impressed by the fact that the bulk of it was not egghead mail, but from the kind of people who start off by writing, "I'm not the smartest guy in the world, but---" Fifty or sixty of the letters, he said, were ungrammatical. Most asked, in some form or other, the usual question: "What do we do about it?"

As I started saying in 1944, Murrow for President.

Thanks again and again for the film, which should be aboard tomorrow. And let me know if there is anything this volunteer outpost can do for you here at any time, beside quietly working for your presidency in '64.

Fondest best,

Norman Corwin

Corwin, Norman

November 18, 1958

Dear Norman:

Many thanks for sending us the tearsheets. I have not noticed any stampede of sponsors to adopt my little idea, but I am neither surprised nor disappointed.

Sorry we had to abandon the Sandburg idea but, as Fred has undoubtedly told you, we are hoping to do it here in the east and maybe tie it in in some way with your play.

As ever yours,

P.S. So far as politics go, it is now being said here that Harriman offered me the same undying support that he did Tom Finletter - which is true.

ERM:skh

Mr. Norman Corwin
Twentieth Century-Fox Film Corporation
Beverley Hills, California

Hal Humphrey

MIRROR NEWS TV-RADIO EDITOR

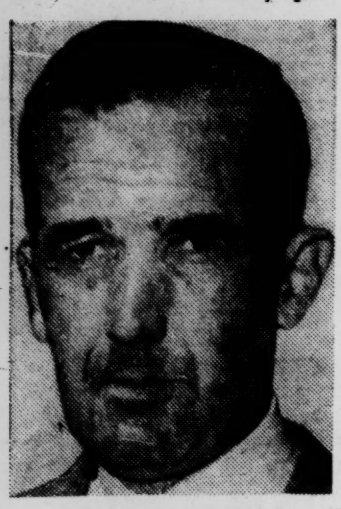
'GOOD NIGHT, AND GOOD LUCK' . . . FROM ED MURROW

Television critics and columnists during the past several months have been accused by network executives and other industry spokesmen of being unduly harsh with their TV baby.

We, and the newspapers employing us, have been told by these nabobs that we do not understand their problems, and go off half-cocked in our appraisals of their efforts.

NBC's Robert Sarnoff (he's president) went so far as to imply that newspapers did this because of the inroads TV and radio had made into newspapers' advertising revenues.

Last month the pillars of broadcasting were handed their hardest shaking yet. But this time the criticism did not come from newspaper writers. It came from an important member of their own family who once held a vice-president title.



EDWARD R. MURROW
He lowers the boom

His name is Ed Murrow, and on Oct. 15 he addressed the Association of Radio and Television News Directors' convention in Chicago. Undoubtedly, it was one of the most incisive and devastating critiques ever made of the broadcasting industry.

Because newspapers' TV critics have been accused of grinding an ax, we think it is important that the public be given the opportunity to hear from a man who has spent a good part of his working life in broadcasting.

The following is the word-for-word transcript of Murrow's speech. Space limitations make it necessary to break it up into three parts. The remaining two "chapters" will appear on this page Wednesday and Thursday:

THE TEXT OF ED MURROW'S SPEECH

This just might do nobody any good. At the end of this discourse a few people may accuse this reporter of fouling his own comfortable nest, and your organization may be accused of having given hospitality to heretical and even dangerous thoughts.

But the elaborate structure of networks, advertising agencies and sponsors will not be shaken or altered. It is my desire, if not my duty, to try to talk to you journeymen with some candor about what is happening to radio and television in this generous and capacious land.

I have no technical advice or counsel to offer those of you who labor in this vineyard that produces words and pictures. You will forgive me for not telling you that the instruments with which you work are miraculous; that your responsibility is unprecedented; or that your aspirations are frequently frustrated.

It is not necessary to remind you the fact that your voice is ar lified to the degree where it es from one end of the to the other does not on you greater wis- nderstanding than you when your voice d only from one end of bar to the other. All of these things you know.

Seized With Fear

You should also know at the outset that, in the manner of witnesses before Congressional committees, I appear here voluntarily—by invitation—that I am an employee of the Columbia Broadcasting System—that I am neither an officer nor a director of that corporation—and that these remarks are of a "do-it-yourself" nature. If what I have to say is responsible, then I alone am responsible for the saying of it. Seeking neither approbation from my employers, nor new sponsors, nor acclaim from the critics of radio and television, I cannot well be disappointed.

Believing that potentially the commercial system of broadcasting as practice in this country is the best and freest yet devised, I have decided to express my concern about what I believe to be happening to radio and television. These instruments have been good to me beyond my due. There exists in my mind no reasonable grounds for personal complaint. I have no feud, either with my employers, any sponsors, or with the professional critics of radio and television. But I am seized with an abiding fear regarding what these two instruments are doing to our society, our culture and our heritage.

TV Insulates Us

Our history will be what we make it. And if there are any historians about 50 or 100 years from now, and there should be preserved the kinescopes for one week of all three networks, they will there find recorded in black and white, or color, evidence of decadence, escapism and insulation from the realities of the world in which we live.

I invite your attention to the television schedules of all networks between the hours of 8 and 11 p.m. Eastern time. Here you will find only fleeting and spasmodic reference to the fact that this nation is in mortal danger. There are, it is true, occasional informative programs presented in that intellectual ghetto on Sunday afternoons. But during the daily peak viewing periods, television in the main insulates us from the realities of the world in which we live. If this state of affairs continues, we may alter an advertising slogan to read: "Look Now, Pay Later." For surely we shall pay for using this most powerful instrument of communication to insulate the citizenry from the hard and demanding realities which must be faced if we are to survive.

I mean the word—survive—literally. If there were to be a competition in indifference, or perhaps in insulation from reality, then Nero and his fiddle, Chamberlain and his umbrella, could not find a place on an early afternoon sustaining show.

If Hollywood were to run out of Indians, the program schedules would be mangled beyond all recognition. Then, some courageous soul with a small budget might be able to do a documentary telling what, in fact, we have done—and are still doing—to the Indians in this country. But that would be unpleasant. And we must at all costs shield the sensitive citizens from anything that is unpleasant.

I am entirely persuaded that the American public is more reasonable, restrained and more mature than most of our industry's program planners believe. Their fear of controversy is not warranted by the evidence. I have reason to know, as do many of you, that when the evidence on a controversial subject is fairly and calmly presented, the public recognizes it for what it is—an effort to illuminate rather than to agitate.

Public Is Ready

Several years ago, when we undertook to do a program on Egypt and Israel, well-meaning, experienced and intelligent friends shook their heads and said: "This you cannot do—you will be handed your head—it is an emotion-packed controversy, and there is no room for reason in it." We did the program. Zionists, anti-Zionists, the friends of the Middle East, Egyptian and Israeli officials said, with a faint note of surprise: "It was a fair account. The information was there. We have no complaints."

Our experience was similar with two half-hour programs dealing with cigarette smoking and lung cancer. Both the medical profession and the tobacco industry co-operated in a rather wary fashion. But in the end of the day they were both reasonably content.

The subject of radioactive fall-out and the banning of nuclear tests was and is highly controversial. But according to what little evidence there is, viewers were prepared to listen to both sides with reason and restraint. This is not said to claim any special or unusual competence in the presentation of controversial subjects, but rather to indicate that timidity in these areas is not warranted—by the evidence.

No Confidence

Recently, network spokesmen have been disposed to complain that the professional critics of television have been "rather beastly." There have been hints that somehow competition for the advertising dollar has caused the critics of print to gang up on television and radio. This reporter has no desire to defend the critics. They have space in which to do that on their own behalf. But it remains a fact that the newspapers and magazines are the only instruments of mass communication which remain free from sustained and regular critical comment.

If the network spokesmen are so anguished about what appears in print, let them come forth and engage in a little sustained and regular comment regarding newspapers and magazines. It is an ancient and sad fact that most people in network television, and radio, have an exaggerated regard for what appears in print. And there have been cases where executives have refused to make even private comment on a program for which they were responsible, until they had read the reviews in print. This is hardly an exhibition of confidence.

Duck Responsibility

The oldest excuse of the networks for their timidity is their youth. Their spokesmen say: "We are young; we have not developed the traditions, nor acquired the experience of the older media." If they but knew it, they are building those traditions, creating those precedents every day. Each time they yield to a voice from Washington or any political pressure, each time they eliminate something that might offend some section of the community, they are creating their own body of precedent and tradition. They are, in fact, not content to be "half safe."

Nowhere is this better illustrated than by the fact that the chairman of the Federal Communications Commission publicly prods broadcasters to engage in their legal right to editorialize. Of course, to undertake an editorial policy, overt and clearly labeled, and obviously unsponsored, requires a station or a network to be responsible.

News for Sale

Most stations today probably do not have the manpower to assume this responsibility, but the manpower could be recruited. Editorials would not be profitable; if they had a cutting edge they might even offend. It is much easier, much less troublesome to use the money-making machine of television and radio merely as a conduit through which to channel anything that is not libelous, obscene or defamatory. In that way one has the illusion of power without responsibility.

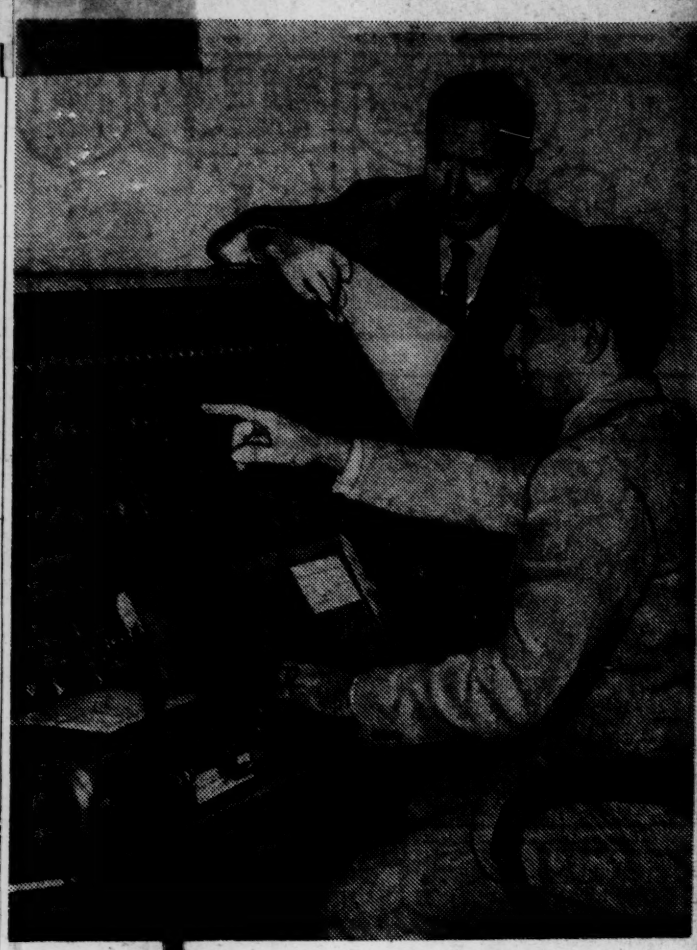
So far as radio—that most satisfying and rewarding instrument — is concerned, the diagnosis of its difficulties is rather easy. And obviously I speak only of news and information. In order to progress it need only go backward to the time when singing commercials were not allowed on news reports, when there was no middle commercial in a 15-minute news report; when radio was rather proud, alert and fast.

I recently asked a network official: Why this great rash of 5-minute news reports (including three commercials) on week ends? He replied: "Because that seems to be the only thing we can sell."

In this kind of complex and confusing world, you can't tell very much about the WHY of the news in broadcasts where only three minutes is available for news. The only man who could do that was Elmer Davis, and his kind aren't about any more. If radio news is to be regarded as a commodity, only acceptable when salable, and only when packaged to fit the advertising appropriation of a sponsor, then I don't care what you call it—I say it isn't news.

My memory also goes back to the time when the fear of a slight reduction in business did not result in an immediate cutback in bodies in the News and Public Affairs Department, at a time when network profits had just reached an all-time high. We would all agree, I think, that whether on a station or a network, the stapling machine is a poor substitute for a newsroom typewriter.

(To be continued tomorrow)



ELECTION NIGHT machinery has been set up by the TV networks to handle returns as they come in. Above, Doug Edwards and a CBS technician get acquainted with UNIVAC, electronic high-speed computer. Below, Madeline Tyler perches on a creature named UEDPS, processing system with which ABC will determine voting patterns.

ELECTION SPECIAL

7:00 P.M.—CHANNELS 2-4—

As far as [illegible] only one show [illegible] political game called "[illegible] Country?" Chet Huntley is NBC's (Channel 4) anchor man, and he'll be assisted by [illegible]MAC (that's a machine which does everything), David Brinkley and others in the field. CBS (Channel 2) [illegible]s up headquarters at Grand Central Terminal with [illegible]NIVAC, Walter Cronkite, Doug Edwards and other [illegible] old humans assisting. John Daly heads up ABC's (Channel 7) control center, with various commentators telling you all about the "big show."

LOCAL ELECTION RETURNS—

Channel 5 will make five-minute-long reports hourly beginning at 7 p.m. Bill Kenneally, Stan [illegible] Jim Burke and a TeleAutograph machine will furnish the coverage. Channel 9 has Ted Meyers on the street and John Willis reporting local results, while Virgil Pinkley and Cliff Engle call the turn on the national scene beginning at 11 p.m. Bill Welsh and George Putnam view the trends at 8:30, 9:30 and 10:30 for Channel 11. Channel 13 will superimpose the results of different races over the bottom of regular programs throughout the evening.

ACTOR'S FAMILY ONE OF NOTE

Efrem Zimbalist Jr., star of ABC-TV's "77 Sunset Strip," is the son of Concert Violinist Efrem Zimbalist Sr. and Opera Singer Alma Gluck.

YOU GET FAST—COMPLETE ELECT
7:00 PM 640 ON Y

Murrow Hits TV's 'Mass' Psychosis

(TV-Radio Commentator Ed Murrow leveled a hotly critical speech before a convention of broadcasting news directors in Chicago recently. We believe it is important enough to the millions of viewers and listeners that they have the opportunity to read it in full. Following is Part II. The first installment ran here yesterday. —ED. NOTE.)

One of the minor tragedies of television news and information is that the networks will not even defend their vital interests. When my employer, CBS, through a combination of enterprise and good luck, did an interview with Nikita Khrushchev, the President uttered a few ill-chosen, uninformed words on the subject and the network practically apologized. This produced a rarity. Many newspapers defended the CBS right to produce the program and commended it for initiative. But the other networks remained silent.

Likewise, when John Foster Dulles, by personal decree, banned American journalists from going to Communist China, and subsequently offered contradictory explanations. For his fiat the networks entered only a mild protest. Then they apparently forgot the unpleasantness. Can it be that this national industry is content to serve the public interest only with the trickle of news that comes out of Hong Kong? And to leave its viewers in ignorance of the cataclysmic changes that are occurring in a nation of 600 million people?

INDUSTRY CONTAINS INCOMPATIBLE SETUP

I have no illusions about the difficulties of reporting from a dictatorship; but our British and French allies have been better served—in their public interest—with some very useful information from their reporters in Communist China.

One of the basic troubles with radio and television news is that both instruments have grown up as an incompatible combination of show business, advertising and news. Each of the three is a rather bizarre and demanding profession. And when you get all three under one roof, the dust never settles.

The top management of the networks, with a few notable exceptions, has been trained in advertising, research, sales or show business. But by the nature of the corporate structure, they also make the final and crucial decisions having to do with news and public affairs. Frequently they have neither the time nor the competence to do this.

It is not easy for the small group of men to decide whether to buy a new station for millions of dollars, build a new building, alter the rate card, buy a new western, sell a soap opera, decide what defensive line to take in connection with the latest Congressional inquiry, how much money to spend on promoting a new program, what additions or deletions should be made in the existing covy or clutch of vice-presidents, and at the same time—frequently on the same long day—to give mature, thoughtful consideration to the manifold problems that confront those who are charged with the responsibility for news and public affairs.

Sometimes there is a clash between the public interest and the corporate interest. A telephone call, or a letter from the proper quarter in Washington is treated rather more seriously than a communication from an irate but not politically potent viewer. It is tempting enough to give away a little air time for frequently irresponsible and unwarranted utterances, in an effort to temper the wind of criticism.

DOLLARS RARELY DEFEATED BY DUTY

Upon occasion, economics and editorial judgment are in conflict. And there is no law which says dollars will be defeated by duty. Not so long ago the President of the United States delivered a television address to the nation. He was discoursing on the possibility or probability of war between this nation and the Soviet Union and Communist China—a reasonably compelling subject. Two networks—CBS and NBC—delayed that broadcast for an hour and 15 minutes.

If this decision was dictated by anything other than financial reasons, the networks didn't deign to explain those reasons. That hour-and-15-minute delay, by the way, is about twice the time required for an ICBM to travel from the Soviet Union to major targets in the United States. It is difficult to believe that this decision was made by men who love, respect and understand news.

So far I have been dealing largely with the deficit side of the ledger, and the items could be expanded. But I have said, and I believe, that potentially, we have in this country a free enterprise system of radio and television which is superior to any other. But to achieve its promise, it must be both free and enterprising.

SAVING REPUBLIC IS SEVEN-DAY JOB

There is no suggestion here that networks or individual stations should operate as philanthropies. But I can find nothing in the Bill of Rights or the Communications Act which says that they must increase their net profits each year, lest the republic collapse.

I do not suggest that news and information should be subsidized by foundations or private subscriptions. I am aware that the networks have expended, and are expending very considerable sums of money on public affairs programs from which they cannot hope to receive any financial reward. I have had the privilege at CBS of presiding over a considerable number of such programs. I testify, and am able to stand here and say that I have never had a program turned down by my superiors because of the money it would cost.

But we all know that you cannot reach the potential maximum audience in marginal time, with a sustaining program. This is so because so many stations on the network—any network—will decline to carry it. Every licensee who applies for a grant to operate in the public interest, convenience and necessity, makes certain promises as to what he will do in terms of program content. Many recipients of licenses have, in blunt language, welshed on those promises. The money-making machine somehow blunts their memories.

The only remedy for this is closer inspection and punitive action by the FCC. But in the view of many this would come perilously close to supervision of program content by a Federal agency.

So it seems that we cannot rely on philanthropic support or foundation subsidies, we cannot follow the "sustaining route," the networks cannot pay all the freight, and the FCC cannot or will not discipline those who abuse the facilities that belongs to the public.

What, then, is the answer? Do we merely stay in our comfortable nests, concluding that the obligation of these instruments has been discharged when we work at the job of informing the public for a minimum of time? Or do we believe that the preservation of the republic is a seven-day-a-week job, demanding more awareness, better skills, and more perseverance than we have yet contemplated.

ED FRIGHTENED BY LACK OF 'ITCH'

I am frightened by the imbalance, the constant striving to reach the largest possible audience for everything; by the absence of a sustained study of the state of the nation. Heywood Broun once said: "Nobody politic is healthy until it begins to itch." I would like television to produce some itching pills rather than this endless outpouring of tranquilizers.

It can be done. Maybe it won't be, but it could. Let us not shoot the wrong piano player. Do not be deluded into believing that the titular heads of the networks control what appears on their networks. They all have better taste. All are responsible to stockholders, and in my experience all are honorable men. But they must schedule what they can sell in the public market. And this brings us to the nub of the question.

In one sense it rather revolves around the phrase heard frequently along Madison Avenue: "The Corporate Image." I am not precisely sure what this phrase means, but I would imagine that it reflects a desire on the part of the corporations who pay the advertising bills, to have the public imagine, or believe, that they are not merely bodies with no souls, panting in pursuit of elusive dollars.

They would like us to believe that they can distinguish between the public good and the private or corporate gain. So the question is this: Are the big corporations who pay the freight for radio and television programs wise to use that time exclusively for the sale of goods and services? Is it in their own interest and that of the stockholders so to do?

CORPORATE IMAGE FREQUENTLY GETS FUZZY

The sponsor of an hour's television program is not buying merely the six minutes devoted to his commercial message. He is determining, within broad limits, the sum total of the impact of the entire hour. If he always, invariably, reaches for the largest possible audience then this process of insulation, of escape from reality, will continue to be massively financed, and its apologists will continue to make winsome speeches about giving the public what it wants, or "letting the public decide."

I refuse to believe that the presidents and chairmen of the boards of these big corporations want their "corporate image" to consist exclusively of a solemn voice in an echo chamber, or a pretty girl opening the door of a refrigerator, or a horse that talks. They want something better, and on occasion some of them have demonstrated it.

But most of the men whose legal and moral responsibility it is to spend the stockholders' money for advertising, are removed from the realities of the mass media by five, six, or a dozen contraceptive layers of vice-presidents, public relations counsel and advertising agencies. Their business is to sell goods, and the competition is pretty tough.

But this nation is now in competition with malignant forces of evil who are using every instrument at their command to empty the minds of their subjects and fill those minds with slogans, determination, and the faith in the future.

If we go on as we are, we are protecting the mind of the American public from any real contact with the menacing world that squeezes in upon us. We are engaged in a great experiment to discover whether a free public opinion can devise and direct methods of managing the affairs of the nation. We may fail. But we are handicapping ourselves needlessly.

(To be concluded tomorrow)

John Crosby

SUNDAY LAUGHTER

NEW YORK—The Sid Caesar shown in the Dinah Shore spot last Sunday night had all the hallmarks of his unique genius; it was manic, satiric, extravagant, contemporary and frequently overdone. It was wonderful having him back, warts and all. For the first time in a long time he had space to work—he needs a lot of it—and a trio of marvelous co-workers and foils in Art Carney, Shirley MacLaine and Cliff Norton.

He needs good people to work with (as who doesn't) and I suppose I was not alone in thinking that Art Carney and Shirley MacLaine would make marvelous permanent companions, if that were possible and I suppose it isn't. Right at the outset Caesar—in this his first show from Hollywood—poked a little fun at those tremendous fanfare openings that come out of the West. Then he and Carney and Norton sank their teeth into televised electioneering. This has been done before and done better but it had its moments, particularly when Carney, as an advertising man in politics, was moaning, "If only he could be sprayed on or if you could take him home and try him for 30 days."

Mean Humor, Telling Slashes

Humor, for years now, has been getting too mild, too bland, too harmless and it's a pleasure to welcome back some real mean humor. There were some wonderfully telling slashes in a satire on "Playhouse 90," particularly on those long trailers. "We'll now show you Act II of our play three weeks from tonight, an original repeat by our alternate sponsor."

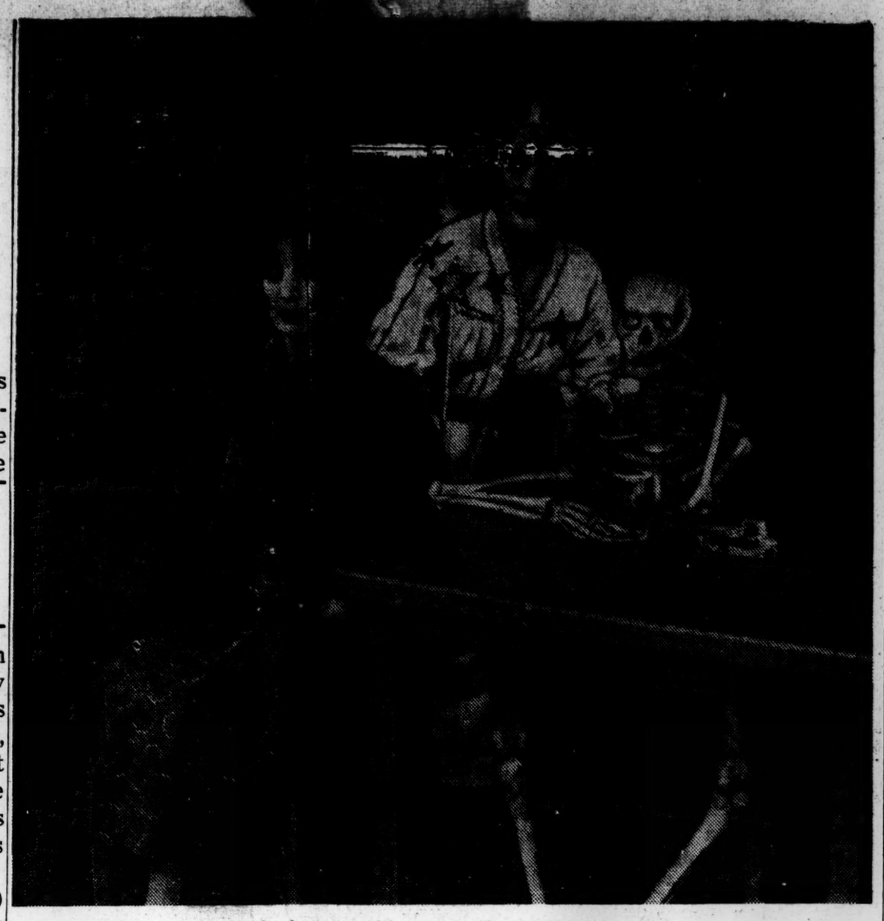
Even meaner and truer and deadlier was a little parody on the "Dick Clark Show" with Carney playing the part of a disc jockey. "And now the Draculaires sing 'You Drove a Stake Through My Heart,'" cried Carney cheerily. "Really, you have no idea how much money I make out of you kids. I'm especially fond of this label because I get an awful lot of money plugging it."

And the sketch ended with Caesar, playing the part of a manic teen-ager, grabbing Carney and in a truly inspired bit of comedy that was both funny and tragic, crying: "You're all we got, Johnny! I mean—is this it? Is this life—jumping around to this dopey music? We need help!" I don't know why that got a bark of laughter out of me except that laughter and tears are always closer than we think.

The Things TV Really Needs

Caesar still needs editing. It was an untidy hour but it had class and exuberance and originality and, oh, brother, do we ever need all those things.

It was a good night for comedy, actually. Over on Steve Allen's program earlier, Elaine May and Mike Nichols made a return appearance with a devastatingly funny bit about finding an apartment in this crowded and unreasonable town. This bit hasn't the tremendous originality or the sheer bite of some of their earlier duologues but it was very funny, surer and perhaps more commercial.



TALLULAH BANKHEAD badgers Estelle Winwood who doesn't like skeletons, in scene from "Crazy October," a new play by James Herlihy, opening Nov. 20 at Huntington Hartford Theater. Box office has opened three weeks in advance, instead of one-week presale.

Quine Gets New Pact

Richard Quine has been signed to a new long-term contract at Columbia Pictures which gives the producer-director independent status.

Quine's first assignment has him directing "The Image Makers." Following, he will produce and direct "Strangers When We Meet," novel by Evan Hunter, author of "The Blackboard Jungle."

Mexican Singer Lucita Changes Name

Lucita, Mexican singer-dancer featured in "Speed Crazy," production for Allied Artists, has changed her professional name to Luci Blain and will leave Nov. 11 for Acapulco to fill a night club engagement.

'Clerambard' Ends Saturday Night

Marcel Ayme's comedy, "Clerambard" will close Saturday night at the Stage Society.

Edwin Justus Mayer's "Children of Darkness" will be premiered at the Society on Nov. 28.

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CULVER CITY MERALTA VE 8-3432
INGLEWOOD RITZ OR 8-7277 Cont. Daily 1 pm
WESTLAKE Alvarado-Wilshire HU 3-5313
BALBOA 8713 S. Vermont PL 8-4104
MONTEBELLO VOGUE PA 1-1225
PICFAIR PICO-FAIRFAX WE 8-5296
"THE SPIDER" and "TERROR from the YEAR 5000" also at
EAST L.A. BROOKLYN AN 8-4988
H'TG PARK LYRIC LU 9-2877
GORDON LaBrea-Melrose WE 4-2944
CARLTON 5409 S. Western AX 5-3357
ALHAMBRA ALHAMBRA AT 2-6136
HOLLYWOOD LOS FELIZ NO 4-2169
HIGHLAND PARK PARK CL 5-0654
AZUSA EDWARDS ED 4-2502

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Stanley Warner Theatres
DOWNTOWN 7th and Hill MA. 7-4511 — LET'S ROCK; HOW TO MURDER A RICH UNCLE
WILTERN Wilshire & Western DU. 7-6147 — TORPEDO RUN; FIEND WITHOUT A FACE
BEVERLY HILLS 9404 Wilshire CR. 1-1121 — BIG COUNTRY
HUNTINGTON PK. 6714 Pacific LU. 5-0944 — White Wilderness; LONE RANGER'S LOST CITY
SAN PEDRO 578 West 6th TE. 2-7227 — White Wilderness; LONE RANGER'S LOST CITY

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HARBOR TE. 48501, Torrance 23322 So. Vermont — $1.25 Max.-Per Car; THIS HAPPY FEELING; THE ENEMY BELOW
HASTINGS SY. 5-3566 Rosemead at Foothill — ONIONHEAD; KINGS GO FORTH
LA MIRADA UNiversity 3-3111 Firestone at Alondra — KINGS GO FORTH; VILLA
MISSION Pomona, NA. 9-0531 Mission & Ramona Bl. — Barbarian & Geisha; A CERTAIN SMILE
ROADIUM MEtcalf 3-4646 Paramount-Compton — Machine Gun Kelly; BONNIE PARKER STORY
ROADIUM DAvis 4-2664 Redondo Bch.-Cren. — The Safecrackers; FLAME BARRIER
RUBIDOUX.. OVerland 3-4455 Highway 60 — NIGHT HEAVEN FELL; AS LONG AS THEY'RE HAPPY
SUNDOWN Whittier, OX. 3-3242 692 W. Washington — HELL SQUAD; TANK BATTALION
SUNLAND Sunland, Flor. 3-2928 8010 Foothill Blvd. — ONIONHEAD; Tarzan's Fight for Life
TWIN-VUE DAvis 4-5127 S. Figueroa-152nd — Wm. Holden-G. Peck; THE KEY; THE BRAVADOS
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INDEPENDENT THEATRE GUIDE
program subject to change without notice

LOS ANGELES NEIGHBORHOOD
AAA, Brdwy, & Manchester—PL. 9-2922 1st Run, LET'S ROCK; HOW TO MURDER A RICH UNCLE
ALVARADO, 710 S. Alvarado—DU.7-1151 Danny Kaye, ME & THE COLONEL; LIFE BEGINS AT 17
BALBOA, 8713 S. Vermont—PL. 8-4104 THE SPIDER; TERROR FROM THE YEAR 5000
BALDWIN, La Brea-Rodeo—AX. 3-7164 Gary Cooper, MAN OF THE WEST; D. Kaye, ME & THE COLONEL—50c
BARDS, Crenshaw-Adams—RE. 4-3105 Gary Cooper, MAN OF THE WEST; Danny Kaye, ME & THE COLONEL
BELMONT, 126 S. Vermont—DU. 3-1808 Danny Kaye, ME & THE COLONEL; G. Cooper, MAN OF THE WEST, 2:15
CAPRI, 7165 Beverly—WE. 4-4316 Eliz. Taylor, RAINTREE COUNTY; Alec Guinness, ALL AT SEA
CONGRESS, 7510 S. Vermont—PL. 8-9004 UNMARRIED MOTHERS; COMPANIONS OF THE NIGHT
EAGLE, 4884 Eagle Rock—CL. 6-0189 Danny Kaye, ME & THE COLONEL; G. Cooper, MAN OF THE WEST—60c
LAKE, 7th & Alvarado—DU. 2-3130 QUIET AMERICAN; RIDE OUT FOR REVENGE
LARGO, 1822 E. 103rd—LO. 9-8225 NAKED AND THE DEAD; BRAVADOS
LEIMERT, Vernon-Crenshaw—AX. 4-5131 Danny Kaye, ME & THE COLONEL; Alan Ladd, THE BADLANDERS
LYRIC—Pacific-Florence—LU. 9-2877 Creeping Horror! THE SPIDER; TERROR FROM THE YEAR 5000
MANCHESTER, Manch.-Bdwy.—PL.3-1431 HELL SQUAD; TANK BATTALION, All Action
MIDWAY, Pico, 1 bl. W. Wstn.—RE. 41000 Gary Cooper, MAN OF THE WEST; Brigitte Bardot, LA PARISIENNE
PALMS, 3751 Motor Ave.—VE. 8-0659 Robert Mitchum, THE HUNTERS; Greg Peck, THE BRAVADOS
PARADISE, 9110 S., Sepul.—SP. 6-0300 TORPEDO RUN; FIEND WITHOUT A FACE
PARK, 5825 N. Figueroa—CL. 5-0654 THE SPIDER; TERROR FROM YEAR 5000
PICFAIR, Pico & Fairfax—WE. 8-5296 THE SPIDER; TERROR FROM YEAR 5000
PICWOOD, 10872 W. Pico—GR. 7-2649 IN LOVE & WAR; Disney's ARCTIC ROUNDUP
RAMONA, Sunset-Alvarado—DU. 9-5040 Danny Kaye, ME & THE COLONEL; G. Cooper, MAN OF THE WEST—60c
REGENT, 4012 S. Vermont—AD. 2-7825 Brigitte Bardot, LA PARISIENNE; HARRY BLACK & THE TIGER
RIO, Western & Imperial—PL. 4-2895 Andy Griffith, ONIONHEAD; RAW WIND IN EDEN
RIVIERA, 7165 Beverly Bl.—WE. 4-4316 LA STRADA; THE NIGHTS OF CABIRIA
SOUTHSIDE, Vermont-Imp.—PL. 5-1191 1st Run, Glenn Ford, TORPEDO RUN; FIEND WITHOUT A FACE
STRAND, 4411 S. Broadway—AD. 2-6848 Alan Ladd, THE BADLANDERS; GUNSMOKE AT TUCSON
TEMPLE, 5826 S. Vermont—PL. 2-4100 Brigitte Bardot, LA PARISIENNE; Alan Ladd, THE BADLANDERS
VARIETY, 5253 W. Adams—WE. 5-1378 Starts Fri., GOD'S LITTLE ACRE; THUNDER ROAD—40c

UNITED ARTISTS THEATRES
U.A., Inglewood—OR. 7-2177 HOW TO MURDER A RICH UNCLE; LET'S ROCK
CAPITOL, Glendale—CH. 5-1401 HOW TO MURDER A RICH UNCLE; LET'S ROCK
WASHINGTON, Pasadena—RY. 1-7575 NAKED & THE DEAD; RAW WIND IN EDEN

PASADENA—EL MONTE—MONROVIA
COLORADO, 2568 E. Colo.—SY. 6-9704 Rex Harrison, RELUCTANT DEB; Shirley Booth, THE MATCHMAKER
CROWN, 129 N. Raymond—SY. 6-3131 G. Peck-J. Simmons, BIG COUNTRY, Tech.; COP HATER
UPTOWN, 2316 E. Colorado—SY. 3-4330 Andy Griffith, ONIONHEAD; DAMN YANKEES
EL MONTE, Valley at Tyler—GI. 8-6922 Andy Griffith, ONIONHEAD; Alan Ladd, BADLANDERS
LYRIC, Monrovia—ELliott 8-3119 BARBARIAN & THE GEISHA; Danny Kaye, ME & THE COLONEL

SOUTH LYN
ARDEN, 11709 Long Bch. Bl., NE. 1-1555 Alan Ladd, THE BADLANDERS; HARRY BLACK & THE TIGER
COMPTON, 136 E. Compton, NE. 1-3670 KINGS GO FORTH; TWILIGHT FOR THE GODS
VOGUE, 9326 L. Beach Blvd. LO. 6-6000 Gary Cooper, MAN OF THE WEST; HARRY BLACK & THE TIGER
NUBEL, Bellflower—TO. 7-1412 Andy Griffith, ONIONHEAD; Danny Kaye, ME & THE COLONEL

GARDENA—TORRANCE
PARK, Gardena—DA. 4-4040 Starts Friday, THE BLOB; I MARRIED A MONSTER

LOS ANGELES—DOWNTOWN
CALIFORNIA, 8th & Main—MA. 9-9776 PIERNAS DE ORO; ALMA DE ACERO
CAMEO, 528 S. Broadway—MA. 8-1974 Tony Curtis, SQUARE JUNGLE; FLESH & THE SPUR
PARAMOUNT, 323 W. 6th—MA. 4-7321 Disney's WHITE WILDERNESS, Cir.; LONE RANGER'S CITY OF GOLD, Cir.
TOWN, 444 S. Hill St.—MA. 8-6888 Kim Novak, VERTIGO; Disney's OLD YELLER, Come Early
METROPOLITAN DWNTWN., MA 46272
ORPHEUM, 9th and Broadway Greg Peck, BIG COUNTRY; COP HATER
RIALTO, 8th and Broadway Rex Harrison, RELUCTANT DEB; GREAT CARUSO
BROADWAY, Broadway near 5th Alan Ladd, THE BADLANDERS; KINGS GO FORTH
NEWSREEL, 8th and Broadway Color, INSIDE POLAND; PAPAL ELECTION
OLYMPIC, 8th between Broadway & Hill MEET ME IN LAS VEGAS; NEVER SAY GOOD BYE
PALACE, Broadway between 6th and 7th Shirley Booth, THE MATCHMAKER; DESIRE UNDER THE ELMS
GLOBE, 744 So. Broadway John Wayne, BARBARIAN & GEISHA; GANG WAR
ROXIE, Broadway between 5th and 6th CATTLE EMPIRE; TANK BATTALION

WILSHIRE DISTRICT—BEVERLY HILLS
BEVERLY CANON, 205 N. Can.-CR.55244 Jean Gabin-Nicole Courcel, CASE OF DR. LAURENT
B.H. MUSIC HALL, Wil.-Doh. CR. 6-1644 ME & THE COLONEL; Brigitte Bardot, LA PARISIENNE
CREST, Westwood-Wilshire—BR. 2-5876 NO TIME FOR SERGEANTS; Ingrid Bergman, INDISCREET
DEL MAR, Pico nr. La Brea—WE. 4-0375 KATHY O'; HARRY BLACK & THE TIGER—40c
VAGABOND, 2511 Wilshire—DU. 8-3837 Jean Gabin-Nicole Courcel, CASE OF DR. LAURENT

EASTLAND THEATRES
BROOKLYN, 2524 Brooklyn—AN. 8-4988 THE SPIDER; TERROR FROM THE YEAR 5000
JEWEL, 3817 Whittier—AN. 1-3339 NAKED & THE DEAD; KATHY O'
MERALTA, 2035 E. First—AN. 8-7914 NO TIME FOR SERGEANTS; HARRY BLACK & THE TIGER
TERRACE, 3945 City Terr. Dr.—AN. 86000 Gary Cooper, MAN OF THE WEST; LAW & JAKE WADE
VERN, 2811 E. Olympic—AN. 2-2222 Gary Cooper, MAN OF THE WEST; DON'T GO NEAR THE WATER

EAST LOS ANGELES
BLVD., 4549 Whittier Blvd.—AN. 1-2665 SONG OF BERNADETTE; STORY OF THE POPE
CENTER, 4762 Whittier Bl.—AN. 9-8332 CRY BABY KILLER; HOT CAR GIRL
GOLDEN GATE, 5176 Whittier, AN-98186 Greg Peck, BIG COUNTRY; COP HATER
MONTEREY, Whittier, Soto—AN. 1-2575 Call Theatre for Spanish Program Information

MONTEBELLO
GARMAR, Montebello—PA. 8-1219 Disney's WHITE WILDERNESS; LONE RANGER'S LOST CITY
VOGUE, Montebello—PA. 1-1225 THE SPIDER; TERROR FROM THE YEAR 5000

WHITTIER
ROXY, Whittier—OX. 4-3859 AN AFFAIR TO REMEMBER; 3 FACES OF EVE
WARDMAN, Whittier—OX. 4-3422 J. Wayne, BARBARIAN & GEISHA; GUN RUNNERS
WHITTIER, Whittier—OX. 5-2712 IN LOVE & WAR; FLAMING FRONTIER

BURBANK
CORNELL, 1212 N. San Fndo.—TH. 25251 TORPEDO RUN; FIEND WITHOUT A FACE
CALIFORNIA, 3300 Magnolia—TH-51507 Disney's WHITE WILDERNESS; LONE RANGER'S LOST CITY
LOMA, 319 S. San Fernando Rd.—TH. 87033 ANDY HARDY COMES HOME; TARZAN; GUN FEVER
MAGNOLIA, 4403 Magnolia—TH. 5-1586 Andy Griffith, ONIONHEAD; Ingrid Bergman, INDISCREET
MAJOR, 333 N. San Fernando—TH. 5-1611 Gary Cooper, MAN OF THE WEST; Danny Kaye, ME & THE COLONEL

DOWNEY—NORWALK
NEW MERALTA, Downey—TO. 2-2200 Andy Griffith, ONIONHEAD; RAW WIND IN EDEN
NORWALK, Norwalk—UNiversity 4-2219 FORBIDDEN PLANET; INVISIBLE BOY

HOLLYWOOD
ACADEMY, Hlywd.-Wilcox—HO. 5-3491 UNMARRIED MOTHERS; COMPANIONS OF THE NIGHT;
ADMIRAL, Hollywd. at Vine—HO. 3-5511 Burt Lancaster, DESERT FURY; A. Perkins-Fonda, TIN STAR
CAMPUS, Vrmt. at Sta. Mon.—NO-5-5881 Danny Kaye, ME & THE COLONEL; LIFE BEGINS AT 17
CARMEL, 8163 San. Mon.—OL. 6-1181 LOVE IN THE AFTERNOON; THE RAINMAKER
CINEMA, 1124 N. Westn.—HO. 7-5787 Lanza Festival, GREAT CARUSO; BECAUSE YOU'RE MINE, Op. 1:00
CLINTON, 526 N. Western—HO.7-9161 Danny Kaye, ME & THE COLONEL; THE AWAKENING—60c
EMBASSY, Wstrn. nr. 3rd—DU. 3-4312 Shirley Booth, THE MATCHMAKER; Danny Kaye, ME & THE COLONEL
GORDON, La Brea-Melrose—WE. 4-2944 THE SPIDER; TERROR FROM THE YEAR 5000
HAWAII, 5939 Hollywood—HO. 9-2275 TORPEDO RUN; FIEND WITHOUT A FACE
HUNLEY, 5115 Hollyw'd Bl.—NO. 4-4616 Gary Cooper, MAN OF THE WEST; Danny Kaye, ME & THE COLONEL
LOS FELIZ, Vermt.-Franklin—NO. 42169 THE SPIDER; TERROR FROM YEAR 5000
MARCAL, Hollywood at Gower, HO. 7-0811 DON'T GO NEAR THE WATER; CRY TERROR
MONICA, 1734 Santa Monica—HO. 4-0337 SINS OF YOUTH; AGE OF INFIDELITY
NEW VIEW, 6656 Hlywd. Bl.—HO. 4-3757 Danny Kaye, ME & THE COLONEL; KATHY O', Color
ORIENTAL, Sunset-Gardner—HO-4-0744 Shirley Booth, THE MATCHMAKER, Brigitte Bardot, LA PARISIENNE
PAN PACIFIC, 7554 Beverly—WE. 8-7070 Musical, DAMN YANKEES; Brigitte Bardot, LA PARISIENNE
PARAMOUNT, Hwd.nr.H'land—HO 33263 18th Smashing Week! GIGI, Reserved Seats
SILENT MOVIE, 611 N. Fairfax—OL-32389 BILLIE DOVE-"Sensation Seekers"; JEAN HARLOW-LAUREL-HARDY
SUNSET, Western-Sunset—HO. 2-0721 SINS OF YOUTH; AGE OF INFIDELITY
VISTA, 4473 Sunset Blvd.—NO. 4-9657 Thurs. Premiere, THE FORTY-FIRST; THE MOSCOVITES, All Color

SANTA MONICA—BEACH TOWNS
AERO, Montana at 14th—EX. 5-4990 J. Wayne, BARBARIAN & GEISHA; HARRY BLACK & THE TIGER
BAY, 15140 Sunset—GL-45525, BR-20361 Andy Griffith, ONIONHEAD; Danny Kaye, ME & THE COLONEL
ELMIRO, 1443 3rd Street—EX. 5-3344 Andy Griffith, ONIONHEAD; Alan Ladd, BADLANDERS
MAJESTIC, Santa Monica—EX. 5-2469 BLOOD OF THE VAMPIRE; MONSTER ON THE CAMPUS
MERALTA, Culver City—VE. 8-3432 THE SPIDER; TERROR FROM THE YEAR 5000
STRAND, Redondo OR. 66449. FR. 28300 RELUCTANT DEBUTANTE; Kaye, ME & THE COLONEL. Op. 5:30
TIVOLI, 11523 San. Monica—GR. 31636 STREETCAR NAMED DESIRE; B. Bardot, LA PARISIENNE—60c

SAN FERNANDO VALLEY
PARK, Canoga Park—DI. 0-1234 KING GO FORTH; IMITATION GENERAL
ENCINO, 16342 Ventura Bl.—ST. 4-8233 Major Studio Preview! Plus Regular Program
LANKERSHIM, 7532 Lkm. Bl.—PO-55952 J. Wayne, BARBARIAN & GEISHA; GUN RUNNERS
PANORAMA, 9110 Van Nuys—EM-21167 TORPEDO RUN; FIEND WITHOUT A FACE
RESEDA, Rsda. Bl. at Shm Way—DI-40153 Andy Griffith, ONIONHEAD; SNOWFIRE
SHERMAN, Sherman Oaks—ST. 4-9911 Gary Cooper, MAN OF THE WEST; IMITATION GENERAL—60c
CREST, San Fern., N. Macfay—EM. 1-6288 Andy Griffith, ONIONHEAD; ONCE UPON A HORSE

HAWTHORNE, INGLEWOOD
IMPERIAL, Imp.-Crenshaw—OR. 8-5131 Gary Cooper, MAN OF THE WEST; Danny Kaye, ME & THE COLONEL
RITZ, Ingle., Mkt.-Man.—OR. 8-7272 THE SPIDER; TERROR FROM YR. 5000, Cont. 1:00
PLAZA, Hawthorne—OS. 6-6289 KINGS GO FORTH; Kim Novak, VERTIGO—50c

ORANGE COUNTY
La Habra, LA HABRA—OWen 7-4677 Gary Cooper, MAN OF THE WEST; Tab Hunter, DAMN YANKEES
Santa Ana, BROADWAY—KI. 2-4737 Disney's WHITE WILDERNESS; LONE RANGER'S LOST CITY

GLENDALE, MONTROSE
ROXY, Glendale—CI. 3-6393 Andy Griffith, ONIONHEAD; Shirley Booth, MATCHMAKER
MONTROSE, Montrose—CH. 9-3830 SNOWFIRE; Alan Ladd, PROUD REBEL

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TONIGHT at 8— THE BARTERED BRIDE— SCHWARZKOPF, WARD, LEWIS, FRIED, TOZZI
FRIDAY 8 P.M.— MEDEA— FARRELL, STAHLMAN, TURNER, LEWIS, MODESTI
SATURDAY 8 P.M.— RIGOLETTO —GENCER, WARD, BJOERLING, WEEDE, ALVARY
Final performance
MARRIAGE OF FIGARO, SUNDAY 3 P.M.
SEATS NOW! SO. CALIF. MUSIC CO. 737 S. HILL • MA. 2-3272 & ALL MUTUAL AGENCIES
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ESTELLE WINWOOD and JOAN BLONDELL
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3½ Weeks Beg. THUR. NOV. 20
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SARTORIO BALLET & VICTOR MORENO....."St. Francis"
SUJATA & ASOKA....."Tibet Mask Dance"
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Murrow Tells TV to Sell Ideas Too

(This is the concluding installment of the address CBS Commentator Edward R. Murrow made before a news directors' convention. We hope it has been educational and inspires at least some TV viewers to demand of the networks that the general quality of the medium be upgraded—ED. NOTE.)

Let us have a little competition. Not only in selling soap, cigarettes and automobiles but in informing a troubled, apprehensive but receptive public. Why should not each of the 20 or 30 big corporations which dominate radio and television decide that they will give up one or two of their regularly scheduled programs each year, turn the time over to the networks, and say in effect: "This is a tiny tithe, just a little bit of our profits. On this particular night we aren't going to try to sell cigarettes or automobiles; this is merely a gesture to indicate our belief in the importance of ideas."

The networks should, and I think would, pay for the cost of producing the program. The advertiser, the sponsor, would get name credit, but would have nothing to do with the content of the program. Would this blemish the corporate image? Would the stockholders object?

I think not. For if the premise upon which our pluralistic society rests—which as I understand it is, that if the people are given sufficient undiluted information, they will then somehow, even after long, sober thoughts reach the right decision—if that premise is wrong, then not only the corporate image but the corporations are done for.

EXALT IDEAS SOMETIMES, SAYS ED

There used to be an old phrase in this country, employed when someone talked too much. It was: "Go hire a hall." Under this proposal the sponsor would have hired the hall; he has bought the time; the local station operator, no matter how indifferent, is going to carry the program — he has to. Then it's up to the networks to fill the hall.

MURROW

ALLEN

I am not here talking about editorializing, but about straightaway exposition as direct, unadorned and impartial, as fallible human beings can make it. Just once in a while let us exalt the importance of ideas and information. Let us dream to the extent of saying that on a given Sunday night the time normally occupied by Ed Sullivan is given over to a clinical survey of the state of American education, and a week or two later the time normally used by Steve Allen is devoted to a thoroughgoing study of American policy in the Middle East.

Would the corporate image of their respective sponsors be damaged? Would the stockholders rise up in their wrath and complain? Would anything happen other than that a few million people would have received a little illumination on subjects that may well determine the future of this country, and therefore the future of the corporations?

This method would also provide real competition between the networks as to which could outdo the others in the palatable presentation of information. It would provide an outlet for the young men of skill, and there are some even of dedication, who would like to do something other than devise methods of insulating while selling.

NO BUILT-IN PERPETUAL MOTION

There may be other and simpler methods of utilizing these instruments of radio and television in the interests of a free society. But I know of none that could be so easily accomplished inside the framework of the existing commercial system.

I don't know how you would measure the success or failure of a given program. And it would be hard to prove the magnitude of the benefit accruing to the corporation which gave up one night of a variety or quiz show in order that the network might marshal its skills to do a thoroughgoing job on the present status of NATO, or plans for controlling nuclear tests. But I would reckon that the president, and indeed the majority of shareholders of the corporation who sponsored such a venture, would feel just a little bit better about the corporation and the country.

It may be that the present system, with no modifications and no experiments, can survive. Perhaps the moneymaking machine has some kind of built-in perpetual motion, but I do not think so. To a very considerable extent the media of mass communications in a given country reflects the political, economic and social climate in which it flourishes. That is the reason ours differs from the British and French, or the Russian and Chinese.

NO NEED TO MAKE TV A WAILING WALL

We are currently wealthy fat, comfortable and complacent. We have currently a built-in allergy to unpleasant or disturbing information. Our mass media reflect this. But unless we get up off our fat surpluses and recognize that television in the main is being used to distract, delude, amuse and insulate us, then television and those who finance it, those who look at it and those who work at it, may see a totally different picture too late.

I do not advocate that we turn TV into a 27-inch wailing wall, where long-hairs constantly moan about the state of our culture and our defense. But I would just like to see it reflect occasionally—the hard, unyielding realities of the world in which we live. I would like to see it done inside the existing framework, and I would like to see the doing of it rebound to the credit of those who finance and program it.

Measure the results by Neilsen, Trendex or Silex — it doesn't matter, the main thing is to try. The responsibility can be easily placed, in spite of all the mouthings about giving the public what it wants. It rests on big business, and on big television, and it rests at the top. Responsibility is not something that can be assigned or delegated. And it promises it own reward: Good business and good television.

HISTORY WILL TAKE ITS REVENGE

Perhaps no one will do anything about it. I have ventured to outline it against a background of criticism that may have been too harsh, only because I could think of nothing better.

Someone once said—I think it was Max Eastman—that: "That publisher serves his advertiser best who best serves his readers." I cannot believe that radio and television, or the corporations that finance the programs, are serving well or truly their viewers or listeners, or themselves.

I begin by saying that our history will be what we make it. If we go on as we are, then history will take its revenge, and retribution will not limp in catching up with us.

We are to a large extent an imitative society. If one or two or three corporations would undertake to devote just a small fraction of their advertising appropriation along the lines that I have suggested, the procedure would grow by contagion, the economic burden would be bearable, and there might ensue a most exciting adventure —exposure to ideas, and the bringing of reality into the homes of the nation.

TV RUSTING IN THE SCABBARD

To those who say: People wouldn't look, they wouldn't be interested, they're too complacent, indifferent and insulated—I can only reply: There is, in one reporter's opinion, considerable evidence against that contention. But even if they are right, what have they got to lose? Because if they are right, and this instrument is good for nothing but to entertain, amuse and insulate, then the tube is flickering now and we will soon see that the whole struggle is lost.

This instrument can teach, it can illuminate; yes, and it can even inspire. But it can do so only to the extent that humans are determined to use it to those ends. Otherwise it is merely wires and lights in a box. There is a great and perhaps decisive battle to be fought against ignorance, intolerance and indifference. This weapon of TV could be useful.

Stonewall Jackson, who knew something about the use of weapons, is reported to have said: "When war comes, you must draw the sword and throw away the scabbard." The trouble with television is that it is rusting in the scabbard—during a battle for survival.

ED WYNN and Sherry Alberoni try to think up ways and means to get parts for a jalopy in Channel 4's filmed series tonight at 8.

RADIO

KLAC	570	KIEV	870
KFSD	600	KHJ (MBS)	930
KFI (NBC)	640	KFWB	980
KMPC	710	KPOP	1020
KBIG	740	KNX (CBS)	1070
KABC (ABC)	790	KXLA	1110
		KSDO	1130
		KRKD / KFSG	1150
		KGFJ	1230
		KGIL	1260
		KFOX	1280
		KWKW	1300
		KFAC	1330
		KGER	1390
		KALI	1430
		KPRO	1440
		KBLA	1490
		KPOL	1540
		KDAY	1580

KFWB NEWS

Hear The MIRROR NEWS broadcasts at five minutes to every hour with Bill Crago, Charlie Arlington, Mike Henry, Bill Angel and John Babcock.

TODAY

5:00 P.M.
KFI-News
KABC-Bob Cole
KHJ-R. Browning
KNX-Ed Murrow
KLAC-News; Nick Paul
KMPC-Johnny Grant
KFWB-Elliot Field, News
KFAC-Serenade

5:15
KFI-R. Thomas
KABC-H. Weaver
KHJ-Sid Fuller
KNX-C. Alcott

5:30
KFI-Pat Bishop
KABC W. Winter
KHJ-Bill Stern; Music
KNX-T. Harmon
KFAC-Varieties

5:45
KFI-Dave Shaw
KABC-News
KHJ-Sports, Vin Scully
KNX-News
KLAC-Sam Balter
KRKD-Race Results

6:00 P.M.
KFI-Journal
KABC-Ed Morgan
KHJ-News
KNX-R. Storey
KLAC-News
KFWB-Mitch Reed; News
KMPC-Bob Kelley
KFAC-News, Dinner Music

6:15
KFI-R. Thomas
KABC-News
KNX-L. Thomas
KLAC-Nick Paul
KMPC-News
KHJ-V. Pinkley

6:30
KFI-City News Desk
KABC-Bob Ferris; Leonard Shane
KHJ-News; Music
KNX-F. Gifford; Amos 'n' Andy
KMPC-B. Stewart
KFAC-Music

6:45
KFI-Financial; Weather News
KABC-Sports; News

7:00 P.M.
KFI-Music
KABC-News; Roger Carroll
KHJ-F. Lewis Jr.
KNX-Melodies
KFAC-Interlude

7:15
KHJ-Answer Man

7:30
KFI-News, Morgan Beatty
KHJ-News; Capitol Assignment
KNX-World Tonight
KFAC-Encores

7:45
KFI-Life and the World

8:00 P.M.
KFI-Nightline
KHJ-G. Heatter; World Today
KNX-S. Foster
KLAC-News; Ron McCoy
KFAC-Concert

8:30
KHJ-News, By the People
KNX-World Tonight

9:00 P.M.
KABC-Sid Walton
KHJ-Music
KNX-City Editor Report
KFWB-Bill Ballance; News

9:15
KABC-Roger Carroll
KHJ-Army Bandstand
KNX-Answer Please

9:30
KNX-Geo. Walsh
KHJ-Assignment People, Henry Travis
KMPC-Dance Time

9:45
KNX-Trojan Hillites

10:00 P.M.
KFI-News
KHJ-Music
KNX-Reporter
KFAC-Crossroad

10:15
KFI-Joy Forever
KNX-Sports; Tom Hanlon

10:30
KFI-Thing Called Life
KNX-P. Norman

10:45
KFI-Al Poska

11:00 P.M.
KFI-News; Sports
KHJ-Newswheel
KNX-News; Merry-Go-Round

11:15
KFI-Al Poska

11:30
KNX-Music Till Dawn

12:00 P.M.
KFI-Ben Hunter
KLAC-Biff Collie
KMPC-J. McShane
KFWB-Ted Quillin News

FRIDAY

5:30
KFI-Operation Daybreak
KHJ-Rise and Shine
KNX-Farm Topics
KLAC-Biff Collie
KFWB-Music

5:45
KMPC-J. McShane
KABC-Rhythm Reveille

6:00 A.M.
KFI-Pat Bishop
KABC-Eye Opener
KHJ-Ed Hart
KNX-Bob Crane
KLAC-News; Don Elliott
KMPC-Dick Whittinghill
KFWB-Bruce Hayes; News
KFAC-Coffee Cup Concert

6:15
KFI-Farm Hi-Lights

6:30
KFI-Hit the Road
KABC-J. Trotter
KHJ-News; Rise and Shine

7:00 A.M.
KFI-Pat Bishop
KNX-News
KNX-Hugh McCoy

7:15
KFI-Hit the Road
KHJ-B. Brundige
KNX-Business Report

7:30
KHJ-News
KNX-Frank Goss

7:45
KFI-Pat Bishop
KHJ-News
KNX-H. Babbitt

8:00 A.M.
KFI-Hit the Road
KHJ-Cliff Engle
KNX-Bob Crane
KMPC-News
KFAC-Stocks

8:15
KHJ-News
KNX-Dave Valle
KFAC-Sports; Morning Interlude
KMPC-Bus. News

8:30
KFI-Pat Bishop
KHJ-Bible Inst.
KNX-Bob Crane
KMPC-Dick Whittinghill
KFAC-News

8:45
KFI-Andy and Virginia
KNX-H. Miller
KFAC-Unity

9:00 A.M.
KABC-B'fst. Club
KHJ-G. Crowell
KNX-Peter and Mary
KFWB-Al Jarvis; News
KFAC-Concert

9:15
KHJ-Radioways To Learning
KNX-Backstage Wife

9:30
KFI-Ladies Day
KHJ-N. Young
KNX-Helen Trent
KFAC-Piano Parade; News
KNX-Our Gal Sunday

10:00 A.M.
KFI-True Story
KABC-D. Crosby
KHJ-News
KNX-Nora Drake
KLAC-News; Bob Hopkins
KFAC-Concert
KMPC-Ira Cook

10:15
KHJ-Tello-Test
KNX-Ma Perkins

10:30
KFI-Real Life Stories
KHJ-G. Crowell; Guess a Tune
KNX-Dr. Malone
KFAC-Music Loom; News

10:45
KHJ-G. Crowell
KNX-Road of Life

11:00 A.M.
KFI-Bandstand
KNX-W. Warren
KFAC-Masters

11:15
KNX-Mrs. Burton
KFAC-Folk Songs

11:30
KFI-Art Baker
KHJ-Queen for a Day
KNX-Strike It Rich
KFAC-Music Hall

11:45
KFI-Pat Bishop
KNX-Just Entertainment
KNX-Bill Weaver

12 NOON
KFI-Jim Toad
KABC-Jim Ameche
KHJ-Hemingway
KFWB-Joe Yocam; News
KNX-News
KFAC-Concert

12:15
KFI-Voice of Agriculture
KHJ-C. Foster
KNX-N. McInnich

12:30
KFI-News, Real Life Stories
KHJ-Ed Hart
KNX-A. Linkletter

12:45
KFAC-News

1:00 P.M.
KLAC-News; Jack Slattery
KFI-Matinee
KHJ-News; George Crowell
KNX-A. Godfrey
KFAC-Serenade

1:30
KFI-Woman in My House
KHJ-Kate Smith
KFAC-Concert

1:45
KFI-P. Young

2:00 P.M.
KFI-Mary Hickox
KABC-R. Browning
KHJ-G. Crowell
KNX-Bill Weaver
KMPC-News; Johnny Grant

2:30
KFI-One Man's Family

2:45
KFI-Dr. Gentry

3:00 P.M.
KFI-News
KABC-R. Browning
KNX-Whispering Streets
KFAC-News; Piano Music
KFWB-Elliot Field; News

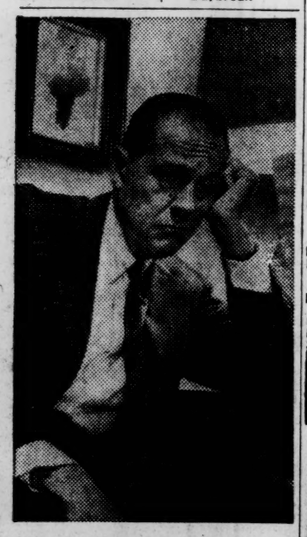
3:15
KFI-Dick Sinclair

3:30
KHJ-News, Music
KNX-P. Norman
KFAC-Opera World

4:00 P.M.
KFI-News
KHJ-F. Lewis Jr.
KNX-News
KFAC-M'st'pieces

4:15
KFI-M. J. Bennett
KHJ-Hemingway
KNX-Bob Crane

4:30
KHJ-Geo. Fisher
KLAC-Nick Paul



Why "Good-Time" Charlie Suffers Uneasy Bladder

Unwise eating or drinking may be a source of mild, but annoying bladder irritations—making you feel restless, tense, and uncomfortable. And if restless nights, with nagging backache, headache or muscular aches and pains due to over-exertion, strain or emotional upset, are adding to your misery—don't wait—try Doan's Pills.

Doan's Pills act 3 ways for speedy relief. 1—They have a soothing effect on bladder irritations. 2—A fast pain-relieving action on nagging backache, headaches, muscular aches and pains. 3—A wonderfully mild diuretic action thru the kidneys, tending to increase the output of the 15 miles of kidney tubes. So, get the same happy relief millions have enjoyed for over 60 years. New, large, economy size saves money. Get Doan's Pills today!

Doan's

Away All Boats!

There's full fun ahead for you and the whole family when you own your own boat! If you like fishing, water sports or just leisurely boating—you'll find worlds of pleasure with your own boat.

For the boat of your choice, see the complete listing of new and used pleasure craft in

MIRROR NEWS FINGERTIP CLASSIFIED

Best-Read Classified Section Anywhere
Easy to Read ★ Easy to Find ★ Easy to Place ★ Easy on the Pocketbook
MA. 5-2311

Night Life

DINING DANCING

BY THE ROUNDER

A SHOWER FOR JOHNI

Another innovation in L.A. makes its bow tomorrow with the premiere of the Tiffany Club's "Girl in the Shower," a new gimmick in girly-show productions which Operator Jack Tucker has dreamed up, featuring sexy Johni Dillinger.

Johni will actually take a shower in a specially built enclosure on the Tiffany stage. In addition, the club's live models presentation, every hour on the hour, will be continued, as will the "Jewels of Burlesque" revue starring Michelle Lorre.

Copter Taxi Planned

The next time your relatives or friends plane in from the east, they may have the pleasure of following the lead of President Eisenhower, who landed at International Airport and then used a helicopter to taxi over to Exposition Park to meet the welcoming committee.

In the case of Mr. and Mrs. John Q. Public, the helicopter service from International Airport is being arranged for those who plan to stay at the Bel-Air Sands at Sunset and Sepulveda Blvds.

JOHNI DILLINGER

New Chirper

Managing Director Paul Feyer, who has just returned from New York, announced the tentative starting date for this service as about the first of the year. Helicopters will bring guests from the airport directly to the hotel's upper level, where there is sufficient room for the terminus.

The boys at Dino's Lodge on the Sunset Strip are bringing in a new, attractive chirper tonight, redheaded Jane Howard. Miss Howard was formerly under contract at Universal-International and appeared in "The Benny Goodman Story."

Tomorrow night's the night for action at the Beverly Cavern when the Fire House Five Plus Two makes a one-night stand at the Dixieland palace.

Third in the series of International Nights, held once a month at the exclusive Dales restaurant on Wilshire Blvd., takes place Saturday night. An authentic menu flown in from Rome will feature an all-Italian dinner, with appropriate wines.

Carson Featured

Don Carson, the "Big Bopper," and the Whirlaways orchestra play for dancing every Friday, Saturday and Sunday night at the Stadium Club, across from the Coliseum on Vermont Ave. Carson is best known for his "Chantilly Lace" recording.

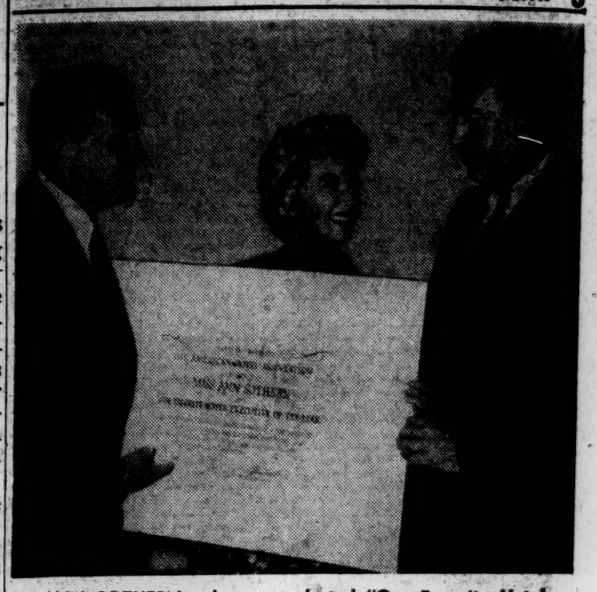
Ben Pollack begins a "professional and businessmen's jam session" Sunday in his Sunset Strip cafe. Anyone who is in a business or profession other than music, may play in the forming band. One other requirement is that you do NOT need music on the stand while you play.

Eric Erickson's Tally Ho restaurant is featuring turbot, a fish imported from Denmark and rated as the "fish of European royalty."

When the harmonica player, Leo Diamond, and the parking-lot boy, Carlowe, joined in an impromptu duo the other night at Sam Alessi's Round Robin, the patrons applauded their act with mucho gusto.

Thanksgiving isn't far away and Lillian Glow of the Bit of Sweden is preparing for what will be a big day at the fine eating house. They expect to serve 2500 dinners on turkey day.

Bob Thren, the maitre d' at Pike's Verdugo Oaks in Glendale, is stocking up on coffee mugs for the cool weather ahead. Irish coffee is a hot seller during cold days.



ANN SOTHERN, who was selected "Our Favorite Hotel Executive of the Year" by the American Hotel Association, receives citation from Edward J. Crowley (left), general manager of the Sheraton-West. Pleased onlooker is Edwin C. Ebel, advertising director of General Foods Corp.

"PARIS COMES TO FAIRFAX"
Co-Starring
BILLY GRAY — LEO DIAMOND — BARBARA HELLER
★ GUY RENNIE ★ JACK HILLIARD
2 Shows Nightly, 9 - 11:30 P.M. • Reservations Suggested
BILLY GRAY'S BAND BOX — 123 N. FAIRFAX WE. 3-8226 — COMPLETE DINNERS FROM $4.00

LAUGH IT OFF!
DINNER-DANCING NO COVER
Wilshire at 22nd Santa Monica
For Reservations TE-0-2948 EX-3-2249
BEN BLUE'S
TWO ENTIRELY DIFFERENT SHOWS! 8:45-11:45
Starring BEN BLUE AND A CAST OF 30
in the greatest laugh show of Our Time
CATERING TO PRIVATE PARTIES

Thurs.-Fri.-Sat.-Sun.
Jimmy Giuffre
Plus, Every Thursday: JAZZ INTERNATIONAL
JAZZ CABARET 5510 Hollywood Blvd. At Western—HO. 4-9446

BEN POLLACK'S
Every Fri., Sat. Nite DIXIELAND
Great Food & Cocktails
Starting Sunday, 6 P.M. Business & Professional MEN'S JAM SESSION
8250 SUNSET — HELEN MERICH at the Piano-Bar — OL. 6-1401

MARSHALL EDSON & MICHAEL GARTH PRESENT
"... swingin' sepia songstress ... sure bet for stardom ..." —Variety
★ CLEO JOHNS ★
YE LITTLE CLUB 455 N. Canon Dr. Beverly Hills

PIANO ARTISTRY OF
CALVIN JACKSON
KEYNOTER 7978 Santa Monica OL. 4-9217

Cantonese & Chicago Style Cuisine
Catering • Food to Take Home
Cocktails • Free Parking
Open 11:30 a.m.-2 a.m.
WAN-Q
8751 W. Pico, 1 blk. E. Robertson
CR-5-0734 — BR.-2-1880

FAMOUS FOR SEAFOOD STEAKS ENTERTAINMENT
Henry Guttman's MALIBU SPORTS CLUB
GL. 6-2423

GALA OPENING TOMORROW NIGHT
Tiffany Club PRESENTS
FIRST TIME LIVE... ON ANY BURLESQUE STAGE
"The GIRL in the SHOWER" In the "So-to-Speak"
Starring JOHNI DILLINGER
Plus LIVE FIGURE MODELS
EVERY HOUR ON THE HOUR—7 NITES A WEEK!
An artistic display of the undraped human form by exquisite models.
PLUS JEWELS of BURLESQUE STARRING MICHELLE LORRE
3260 W. 8th St. • DU 3-2800 — NO COVER NO ADM.

JESS STACY at the piano
HARLEQUIN
244 South Beverly Drive Beverly Hills CR. 4-7848

L.A.'s ONLY STRIP-A-THON
24 STRIPS EVERY NITE
ZOMBA CAFE
11502 Ventura Blvd. Show Time All Times 9 till 2 POplar 2-9481

Charles Soffer's Encore RESTAURANT of the Stars
DORITA Latin-American Song Stylist Appearing Nitely
808 N. LA CIENEGA OL. 2-2810

The Brussels RESTAURANT
9131 SUNSET BLVD.
★ Lunch-Dinner ★
CR. 1-5713 • BR. 2-2826

Cafe Swiss
450 N. RODEO BEVERLY HILLS CR. 4-2820

FRI.-SAT.-SUN.
DANCING! with the "Big Bopper"
DON CARSON & The WHIRLAWAYS
STADIUM CLUB
3977 So. Vermont
NO COV., NO MIN. POPULAR PRICES

Edna Earle's FOG CUTTER
STEAKS $2.95
1635 N. La Brea HOLLYWOOD
BRUCE GUERIN DUO at the Piano Bar

Club EL RANCHO
The VERY BEST in BURLESQUE
Starting Nov. 11th
GAY DAWN
Now Starring
★ TORNADO TONJA
LETA PAUL and CAPRICE
Plus Those Two Maniacs of Fun
CAROLE ABBOTT AND STEVE GALLO
Plus 4 Great Stars
★ VERINA ★ MIKYLE ★ TODDY ★ TEXAS
LARRY ALLEN'S BAND
24 STRIPS NITELY
1738 W. 7th St. HU. 3-5715
7 Blocks West of Statler Hilton Hotel

ALL STAR NEW SHOW "ROCKETTES TO THE MOON" GUARANTEED TO TAKE OFF??
BURLESQUE as you like it
the World's Famous Colony Club THEATRE RESTAURANT
EVERY MONDAY NIGHT BATTLE OF BURLESQUE QUEENS
N.Y. CUT STEAK DINNER incl. CHAMPAGNE $3.25
SERVED FROM 6 SHOWS 7 NITES — SHOWTIME 9 P.M. COCKTAILS DANCING
THE ONLY COMPLETE 5 HOUR REVUE
NO COVER NO ADMISSION
WESTERN at 149th ★ Call for reservations FA. 1-1885

7 NIGHTS A WEEK
DIXIELAND
TEDDY BUCKNER AND HIS ALL STAR BAND
TOMORROW ONLY! THE FIREHOUSE 5 PLUS 2
NO ADMISSION • NO COVER
4289 BEVERLY BLVD. BEVERLY CAVERN NO. 2-6035

5-4 BALLROOM
54th & So. Broadway PL. 3-6840
Women Free Till 9:30 P.M. Fri.; Sat. Till 9:00 P.M.; Sun. Till 9:00 P.M.
THE 5 ROYALES
DON CARMICHAEL and his ORCH.

BURLESQUE
GIRLS GIRLS GIRLS
GREATEST SHOW IN TOWN
LOOK! LOOK! SHE'S BACK!
TAFFY O'NEIL
★ EILEEN NASH BODY BEAUTIFUL
★ BABY DAVIS R 'N R SINGER
★ PETTY VARGA COVER GIRL
★ BERT HENRY COMIC MC
YOUR HOST, JOE FOX
The Lake Club
SANTA ANA FREEWAY TO LAKEWOOD, THEN SOUTH 3 MILES ONLY 15 MINUTES FROM DOWNTOWN L. A.
MEtcalf 3-9811 CLOSED MONDAYS 17227 S. LAKEWOOD BLVD.

BURLESQUE
★ YVONNE YVETTE
★ ROBIN JEWELL
★ JAN DURRELL
★ DOUNA DEAN
7 NITES A WEEK
DANCING Continuous Entertainment
WALTER CRAIG, M.C.
YORK CLUB
WESTERN AT FLORENCE PL. 1-8927

Sterling College
Sterling, Kansas

November 12, 1958

Shirley Katzander
Director of Promotion
The REPORTER
136 East 57th St.,
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Miss Katzander:

The most recent issue of the REPORTER carried an article Edward R. Murrow concerning the current state of American broadcasting and telecasting, from the reportorial stand point. I notice in your Who-What-Why column that the magazine is making Mr. Murrow's address available on a reprint basis.

I would appreciate receiving 10 copies, if you give them out in quantity, for my class in Reporting. I have already used you magazine in disucssion earlier in the year but I would like to place a copy of Murrow's address in the hand of each student. If there is any charge for mailing more than one copy please notify me of the charge and I'll make and effort to have it covered.

My thanks to the editors for a fine publication. I can't agree with everything they print but I enjoy the different view points and also the fine writing style of some of the contributors.

Cordially,

Ted Smythe
Public Relations

TS/s

COPY

November 11, 1958

Editor
The Reporter
136 East 57
New York, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

I can't remember when I last read a statement as courageous and clear as Mr. Murrow's speech. It was an eloquent plea for truth and reality. I commend you for publishing it.

Mr. Murrow's contention--that we are being engulfed in a cocoon of illusion while reality is making urgent demands upon us--is one that can be substantiated not only from the domain of communications but from other levels of life as well.

I can only hope that his warning will be echoed by still other responsible figures and that a cumulative effort will gradually bring about some change in our attitudes. When a famous European left America's shores, he looked back on New York's fading sky line and remarked: "America is a great experiment. I hope it succeeds."

We all hope that. And I, for one, thank Mr. Murrow for his energetic initiative in directing that hope from the level of myth to that of reality.

Sincerely,

Bernard G. Murchland
Notre Dame, Indiana

November 11, 1958

The Reporter Magazine
136 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

ATTENTION: REPRINT DEPARTMENT

Dear Sir:

Please send me 50 reprints of Edward R. Murrows article in the November 13 issue of your magazine.

I thought his remarks a real challenge to the television industry and we hope to make distribution of this article to our various members.

Thanks very much for your cooperation.

Best regards,

Executive Secretary

RLG:KH

C O P Y

San Francisco State College
1600 Holloway Avenue
San Francisco, California

November 11, 1958

Gentlemen:

Thank you for printing the excellent speech of Edward R. Murrow in the November 13th issue. I teach a course here at the college called "Backgrounds in Broadcasting", and [redacted] "A Broadcaster Talks to his Colleagues" will certainly be required reading. May I take advantage of your offer of reprints? I need fifty if I can get them, and I would be happy to pay the charges if you can bill me. Thank you again.

Sincerely,

John Clark
Associate Professor
Language Arts Division

Ed R. Murrow

Cases

November 11, 1958

Editor "The Reporter"
136 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Sir:

The talk of Edward R. Murrow before the Radio and Television News Directors' Association is long overdue.

Mr. Murrow is one of the few courageous men in the field of Mass Communication. Let us hope that men who make "policy" for Radio and Television will heed his words. We may perhaps turn the keys of our sets again in addition to the rare programs we now get.

Congratulations to "The Reporter".

Sincerely,

Irene Roth Gould

cerd.

Ed. R. Murrow

Corres

31710 Underline Avenue
Hayward, California
November 9, 1958

The Reporter
[illegible] East 57th Street
Editorial and Business Offices
New York 22, New York

To the Editors:

Few men have the combined rare qualities of eloquence; lucidity, urgent and conviction; Edward R. Murrow is such a man. His speech printed in The Reporter, November 13, "A Broadcaster Talks to His Colleagues" is choice evidence of Mr. Murrow's ability to serve as an oracle and an orator.

His message is vital, urgent and important because it has meaning for almost all stratas of society, areas of industry - our whole cultural way of living. It is true that when one suggests "exposure to ideas, and the bringing of reality into the homes of the nation" the antagonists insist, "people wouldn't look, they wouldn't be interested, they're too complacent, indifferent and insulated." But how admirable of Mr. Murrow to disagree with this Philistine attitude and assert, "There is.... considerable evidence against that contention." Furthermore, we have nothing to lose.

I congratulate your magazine on publishing the full text of the speech as a public service. Your offering free reprints is almost too good to be true. I should like to use these for discussion groups at the Alameda Officer's Wives Club, the Hayward Library Seminars, and the Culture Vultures' December programs. Would you be able to send me 50 to 75 copies?

Sincerely yours,

Trudy James Sundberg

Answ'd

Ed R. Murrow Corr.

November 9th,1958.

The Reporter
136 East 57th.Street
New York,22,N.Y.

Dear Sirs:

Though I have read "The Reporter" at infrequent intervals,I am now a new subscriber;in fact,have just received my first copy, that of November 13th..On the basis of my own satisfaction,I am sending you the names of five friends for whom I wish to subscribe as a Holiday gift and enclosing my check of $24.50,which,I believe,is the correct amount.

May I also take the liberty of commending Mr.Murrow's article. Of all the industries,both Radio and Television,with rare exceptions,have been the most deplorably delinquent in the employment of their media and power. The American Public is being insulted daily,and I say this advisedly. There can be channels which satisfy the limited level of certain groups,but it seems incredible that the so-called "experts" are not aware that it is equally to their benefit in providing large segments of our citizenry with programs commensurate to their educational background,culture and sensitivities. And what is even far more important, to stimulate and promote "good Taste" among the many who strive for self-betterment.One has only to recognize what has already been

amd.

accomplished in musical education via recordings and Hi-Fi, to be convinced what acceptance awaits radio and television, once it decides to throw off it's tawdry covering.

I do trust that men like Mr. Murrow (and there are many) will dedicate themselves to so essential a cause.

Very truly yours,

C O P Y

Nov. 11, 1958

The Editor
The Reporter
136 East 57th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Sir:-

Corporations which accept Edward R. Murrow's suggestion of contributing an occassional television hour to "exposure to ideas" might win an entirely new public, and new customers--those who are grateful for the interruption in the sameness of a variety show week after week.

Mary Kleiner

(Mrs. Simon B. Kleiner)
1042 Whitney Ave.
Hamden 17, Conn.

STORER BROADCASTING COMPANY

TOLEDO, OHIO

November 10, 1958

The Reporter
136 East 57th St.
New York 22, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

I have been a Reporter subscriber for weeks, a reader for years.

The Edward R. Murrow speech, published in The Reporter November 13, was as thorough and well conceived as any Murrow broadcast or documentary. Everyone associated with news at this station is impressed. May I have reprints? Five would be desirable, any number will do.

Sincerely,

Richard S. Rice

RSR/h

MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY

MISSOULA

SCHOOL OF JOURNALISM

Nov. 10, 1958

The Reporter
136 East 57th Street
New York 22, N. Y.

Gentlemen:

I'd be much obliged for about 25 reprints of Ed Murrow's superb speech at the RTNDA convention. I can't hink of no better required reading for young people who aspire to enter the profession.

Yours with thanks,

O. J. Rue, Professor
School of Journalism

1057 Peabody Avenue, #6
Memphis 4, Tennessee
November 9, 1958

Mr. Max Ascoli
The Reporter
136 East 57th Street
New York, N.Y.

Dear Sir:

Your publication of Mr. Murrow's talk is indeed a public service, and you deserve the thanks of every person who believes that radio and television should inform and educate rather than sedate and nauseate. I hope that every advertising agency in the country is deluged with reprints, and the request that they be urged on the advertisers. May I have ten reprints to start my part of the flood?

I subscribe to The Reporter because your writers mince no words. May they never become mealy-mouthed.

Yours very truly

CATHERINE WILKES

Ed. R. Murrow

Corr

31710 Chicoine Avenue
Hayward, California
November 9, 1958

The Reporter
136 East 57th Street
Editorial and Business Offices
New York 22, New York

To the Editor:

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Sincerely yours,

Trudy James Sundberg

Ans 11-12-58
Ant

501 East 32d Street
Chicago 16,
November 11,

Editors,
The Reporter

To the Editor: There are few issues of The Reporter in which I don't find something to applaud and be grateful for, and this time it's for your fine thoughtfulness in reprinting Edward R. Murrow's remarks to the broadcasters.

I first heard excerpts on the CBS FM outlet in Chicago, to the accompaniment of Northwest Orient's absurd gong commercial, and then I combed the papers for a fuller account. Ha! I should have saved my time. Not even the New York Times carried it, at least not in our hinterland edition.

There are at least six people I know who could read Mr. Murrow's horse sense profitably, so I would be pleased to give them reprints. Thanks,

Thomas German

2285 SAN MARCO DRIVE
HOLLYWOOD 28, CALIFORNIA

November 10, 1958

The Reporter
136 East 57th Street
New York 22, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

I was delighted with your reprint of Ed Murrow's speech on the state of radio and T.V. (It was reprinted in two consecutive editions of the L.A. Mirror News, in very small print and I cut it out wondering where I could get more and better copies ...and then came your issue!) Please mail me one dozen copies at your earliest convenience.

And now the question. Where shall I send them? I am willing to write individual letters to twelve people who might help reverse the trend in conformity, complancency and sheer tedium, but who are they? The Sponsors? Corporation Heads? Heads of the big advertising agencies? If you have any ideas on this, please let me know. I shall be most grateful.

Very sincerely

Lola Zinel

church of the christian union, unitarian

2101 AUBURN STREET · ROCKFORD, ILLINOIS · 4-6112

November 9, 1958

The Reporter
136 East 57th St.
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear sirs,

Your magazine continues to be one of the bright lights in a world that often seems journalistically dark.

I could use 500 reprints of the Ed Murrow article to send to my church mailing list with our weekly newsletter.

"A Bulwark Built on Sand" was an eye opener and makes good collateral reading with The Ugly American.

Very truly yours,

Rev. Alan G. Deale

ALAN G. DEALE

MINISTER, VICTOR V. GOFF MINISTER EMERITUS, CHARLES PARKER CONNOLLY, D.D.

C O P Y

November 9, 1958
156 Fayette Street
Bridgeton, New Jersey

Gentlemen:

Please send me 6 copies of Ed. R. Murrow's article in your November 13 issue -- A Broadcaster Talks to His Colleagues." I want to send them to some of my children and to a few local communications people who are friends of me.

I am very happy to be a subscriber to this wonderful magazine. I feel that your view point is enlightening to your readers -- even tho, as in my case I read the New York Times, The Manchester Guardian, The Commentary, plus a few other esoteric magazines.

If there is any charge for the above copies, Please let me know.

Thank~~s~~ you very much.

Benjamin Cotler

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

(247)

NL OCT 2 DL PD AR=LOS ANGELES CALIF 11 57A PP=

ASSOCIATED REPORTER MAGAZINE=

136 EAST 57 ST=

ARE REPRINTS AVAILABLE ED MURROW TALK IF SO NEED 500 IF NOT PLEASE GIVE US PERMISSION REPRINT 500 WITH PROPER CREDIT YOU HAVE INFORMATION ABOUT OUR ORGANIZATION PLEASE WIRE COLLECT THANK YOU=

CLARA S LOGAN PRESIDENT NATL ASSOCIATION FOR BETTER RADIO AND TELEVISION 862 VICTORIA AVE=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Chicago Speech
10/16/58

ROBERT M. HART
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

ACOMA 2-0067

BUSINESS RESEARCH GROUP
930 GRANT STREET
DENVER, COLORADO

November 12, 1958

To the Editor
The Reporter
136 East 57th Street
New York 22 N.Y.

Dear Sir;

As a matter of possible interest to you I enclose a copy of a letter to Edward Murrow, with reference to his recent speech as published in Reporter. You are at liberty to print all or any part of this letter.

May I not also take this opportunity to welcome you, Mr. Kristol, aboard the good ship Reporter. As a most appreciative reader of Encounter, I congratulate The Reporter on having snatched you.

Sincerely,

Robert M. Hart

RMH/br

November 11, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Having just read your recent speech to the Radio and T V News Directors' Association, as published in the November 13 issue of Reporter Magazine, I would like to take this means of congratulating you on the fearless and very competent statement of ideas to which you have given expression.

In my opinion the virtual denial of the principle of public convenience and dire necessity which has been perpetrated by the radio and T V industry on the American public will, if continued, constitute one of the major internal assaults against the culture and the democratic structure which we are trying with great effort to maintain.

Like many another mature adult (and we must number in the millions) I have long since abandoned radio and T V to my children, with whom the parental struggle for prevention of an over-dose is maintained continuously, if not too successfully. Nor is it at all convincing to us when we hear the industry attempt lamely to shift the burden of responsibility to other media of mass communication. We know and the industry itself knows (and is proving daily and nightly) that the audio-visual technique is by far the most effective means of attracting the attention and maintaining the interest of people on the receiving end of our one way communication systems.

Having abandoned radio many years ago and having found its giant offspring T V even less satisfactory as a possible personal source for entertainment or intellectual interest it follows that such essentials must be available to me elsewhere. One might therefore ask "Why all the concern about the stupidity of an industry in which you have no direct interest?". The primary answer is simple and I think it applies for many people in addition to myself. It seems clear to me that, to use your own terms, my sheer survival and that of my children are irremeciably bound up in the ability of the public at large to achieve some kind of accurate view of the stark, naked reality of the world in which today we live.

As a member of what the industry, in its short sighted negligence, is pleased to label a "minority audience" I am deeply concerned and even more deeply involved in the repulsive fact that my cohorts in the "majority" are being denied their birthright by that industry controlling the one means of mass communication which can and should most effectively remedy the situation. It is fraudulent for the industry to assert, time and time again, that present program content is what the public demands. The public has never received the option of exercising a free choice because it has never been given any direct empirical knowledge of what the alternatives might be. Under the subversive formulae of the Madison Avenue Motivationists, it might be altogether too risky to let old John Public in on just a glimpse of the truth.

In expressing a desire for the public at large to achieve a more realistic view of the world around them it unfortunately seems essential to emphasize the necessity for including that segment of the public which comprises the policy-makers in your industry as well as their counterparts among the 30 to 50 large corporations whose appropriations are responsible for this great game of Pollyanna. If this relatively small segment of the "majority" can be convinced of the ultimate wisdom of your position I, for one, have ample faith in the ability of the vast remainder of the "majority" to absorb, with reasonable intelligence, the traumatic effects which would no doubt accompany the removal of the blindfolds under which they are now unwittingly held.

Now let's proceed one step further with some hard dollar and cents talk, which is what Madison Avenue understands best. It is not too difficult to take such financial information as is released by the Federal Communications Commission which, when supplemented by data published early this year by a House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee report, permits the making of some reasonably accurate estimates on the dollar part of the radio-T V picture. In a recent year (and not necessarily the best year) I estimate that the Radio and T V Industry, combined, was able to earn, before Federal Taxes, over 45% on its net tangible property investment. That's not bad for the entire industry, but get this. For that same year the 3 major T V networks, including their 16 owned stations, were able to earn, before Federal Taxes, over 110% on their net tangible property investment. Incidentally it appears that in the same year these 3 New York headquartered networks paid out in commissions to advertising agencies, brokers and others the sum of $75,000,000, an amount which actually exceeds the reported net value of the property, plant and equipment owned by these three networks. Nice work if you can get it.

Here's one final point. Based on figures reported to the Federal government, I estimate that the depreciated value of tangible property of the entire Radio and T V Industry, at the end of 1957, amounted to $430,000,000. What do you suppose the total investment of Mr. John Q. Public in his receiving equipment amounted to? Here is a conservative estimate. 42,000,000 T V sets at a depreciated value of $75 each and 100,000,000 radio sets at an average salvage value of only $20 each makes a total of over $5,000,000,000 (that figure is five billion dollars) of investment by John Q. Public. This is almost 12 times the above described property investment made by the industry itself. These Madison Avenue boys have come a long, long way from the time when they used to have Gillette give away the razors in order to sell the blades.

Sincerely yours,

Robert M. Hart

RMH/br

Chic. sp.

November 10, 1958

Dear Mrs. Perry:

As requested, here is a copy of Mr. Murrow's speech.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Frederic J. Perry
Houghton Mifflin Co.
2 Park Street
Boston 7, Massachusetts

mcc

K

HOUGHTON MIFFLIN COMPANY

2 PARK STREET BOSTON 7

November 3, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

One of our editors here has expressed interest in your recent Chicago speech about radio and TV. We would appreciate it ever so much if you could send us a copy as soon as possible and bill us accordingly. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret Perry

(Mrs. Frederic J. Perry)
Secretary, Anne Ford
Publicity Department

"THE OLDEST STATION IN THE NATION" WHA UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN — MADISON

November 7, 1958

Editor
The Reporter
136 East 57th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Sir:

Bravo! Your publication of Edward R. Murrow's talk to his colleagues is a service to all broadcasters, educational as well as commercial. It's the kind of statement that forces all of us to take a fresh look at our obligations to make wise use of radio and television.

I'd like to place at least 25 copies of the reprint with key persons here and elsewhere in the area of educational broadcasting. Is that asking for too many from your supply? I don't want to seem greedy. The enclosed $1 to cover mailing expense is accompanied by a large measure of gratitude.

Please accept my thanks also for the Eric Sevareid comments you publish. They are gems of thought and oral style.

Cordially,

H. B. McCarty
Director, Division of
Radio-Television Education

Chic Ap

f

November 7, 1958

Mr. R.B. Snowden
Cotton Exchange Building
Memphis, Tennessee

Dear Mr. Snowden:

Thank you for your kind remarks about the speech I made recently in Chicago.

Yours very truly,

ERM:skh

R. B. SNOWDEN
COTTON EXCHANGE BUILDING
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

October 28, 1958

6

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I have read with a great deal of interest your speech given at Chicago on October 15th. It is magnificent!

It is so outstanding that I am sure it could become the catalyst on which freedom itself might hinge.

It is truly an epic in the field of mass communications, and we who are striving so hard in this country to save freedom and solvency are deeply grateful to you for this opening wedge.

Thank you again and again.

Very sincerely yours,

R. B. Snowden

R. B. Snowden

rbs/h

P.S. Because our efforts are quite similar, each in a different field, I enclose to you a copy of a paid advertisement which I placed in the two Memphis papers, urging that media to get into the fight and print the truth before it is too late.

Reprinted from
Memphis Press-Scimitar, Monday, October 6, 1958
The Commercial Appeal, Memphis, Tuesday Morning, October 7, 1958

OPEN REPLY TO A PRESS-SCIMITAR EDITORIAL

Mr. Editor:

In your editorial of Tuesday, under the heading "The Court Closes the Door," you quoted the Supreme Court's reliance on Article VI of the Constitution which says that "this Constitution . . . shall be the 'supreme law of the land' and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." May I respectfully call your attention to the fact that nowhere in Article VI of the Constitution is the "Supreme Court" referred to, nor is there any reference to an edict of the Supreme Court becoming the law of the land in Article VI.

The Supreme Court deliberately picked the above quote completely out of context, purposely leaving the inference that an opinion of the Supreme Court becomes the "law of the land," and you seem to agree with the Court and you thereupon declare contentedly that the show is all over and the South must now fold up and accede to the vicious demands of the left wing—yes, the Communist Party—which seeks to destroy all the institutions, all the precedents, and every defense of American freedom.

In the above, you were supporting the Supreme Court, and in doing so you have aided and abetted this fallacious thesis of the Court — i.e., that one of its decisions automatically becomes the "law of the land." When you do this, you are playing right into the hands of civilization's most vicious enemy — Communism. Nothing in the entire Constitution supports your fallacious theory. Only the Congress can make a law. (period!)

During these distressing times, when the whole South or at least 80% of all Southerners, both white and colored, are perplexed, dismayed, and distressed, you add your comfort not to the majority of Southern people but to those who would annihilate our Constitution and all freedom.

The tenor of your whole editorial seems (at least to me) that you are personally gloating and are apparently very happy with the way things are going, rather than being completely indignant and even horrified by the extent of influence already gained by the evil forces at work in this Country.

I wonder what newspapers are for anyway. Are they supposed to carry only the propaganda line, as dictated from above, or is their proper function to publish only the news, and editorialize strictly on the truth?

Why is it that your editorial does not insist there is not one mention of the word "educaton" in the entire Constitution? And why do you not make a determined defense of Article X of the Constitution which states plainly, "all those powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people"? Why don't you base your editorials on these undeniable truths?

If it's news you're hunting, why did you not give full treatment to that unprecedented news that the Chief Justices of the various states met in Pasadena in August this year, and came out with a 7500 word report excoriating the actions of this Supreme Court in most of its recent decisions? Why didn't you play up this historic news to its rightful importance, and give it the full treatment it should have had? Why didn't you report the names of the States which voted for, or against, the score being 36 to 8 in favor of the report as written? Why didn't you show that Arkansas and Indiana were among those not present, and therefore not voting? The score most certainly would have been even greater in favor, had the Arkansas and Indiana Chief Justices been present.

Why don't you report in full the complete record of the leadership of the NAACP, naming names of their leaders, and show how these leaders are tied in with the Communist Party? All these authenticated facts are available but the press shies away from publishing such information.

And what right, may I ask, has Justice Felix Frankfurter to sit in on these integration cases when he himself was counsel for the NAACP for several years prior to his ascendency to the Court (as recently reported in an obscure article in the local press)? Wouldn't any Federal Justice with one iota of self-respect recuse himself?

Why not send a roving reporter up to my office and get the photostatic proof that all this vicious plan to infiltrate and destroy our South was contained in a secret Communist document of 1933, officially published in Washington in 1944 by the Un-American Activities Committee (the war was going on and few people noticed it) showing that Arkansas was chosen in the year 1933 by the Kremlin as the place to break out integration troubles?

These are some of the services I think newspapers might be doing, instead of forever giving comfort to the enemy. It is my belief that 80% of all Southerners, white and colored, would heartily welcome such fine editorial services as you could provide, if you were so inclined.

Why shouldn't a Southern newspaper give us at least the adequate and sympathetic treatment afforded by a few Yankee publications, notably the U. S. News & World Report and the Wall Street Journal?

Doesn't your mast-head read: "Give Light and the People Will Find Their Own Way"?

No, Mr. Editor, the South does not yet have to fold up. This will be a good fight, and this fight has just begun. The Supreme Court has not "closed the door." It's highly possible and probable, before this fight is over, there may be a recall of each and every one of these political appointees now on our highest Court.

The Campaign for the 48 States, of which I am the Chairman, is not in the segregation controversy itself, but it most certainly stands to defend the integrity of the 48—now 49—States of this Republic, and it will do its best to defend their integrity against big centralized tyrannical government. Might I add that when Alaska was admitted into the Union, one of the stipulations by the Alaskans was that they would forever control their own schools. Under this contract, Congress brought Alaska into the Union.

We urge the Press-Scimitar and all other Southern newspapers to join us in defense of American rights, before you yourself are deprived of the right to run a newspaper as a free institution and are forced to subject everything you write to the Party Line. Fantastic? Not a bit! This has happened and is happening all around the world.

R. B. Snowden

516 Cotton Exchange Building
Memphis, Tennessee

Small, Bill

November 3, 1958

Mr. William Small
WHAS - TV
Louisville
Kentucky

Dear Bill:

I enjoyed the Chicago venture and only wish I could have stayed around long enough to spend some time really talking with you fellows, rather than at you.

Tell Mark Ethridge that I steal ideas from other people but not pens. He arrived earlier at the dinner than I did, and it could be that it was a pencil he lost rather than a pen.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Radio Television News Directors Association

PRESIDENT
Jack E. Krueger, WTMJ, WTMJ-TV, Milwaukee

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
Ted Koop, CBS News, Washington, D. C.

TREASURER
F. O. Carver, Jr., WSJS, Winston-Salem, N.C.

VICE-PRESIDENT FOR PROGRAM
Bill Small, WHAS, WHAS-TV, Louisville, Kentucky

VICE-PRESIDENT FOR RADIO
John Maters, WILS, Lansing, Michigan

VICE-PRESIDENT FOR TELEVISION
Ralph Renick, WTVJ, Miami, Florida

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, Rob Downey, WKAR, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan

October 23, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

Your talk has, as you know, resulted in a tremendous amount of publicity. I am sending a clipping from this morning's COURIER-JOURNAL by a guy who hates radio-television news and as you can see from the underlined paragraph does not hesitate to expand upon your remarks. I hope the New York press was more accurate.

Again my thanks for joining us in Chicago. I saw Mark Ethridge this morning and he tells me that he lost a ballpoint pen while sitting next to you last week. I told him that I do not defend the honesty of radio-tv newsmen in their extra curricular pursuits. He insists that he is making no accusations but simply posing a question.

With best regards,

Bill

William Small
Director of News
WHAS AM-TV

WS/ph

PS: We have presented Mark with a new pen.

DIRECTORS

Bill Monroe, WDSU-TV, New Orleans, La.
Hugh Bremner, CFPL, London, Ontario
Nick Basso, WSAZ, Huntington, W. Va.
Dick Cheverton, WOOD, WOOD-TV, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Charles Shaw, WCAU, Philadelphia, Pa.
Bruce B. Palmer, KWTV, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Jim McGaffin, WOW, WOW-TV, Omaha, Nebraska
Jack Morris, KTUL-TV, Tulsa, Okla.
Julian Goodman, NBC, Washington

REGIONAL VICE-PRESIDENTS

James Bennett, KLZ, Denver, Colorado
William Gerry, WBBM, Chicago, Illinois
Donald Johnston, CHML, Hamilton, Ontario
Harry McKenna, WEAN, Providence, Rhode Island
Steven Warren, WMC, Memphis, Tennessee

1958 International Convention, Chicago, Illinois, October 15-18, Sheraton Blackstone Hotel

BILL LADD'S TV Almanac

Murrow Comes Up With An Idea For Better TV Coverage of News

A plan that would vastly increase the thoughtful programing on television was suggested by **Edward R. Murrow** at the national convention of television news directors in Chicago recently.

He suggested that each of numerous big TV sponsors devote one program a season to presentation of topics which should be of great interest to the American people.

Murrow suggested that the sponsors be identified by name on these shows, but turn them back to the networks. The nets would then produce discussions, documentaries, or studies in depth of such matters as foreign affairs, the Atomic Age, the educational situation, and suchlike matters.

ED MURROW
Suggests more "think" programs

Murrow feels that in this way television would be discharging at least a great part of its obligation to keep the public informed on topics of the day.

The news commentator pulled no punches in his talk. He said, among other things, that television was doing a poor news job. He said, as many outside the industry have said before him, that when news was regarded as a salable commodity only to be presented in such doses and at such times as could be sold to a commercial sponsor it simply did not represent a news-coverage job.

This week again is a "blackout" week for college football on Channel 3 and other stations in the Southeastern section of the country.

N.B.C. is doing its regional telecasts again, for which Channel 3 is not eligible. The games we will miss this week are, Army and Pittsburgh in the East, Notre Dame and Purdue in the Middle West.

WLW-T, Cincinnati, and WFIE-TV, Evansville, are among stations which carry the games. Channel 3 will have **Patrice Munsel** in "Melba."

The truest word of the new TV season were said on the initial **George Burns** show on Channel 3 Tuesday night. Burns, you know, is by himself this season, **Gracie Allen** having retired.

Son **Ronnie Burns** said, "Dad, people have been saying for years you couldn't get along without Mother. Now is your chance to prove it."

They have a good idea, but they surely did miss Gracie.

Probably after the series has settled down and they get used to writing for Burns without Gracie they will do better.

The initial airing turned out to be a long explanation of the new show, what it will do, and how it will do it. The thing was necessary to establish the point of view and the aims, probably. But they were pretty deadly about it all.

There were numerous commercials, integrated into the script.

So help me, I think we deserve a warning when a commercial is coming.

Television people say, whenever a newspaperman gripes about commercials, "But you carry advertisements, don't you?"

Sure we do.

But we set 'em off from the editorial matter with rules or label 'em as advertisements so you can tell when you get to them, don't we?

The breakfast-food people have not yet renewed **"Wild Bill Hickok."**

The series may go into syndication, and would depend for its appearance on any station on a local-sponsorship deal.

Reason they didn't sign?

Guy Madison says they didn't offer enough oats.

Small, Wm.

October 27, 1958

Dear Bill:

Many thanks for your letter of October 21st.

I thought the convention was splendidly arranged and it was certainly fun to see so many of my good friends in one place at the same time.

When next I am in Louisville, I shall certainly call you for that drink.

With best regards.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. William Small
WHAS AM-TV
Louisville, Kentucky

mcc

Radio Television News Directors Association

PRESIDENT
Jack E. Krueger, WTMJ, WTMJ-TV, Milwaukee

CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
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TREASURER
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John Maters, WILS, Lansing, Michigan

VICE-PRESIDENT FOR TELEVISION
Ralph Renick, WTVJ, Miami, Florida

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, Rob Downey, WKAR, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan

October 21, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I know that many at our RTNDA convention thanked you for your contribution and I am sure that the organization will be dropping you a note pursuant to it's formal resolution thanking all speakers. However, I would like to add my own personal thanks.

Setting up the program for this year's convention got to be quite a task but thanks to contributions such as yours it became a pleasure as the program unfolded in Chicago. Your remarks were thought provoking and certainly added a great deal to our meeting.

Should fate bring you through Louisville, please give me a call so that we can have a drink together.

With best personal regards,

Bill

William Small
Director of News
WHAS AM-TV

WS/ph

DIRECTORS

Bill Monroe, WDSU-TV, New Orleans, La.
Hugh Bremner, CFPL, London, Ontario
Nick Basso, WSAZ, Huntington, W. Va.
Dick Cheverton, WOOD, WOOD-TV, Grand Rapids, Mich.
Charles Shaw, WCAU, Philadelphia, Pa.
Bruce B. Palmer, KWTV, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Jim McGaffin, WOW, WOW-TV, Omaha, Nebraska
Jack Morris, KTUL-TV, Tulsa, Okla.
Julian Goodman, NBC, Washington

REGIONAL VICE-PRESIDENTS

James Bennett, KLZ, Denver, Colorado
William Gerry, WBBM, Chicago, Illinois
Donald Johnston, CHML, Hamilton, Ontario
Harry McKenna, WEAN, Providence, Rhode Island
Steven Warren, WMC, Memphis, Tennessee

1958 International Convention, Chicago, Illinois, October 15-18, Sheraton Blackstone Hotel

C O P Y

ov. 58

To the Editor:

Bravo, for Mr. Murrow! "A very palpable hit" as befits his statue. But--too late. And therein lies the rub.

Surely Mr. Murrow must have heard something of the mass howl that was emitted not so long ago when television gave view to the General Assembly proceedings, thereby depriving the Mass Viewers of their "tranquilizers" for a whole evening. The net-work stations were flooded with calls and letters by the objectionable ones, while those of us who did enjoy the program were, unfortunately, silent in our appreciation. Then: witness the demise of The Seven Lively Arts and the somewhat shaky existence of Omnibus, as compared to the immense popularity of Gunsmoke and other bang-bangs. While I do not pretend to be an authority--that being the province of Nielsen, Trendex, et al.,--I cannot but believe that we shall be extremely fortunate if the programs do not get any worse. In other words, to quote Mr. Murrow out of context, "the tube is flichering now and we will soon see that the whole struggle is lost."

It reverts to the same old thing: servility to "the Bitch Goddess"--and the mass audience long ago accepted the offerings therefrom. One even hears them humming the commercials.

Mr. Murrow's sincerity of conviction is admirable, but let him remember Oscar Wilde's penetrating maxim, "A little sincerity is a dangerous thing, and too much of it is absolutely fatal."

John W. Page
Toledo, Ohio

6817 Indianola Ave.
Columbus, Ohio
Nov. 16, 1958

The Reporter
[illegible] East 57th Street
N.Y. 22, N.Y.

Dear Sirs:

I read Edward R. Murrow's article ("A Broadcaster Talks to his Colleagues", Nov. 13) in which he so adroitly criticizes [illegible] for not producing enough programs of lasting [illegible], controversial news coverage. In view of the opinions expressed here, I question Mr. Murrow's reasons for giving the public such a consistently intellectually inept program as his "Person to Person".

Sincerely,

Roy K. Imhoff
Ohio State University

Chic. sp.

EDWARD R. MURROW
485 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK 22, N.Y.

October 30, 1958

Dear Mr. Stein:

In response to your request, I am sending you a copy of the speech I made in Chicago for the Radio and Television News Directors Association.

I regret that I cannot give permission for this to be published as an article in your newspaper, JUSTICE since I have already made a commitment to a national magazine. However, you may, if you wish, use quotes from the text.

Sincerely yours,

Mr. Leon Stein
Editor
"Justice"
1710 Broadway
New York, New York

enc.
mcc

JUSTICE
INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
OFFICIAL PUBLICATION

INTERNATIONAL LADIES' GARMENT WORKERS' UNION
AFL-CIO

LEON STEIN
EDITOR

Chic speech

1710 BROADWAY • NEW YORK 19 • N. Y.
CABLE ADDRESS: ILGWU-NEW YORK • PHONE: COLUMBUS 5-7000

DAVID DUBINSKY
PRESIDENT
GENERAL SECRETARY

LUIGI ANTONINI
FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

LOUIS STULBERG
EXECUTIVE VICE-PRESIDENT

October 29, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Morrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Morrow:

If it is available we would very much like to have a copy of the talk you gave recently on "What's Wrong With TV and Radio".

We want this for possible use as an article in our newspaper, JUSTICE, which is the official publication of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Very truly yours,

Leon Stein

Leon Stein
Editor

A/

Chic Speech

October 29, 1958

Dear Mrs. Cavagna:

Very many thanks for your letter of October 24th and your kind comments concerning the speech I made in Chicago a couple of weeks ago.

There has been quite a bit of public reaction to it.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. Eve Cavagna
Lake Forest College
Lake Forest, Illinois

mcc

LAKE FOREST COLLEGE
CORPORATE TITLE: LAKE FOREST UNIVERSITY
LAKE FOREST, ILLINOIS

Office of the President

October 24, 1958

V.G. Thanks

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS, 485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Looking in on you every week, listening to your other newscasts and now having read your comments in the newspaper, I want you to know that I and a great many of my friends believe you have performed an extremely valuable service to the American public by demanding more significant programming on T.V.

We have been saturated with ridiculous "blood and thunder", cowboys, called "adult westerns" and cheap contest shows, until it nearly is impossible to find one or two good, intelligent shows even of the entertainment variety, let alone something truly cultural on any one evening.

Some of the good movies that make the T.V. screen are then shown so late in the evening the average individual; working man, woman or upper-school student cannot tolerate the late hours necessary to view them. Why can't some of these half-hour violence and crude reproductions be shown at that time so that families who would like their children and other members to see a really good show may have that opportunity in the earlier evening hours.

Have the sponsors and the "powers that be" in the television business no conscience?

Very sincerely,

Eve Cavagna

Eve Cavagna (Mrs.)
Secretary

Chic speech

2501 Arcade Street
St. Paul 9, Minnesota
October 28, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

My journalism class would appreciate it if you would send us a copy of the speech you made to the Television Broadcasting System about two weeks ago in Chicago. Thank you.

Sent 11-3

Sincerely,

Camille Preston

Camille Preston

CSP:km

MEET THE PRESS

America's Press Conference of the Air

October 25, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Thanks for sending me a copy of your Chicago speech. What you said is exactly right and of great importance. I hope it will be taken up and widely repeated. In my judgment, the richest opportunity for television lies in the public service programs, and they can save the networks if anything can -- to say nothing of what they might do for the nation.

Cordially,

Larry Spivak

Lawrence E. Spivak

LES:er

528 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

M E E T T H E P R E S S

America's Press Conference of the Air

Yes

October 21, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I just caught up with the report of your recent speech in Chicago, and I would like very much to get the full text if it is available.

Cordially,

Larry

Lawrence E. Spivak

LES:er

Send Spivak

528 Lexington Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

Chicago Speech
7-B-25

WBBM

CBS Radio—A Division of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.

630 NORTH McCLURG COURT · CHICAGO 11, ILLINOIS · WHITEHALL 4-6000

October 24, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

If you could hear the local reaction to your talk before the Radio Television News Directors Association, I believe you would feel well rewarded for your efforts.

I am sending along some of the clips from the Chicago newspapers. One by Terry Turner in the Chicago Daily News is exceptionally good. A second note in Turner's column reports that I had received between 400-500 requests for copies of the speech. This is no exaggeration. Since that time I have discussed with Fred Whiting, assistant dean of journalism at Northwestern University, the possibility of preparing it in pamphlet form. He would like to use it as classroom material.

I failed to hear a single negative reaction to your address. And the most unusual one came from an individual whom I have never known to sit still for more than 20 minutes. His comment: "It could have been longer and he could have gone into more detail." As I recall this is one thing you were really concerned with - length of the speech. As it turned out, you were the only one worrying.

My own reaction is that the thoughts expressed by you in Chicago will be quoted widely for months and months to come; the most positive reactions will be reserved for the future.

And, Ed, my sincere thanks and those of the entire RTNDA membership. And at some future time I hope I can do something for you.

With kindest personal regards - and the "Boss" sends his too.

Sincerely,

Bill

William G. Garry

WGG/amr
Enclosures
P.S. Enclosed letter is typical of many I have received. At this moment Sheldon Garber of U. of Chicago P.R. office phoned. They are duplicating speech for Univ. staff.

BILL GARRY, director of news for WBBM and convention chairman of the recent radio-TV news directors' convention in Chicago, reports that more than 500 requests for copies of Edward R. Murrow's convention speech were received within two days afterward.

Murrow blasted television, generally speaking, for "insulting" the audience "from the realities of the world in which we live."

22 Oct. 1958

Mrs. George M. Landon
2603 Hartzell Street
Evanston, Illinois

Dear Mr. Garry,-

I have been much interested in the quotes of Mr. Murrow's speech at the radio-TV news convention and had wondered about getting a copy of the whole speech. Being just a home maker and not connected with any of the various fields of communication, I was not sure that there was any chance of getting a copy. However, I came upon the enclosed squib in the newspaper and decided to write and ask for a copy of the speech and hope that you can send me one. I feel that it will be a most informative document for the whole family to read, especially stimulating for the two of our children still in college.

Thanking you in advance, I am

Sincerely yours

Mrs. G. M. Landon

rec'd 10/24 -

Murrow Scorches TV
Chi American
Putting Ideas in Closet

As an instrument for informing the public, television is a sword "rusting in the scabbard," according to commentator Edward R. Murrow.

In an address sharply critical of networks and sponsors, Murrow said:

"I do not advocate that we turn television into a 27-inch wailing wall, where long-hairs constantly moan about the state of our culture and our defense.

"But I would like to see it reflect occasionally the hard, unyielding realities of the world in which we live."

Murrow spoke at last night's banquet of the Radio-Television News Directors Assn. in the Sheraton-Blackstone Hotel.

During peak viewing hours, television insulates the American people "from the hard, demanding realities which must be faced if we are to survive," Murrow said. He recommended this solution:

"Why should not each of the 20 or 30 big corporations which dominate radio and television decide they will give up one or two of their regularly scheduled programs each year and say in effect:

"'On this particular night we aren't going to try to sell cigarets or automobiles; this is merely a gesture to indicate our belief in the importance of ideas.'"

"Save Our Home" Dance

A dance is being held tomorrow night at 343 E. Garfield blvd., in an effort to raise funds to save the 40-year old Ada S. McKinley Community House at 100 E. 34th st., which is faced with tax foreclosure.

CARRYING BALL WITHOUT GRACIE

Burns Expected t

BY TERRY TURNER

THE word from Hollywood, according to some seasoned and usually cynical sources, is that the new George Burns Show, which debuts Tuesday on NBC, will be one of the hits of the season.

This marks the first time that Burns will be appearing without Gracie Allen.

Lest you consider this a routine assignment, note the fact that Gracie has dominated 75 per cent of the previous Burns and Allen shows.

GEORGE BURNS

Now George has to carry the ball by himself.

There's been a lot of talk in the trade, the most prevalent question being, "Can George do it alone?"

Of course he can. Burns and Allen have been a team for 35 years and both developed into serious artists during that period.

Plays Theatrical Producer Role

George can sing, dance and tell jokes, and he'll be doing all three in his new series.

In his new format, he plays the part of a theatrical producer. Ronnie Burns, Harry Von Zell, Larry Keating and Bea Benadaret all will be back to help out.

• • •

THE REASON why Hollywood sources think the new series will be successful is that the crew on the show is excited and enthusiastic.

Ordinarily, the cameramen, soundmen, lighting ex-

superlative Fred Astaire special show cost about $50,000, or more than most complete half-hour network television programs cost these days.

The 59-year-old Astaire, incidentally worked two months on the show, proving once again that being a perfectionist pays off.

Sponsor magazine estimates that a viewer gets some $4.5 million worth of free entertainment each night from the three networks.

• • •

BILL GARRY, director of news for WBBM and convention chairman of the recent radio-TV news directors' convention in Chicago, reports that more than 500 requests for copies of Edward R. Murrow's convention speech were received within two days afterward.

Murrow blasted television, generally speaking, for "insulting" the audience "from the realities of the world in which we live."

RADIO

TV Mailbag

TV NETWORKS WEAK ON NEWS, MURROW FINDS

Chi Tribune

Television networks are failing in their task of keeping the public adequately informed, Edward R. Murrow, a television commentator, told the Radio Television News Directors association in the Blackstone hotel Wednesday.

Murrow called for a new appraisal of network news programs and suggested that sponsors and networks pay more attention "to informing a troubled, apprehensive but receptive public."

He challenged the broadcasters to editorialize and to give "thoughtful consideration" to their responsibility to operate in the public interest.

BITTER BLAST

Ed Murrow Rips Into TV 'Escapism'

'Tranquilizer' Programing Shuts Out Reality, He Says

BY TERRY TURNER

EDWARD R. Murrow, award - winning newscaster and commentator, charges television with "insulating us from the realities of the world in which we live."

Murrow made the statement Wednesday night while addressing a radio and television news director convention in the Sheraton-Blackstone hotel.

In a speech filled with dry, biting comments, Murrow called upon television to "produce some itching pills rather than this endless outpouring of tranquilizers."

"If Hollywood were to run out of Indians," Murrow claimed, "the program schedules would be mangled beyond all recognition.

"Some courageous soul with a small budget might be able to do a documentary telling what we have done, and are still doing, to the Indians in this country.

EDWARD MURROW

"But that would be unpleasant. And we must at all costs shield the sensitive citizens from anything that is unpleasant."

In a less bitter—but still gloomy — mood, Murrow warned that "this nation now is in competition with malignant forces of evil using every instrument at their command to empty the minds of their subjects and fill those minds with slogans and determination.

• • •

"IF WE GO ON as we are, we are protecting the mind of the American public from any real contact with the menacing world that squeezes us in," he said.

Cites Tardiness On Ike Speech

Murrow mentioned a recent telecast by President Eisenhower. The telecast, which involved the President's opinions about the probability of war, was carried live by only one network.

The other two delayed the broadcast for more than an hour.

Murrow claimed that "it is difficult to believe that this decision was made by men who love, respect and understand news."

"There is a great and perhaps decisive battle to be fought against ignorance, intolerance and indifference," he said. "Television could be useful.

• • •

"BUT UNLESS we get off our fat surpluses and recognize that television in the main is being used to distract, delude, amuse and insulate us, then television and those who finance it, those who look at it and those who work at it, may see a totally different picture too late."

Murrow said he didn't want television turned into a "27-inch wailing wall."

"But I would like to see it reflect occasionally the hard, unyielding realities of the world in which we live," he said.

Urges Sponsors To Donate Time

The newscaster, whose own prize-winning "See It Now" series has been dropped by CBS, suggested that sponsors have the most power to improve television fare in the peak viewing hours.

"Each of the 20 or 30 large corporations which dominate radio and television could decide to give up one or two of their regular programs each year and turn the time over to the networks," Murrow advised.

• • •

"THEY COULD say, in effect: 'This is a tiny tithe, a little bit of our profits. This is a gesture to indicate our belief that ideas are important."

Otherwise, Murrow intimated, the public service programs would continue to appear only "in the intellectual ghetto of Sunday afternoons. But we all know that you cannot reach the potential maximum audience in marginal time, with a sustaining program."

"I am frightened," Murrow said, "by the imbalance, the constant striving to reach the largest possible audience for everything, by the absence of a sustained study of the state of the nation."

Trio Assails TV'S Failure to Inform Public

BY JOHN FINK

THREE well known TV personalities gave votes of confidence to the American viewing public in Chicago last week. They criticized TV's failure to offer more "public affairs" programs to information hungry viewers.

Speaking before the Radio News Directors association, CBS commentator Edward R. Murrow directed a bold attack on networks schedules which, he said, "in the main insulate us from the realities of the world in which we live."

Why? Murrow's principal explanation: "The top management of the networks, with a few notable exceptions, has been trained in advertising research, sales or show business. But by the nature of the corporate structure, they also make the final and crucial decisions having to do with news and public affairs. Frequently they have neither the time nor the competence to do this."

In an informal talk before a small audience of science educators, TV's most popular professor, Dr. Frank Baxter, put it this way: "People are hungry for information.' The sheep look up.' And if we must go by audience ratings to determine what people like, then I think the nose counters have missed some significant noses."

Dr. Baxter was in town to preview another film in the Bell Science series, a stimulating explanation of the human senses to be telecast on Thursday on channel 5.

• • •

THE third actor in our drama, ABC's Washington bureau chief, John Secondari, in an interview called attention to the downgrading in the number of news and information shows since 1946. He said he believed viewers wanted more of them but he put a large share of the blame on viewers themselves. Secondari is in Chicago to interview Walter Reuther on channel 7's Open Hearing at 3 p. m. Sunday.

"Ten years ago there were three or four times as many such shows on the air," Secondari observed. "News coverage is following the same downward slope of politics. Every election the population is a little larger and the voter registration is a little smaller. Now this is maturity operating in reverse, isn't it?

"The networks have to fulfill their responsibility to the public in this respect," he went on. "But it's not fair to say, 'Dirty networks!' The TV industry itself awards about 45 Emmies every year for everything down to 'the best leer in any single program,' and yet only one Emmy to the best news show.

"The sponsor too has a responsibility to subsidize informational programs; otherwise what are we, the broadcasters? Voices that come out of nowhere and shadows.

• • •

BUT primarily," said Secondari, "the people themselves must pay attention. They have more interest in public affairs than we give credit for, but they appear to pay attention only when something frightens them.

"News and public affairs, like democracy itself, are luxuries that only a country like ours can afford, but we

Chicago Sunday Tribune October 19, 1958

SUNDAY RADIO PROG

CHICAGO FREQUENCIES

W-G-N—720 WTAQ—1230
WIND—560 WSBC—1240
WMAQ—670 WEAW—1330
WBBM—780 WGES—1390
WAIT—820 WOPA—1490
WLS—890 WBEE—1550
WAAF—1000 WNMP—1590
WJJD—1160

FM

WHUC—89.3 WCLM—101.9
WBBM—92.9 WOPA—102.3
WEFM—94.7 WFMB—103.5
WBBM—96.3 WXFM—105.1
WNIB—97.1 WBEL—104.3
WEMT—98.7 WEAW—105.1
WEFM—99.5 WXFM—105.9
WMAQ—101.1

[Central Daylight Saving Time]

7 A. M. to 12 NOON

7:00—W-G-N—News; Bauer
WBBM—Tabernacle
WMAQ—News
WCFL—News; Musical
WLS—News; Music
WJJD—First Methodist
7:05—WMAQ—Choirs
7:15—WMAQ—Faith
7:30—W-G-N—Faith
WMAQ—Pastels
WJJD—Destiny
WLS—Dr. C. Fuller
WBBM—Dr. Bradley
7:45—WMAQ—Books
8:00—W-G-N—G. Bauer
WBBM—Church
WMAQ—News
WJJD—Healing
WIND—Chicago Hour
WLS—Bible Class
WCFL—Music
8:30—
*WAIT—Janet Beaudry, Minister
UNITY CHRIST WAY
Services 11 A.M., 410 S. Michigan
W-G-N—Geo. Bauer
WJJD—Oral Roberts
WMAQ—Barnhouse
WBBM—J. Brady
WLS—Wings
WCFL—J. Dee
9:00—W-G-N—News; Bauer
WJJD—Move of God
WLS—Stocks; News
WMAQ—News
WCFL—News; J. Dee
9:05—WMAQ—Radio Pulpit
9:15—WLS—Little Church
9:30—W-G-N—Geo. Bauer
WMAQ—Prophecy
WJJD—News; Serenade
WLS—Back to God
9:45—WBBM—Time Mag.
10:00—W-G-N—News; Bauer
WMAQ—Change Times
WAIT—Continental
WIND—News; Music
WLS—Tabernacle
WCFL—J. Dee
WBBM—Collinswood
10:30—W-G-N—Geo. Bauer
WMAQ—Monitor
WBBM—J. Brady
11:00—
*WHFC—Drexel Park Presbyterian Church. Dr. G. C. Cox. 'A MAN'S RELIGION."
*WLS — Dr. Preston Bradley from Peoples church. "BUT I AM ONLY ONE PERSON."
W-G-N—News; J. Mills
WMAQ—Change Times
WBBM—News; Brady
11:30—W-G-N—Gadabout
WCFL—G. McGuane
11:35—WCFL—R. Van Ault
11:55—W-G-N—Reflect
12 NOON TO 6 P. M.
12:00—W-G-N—News
WMAQ—Monitor
WBBM—Best in Music
WIND—News; Hits
WLS—Frank, Ernest
WJJD—Serenade
12:30—W-G-N—Hi-Fi
WCFL—News; Music
WLS—Soul Clinic
WIND—News; Music
WMAQ—Lutheran
12:45—W-G-N—Warmup
WCFL—Huddle
1:00—W-G-N—Football
WLS—Tomorrow
WIND—Music
WBBM—Bellairs
WCFL—Football
WMAQ—Monitor
1:30—WJJD—Serv
WIND—News
WLS—Herald
WMAQ—Cat
2:00—WLS—Oral R
WBBM—News
2:30—WLS—Worl
WBBM—Mu
WIND—Sund
WMAQ—Mo
3:00—WLS—Revi
WBBM—Ma
WJJD—D. C
WIND—Sund
WNMP—Gre
WMAQ—Mo
3:30—W-G-N—Sco
WIND—Sund
WMAQ—Yo
WLS—Radio
4:00—W-G-N—J.
WLS—Light
WCFL—Sco
WMAQ—Mo
4:30—WLS—Amer
WMAQ—Ne
4:45—WCFL—Ca
5:00—W-G-N—Ne
WLS—World
WMAQ—Mon
WBBM—Indictm
WCFL—Musical
5:15—WMAQ—B. Considin
5:30—W-G-N—Johnson
WMAQ—Last Quarter
WBBM—Gunsmoke
WLS—Decision
WCFL—Catholic View
5:45—W-G-N—J. Johnston
WCFL—Dr. Bradley
6 P. M. TO MIDNIGHT
6:00—W-G-N—News; Signal
WLS—They May See
WIND—Music
WMAQ—Monitor
WBBM—All That Jazz
WCFL—Music
6:30—W-G-N—Talks
WIND—News; Music
WCFL—Menonite
WBBM—FBI
WLS—Christian Science
6:45—WIND—U. S. Savings

SPECIAL RADIO EVENT

1:00 p. m.—W-G-N—Football: Bea Rams.

1:00—WCFL—Football: Cardinals vs.

10:55—
11:00—
11:15—W-G-N
WMAQ—
WLS—M
11:30—W-G-N—Jo
12 MIDNIGHT AND
12:00—W-G-N—News
WIND—Watch
WMAQ—News; Ch
WBBM—Music
1:35—WMAQ—Daddy-O

would like to know occasionally that people appreciate what we think is worthwhile."

To those skeptics who insist that viewers would not watch additional information shows anyway, Murrow had this to say: "Even if they [the skeptics] are right, what have they got to lose? Because if they are right, and this instrument [TV] is good for nothing but to entertain, amuse and insulate, then the tube is flickering now and we will soon see that the whole struggle is lost."

wintery day in Washington, D. C., when he was walking thru the sleet, misty eyed over our democratic heritage, and was accosted by an old Negro in a floppy hat.

"Have I the honor, sir, to meet the TV professor who comes into our house?" the stranger asked.

"The people are hungry," Dr. Baxter said in Chicago. Said Murrow: "To achieve its promise, TV must be both free and enterprising." Asked Secondari: "Why is it that the appear only to dislike you?"

No one, apparently, is without blame in TV's failure in public affairs.

How Christian Scie Heals

Sunday, Octob

CHANNEL 7 WBKB

"I WILL GO TO

WLS

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, THURSDAY, OCTOBER 16, 1958

Murrow Says TV Ignores Nation's Peril

Edward R. Murrow attends TV news directors convention at Sheraton-Blackstone Hotel. (Sun-Times Photo)

Television is failing to play its part in informing the people that "this nation is in mortal danger," Edward R. Murrow declared here Wednesday night.

"Surely we shall pay for using this most powerful instrument of communication to insulate the citizenry from the hard and demanding realities which must be faced if we are to survive," said the CBS commentator.

Murrow spoke in the Sheraton-Blackstone Hotel at a dinner of the Radio Television News Directors Assn., now in convention here.

"I mean the word, survive, literally," he said. ". . . If Hollywood were to run out of Indians, the program schedules would be mangled beyond all recognition.

"Then some courageous soul with a small budget might be able to do a documentary telling what, in fact, we have done and are still doing to the Indians in this country. But that would be unpleasant. And we must, at all costs, shield the sensitive citizens from anything that is unpleasant."

Murrow pointed out that when President Eisenhower addressed the nation recently on the crisis with the Soviet Union and Communist China, CBS and NBC delayed the broadcast for an hour 15 minutes — "about twice the time required for an ICBM to travel from the Soviet Union to major targets in the United States."

"It is difficult to believe," Murrow added, "that this decision was made by men who love, respect and understand news."

He said he refused to believe that the executives of big corporations wish their "corporate image" to "consist exclusively of a solemn voice in an echo chamber, or a pretty girl opening the door of a refrigerator, or a horse that talks."

"They want something better and, on occasion, some of them have demonstrated it," he said. He suggested that the 20 or 30 big corporations that dominate radio and television give up one or two of their regularly scheduled programs each year and turn the time over to the broadcasters for serious, informative programs.

As for radio, Murrow said, "to progress it need only go backward to the time when singing commercials were not allowed on news reports, when there was no middle commercial in a 15-minute news report, when radio was rather proud, alert and fast."

NAM Head Calls For Last-Ditch Battle At Polls

ATLANTA (AP)—A Michigan businessman Thursday called upon fellow executives to join in an all-out political battle against what he called the labor-liberal forces in government.

"We have wasted a lot of time," said Charles R. Sligh Jr. "Just 13 days from now the American people will go to the polls, and just 14 days from now we are going to . . . pick up our morning papers and find we have taken a beating."

Public Affairs Session

Sligh, board chairman of the Sligh-Lowry Furniture Co. at Holland, Mich., spoke in his capacity as executive vice president of the National Assn. of Manufacturers. His keynote address was prepared for opening of the Southern Public Affairs Congress, a two-day meeting sponsored by the NAM's southern division.

The incoming 86th Congress, he predicted, will include "many men who are committed . . . to leading America farther and farther from traditional free enterprise, and closer to the ultimate welfare state of planned mediocrity and shared poverty."

To combat this doctrine, Sligh said the NAM has dedicated itself anew to a grass roots campaign which envisions participation "of business and industry in politics at all levels from the precinct upward."

Three-Part Campaign

Sligh outlined a three-part public affairs program now being put forward by the NAM. It includes:

In-plant training seminars and educational courses designed to stimulate registration lists, and to revitalize conservatism as a force in both political parties.

Exchange of political education techniques among employers and trade groups to educate new converts to conservatism.

Immediate action strategy in campaign years to create working citizens' committees for political activity in the field.

Cites Michigan

Using his own state as an example of what he called "capture by the labor-liberal coalition," Sligh declared that except for the apathy of some voters, "Michigan would not be in the hands of Walter Reuther [United Auto Workers president] and Soapy [Gov. G. Mennen] Williams today."

"Michigan is down the drain," he added. "Next on the list is California. The UAW - CIO means to control that state . . . how long will it be before they get around to your state?"

ELECTED PRESIDENT

Allen V. Dowling, who was elected president of North American Accident Insurance Co., Chicago-based firm bought by C.I.T. Financial Corp. last Sept. 24. Dowling, former Chicago newspaperman, was vice president and director of agencies for Franklin Life Insurance Co., Springfield. North America's main office is at 209 S. La Salle.

Upsurge Continuing In Television Sales

By Edwin Darby
Sun-Times Financial Editor

The television industry has scored a remarkable comeback, reports from Chicago set manufacturers indicated Thursday.

Admiral Corp. has just succeeded in converting a sixmonths deficit into a nine-months profit.

Admiral announced the nine-months earnings were $947,254 or 40 cents a share. At six months Admiral had a deficit of $407,180 or a per share deficit of 17 cents a share.

Upturn Continuous

The company reported it has had "a definite and continuing upsurge in television sales during the past four months."

It went on to say: "Reports from across the nation give us a cautious but definite optimism regarding the fourth quarter of this year. Retail business during the Christmas season should be better than a year ago.

"It is particularly significant that public demand for our deluxe and most expensive receiver has resulted in a complete sell-out of our inventory of those models."

Motorola Gaining

Another major Chicago manufacturer of TV sets reported in with a similar bright picture.

Motorola, Inc., said September sales were the biggest for any September in five years. Said Motorola Executive Vice President Edward R. Taylor:

"The TV business not only has reversed the downtrend which started a year ago, it has come up with a whopping 625,000 sets sold in September. On our part, our per cent of industry TV sales, off to a slow start for the year, has climbed steadily for four months. Our target is 10 per cent of the industry."

Motorola also reported that the public is going in big for the more expensive models. "The public is obviously more style-minded and reliability-minded. This is industry-wide," Taylor said.

Zenith Sales Up

A third Chicago firm, Zenith Radio Corp., has been the star performer of the industry. Zenith sales and earnings stayed in sharp focus right through the recession.

As a spokesman for the company puts it: "We've made almost monotonous advances for more than two years."

Zenith reported August sales as the best in its history and then September came along to top even that record.

Hotpoint, Chicago-headquartered division of General Electric, and the parent company, both report a fall surge in sales. A Hotpoint spokesman reported what he called a "real boomer" in sales during the past five weeks.

Fed Raises Bank Rates In 5 Cities

WASHINGTON (UPI) — The Federal Reserve Board late Thursday authorized five federal reserve banks to increase their interest rates on loans to commercial banks from 2 to 2½ per cent. The banks which will boost their discount rates Friday are at Philadelphia, Richmond, St. Louis, Minnpeapolis and Dallas.

NEW YORK (AP) — The stock market ended mixed Thursday but there were some wide gains in individual issues.

Rails, steels, aircrafts and tobaccos forged ahead. Metals, chemicals and motors lagged.

Northern Pacific spurted after directors declared a 20 per cent stock dividend and said they intended to maintain the current $2 annual dividend rate on the increased shares.

Among outstanding specialties were Schenley, up sharply in response to declaration of four extra stock dividends, and Servel, ahead on revival of rumors the company will acquire another concern to take advantage of a tax loss carry forward.

Martin Gilbert of Van Alstyne, Noel & Co. said, "the performance on the downside hardly suggests that any change in constructive sentiment is taking place. Rather, it seems to us that a base is being formed for the next step forward."

Leadership Is Up To Press, Not TV, Heiskel Declares

A leading magazine publisher Thursday said it is up to newspapers and magazines, not radio and television, to "supply the leadership necessary for our survival."

Andrew Heiskel, publisher of Life magazine, told delegates at the annual meeting of the Audit Bureau of Circulations in the Drake Hotel, that the diffusion of responsibility between networks, advertising agencies, advertisers and the FCC "makes it unlikely that the broadcast media will be anything more than transmitters of entertainment during the next ten years."

Busy Executives

Heiskel said that the responsible people in the networks are responsible for buying and selling stations, for making advertising deals, for signing talent contracts and for promotion.

"These heavy duties," he said, "preclude giving more than casual thought to journalism."

Heiskel said that newspapers and magazines think of news as the essence of history and not simply a commodity that can be used to "surround a sponsor's jingles."

The magazine executive pointed out that publications from the first days of the Revolutionary War have been recognized as instruments of education, dedicated to the welfare of the nation.

"The future of the printed media lies in their ability to achieve editorial excellence," he continued. "The time has come when all of us must give more thought to the elements that are necessary for editorial excellence, even at the expense of non-editorial functions."

Heiskel said today's editors must have complete freedom, "freedom to say what they want, freedom not to print what they judge not to be of interest, and freedom from pressure groups."

Room For Both

An advertising executive told ABC representatives that there is still "ample opportunity for both press and broadcast advertising."

Fairfax M. Cone, chairman of the executive committee, Foote, Cone & Belding, said "the battle between newspapers and magazines on the one hand and radio and television on the other for the advertiser's dollar shows no signs of abating."

Cone said that a large number of advertisers "simply cannot afford the number of dollars that is required to buy important television."

"These do very well in print," he said.

Co-Operative Unit

In another speech, Walter P. Lantz, chairman of the board of the ABC, told delegates that the bureau's current membership stands at a record 3,888, despite a dip in the economy and an exceptional number of company mergers and consolidations.

"I think it is imperative that we recognize once and for all that the Audit Bureau of Circulations is not the private property of any single group of members but, rather, that it is a co-operative instrument in which our whole industry shares," he said.

Phelps Dodge Joins Boost

NEW YORK (AP)—Copper prices moved higher Thursday as Phelps Dodge Corp. joined other major producers in charging 29 cents a pound.

Chrysler Loses $45,200,000 But Pays A Dividend

Chrysler Corp. Thursday reported a net loss of $45,200,000 for the first nine months of 1958.

Despite the loss, the corporation declared a dividend of 25 cents the same as for the second quarter of this year.

The nine-month loss is equal to $5.18 a share.

The loss for the third quarter was $20,000,000.

Stores Plan Merger

NEW YORK (AP)—Directors of McCrory Stores Corp. and McLellan Stores Co. have approved "in principle" a plan to merge. The two companies operate 448 stores. Combined sales in 1957 were $172½ million.

50 YEARS LATER–A NEW MODEL T

MAHWAH, N.J. (AP)—The 50th anniversary of Ford Motor Co.'s historic and fabled Model T was commemorated here Thursday.

Highlight of the observance was production of a 1909 model on the assembly lines of the Ford division's assembly plant in this Bergen County city. Assigned to the assembly job on production lines carrying the more modern 1959 models were a group of workers who helped assemble the original Model T.

Parts for the anniversary model were assembled from all over the United States. Most of the body came from a Flint (Mich.) furniture dealer; the wheels were reconstructed by a New Jersey firm, and fenders were made in San Luis Obispo, Calif.

Following a fuel-economy contest with a 1959 model Ford, the anniversary model touring car will be shipped to the Edison Institute for display in the Henry Ford Museum in Dearborn, Mich.

Industry authorities recalled that the 1909 Model T touring car had a price tag of $850.

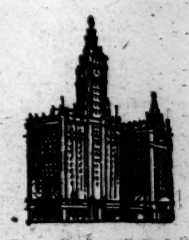
The 1909 model had no fuel gauge, oil pump, water pump, battery, windshield wipers, trunk compartment, bumpers or rear-view mirror. Ignition came from a low-tension magneto which became operative with the spinning of the hand crank in front of the car.

Our Commercial Loan and Administrative Offices

Are now In Their New Quarters, North Section of The Wrigley Building, Main Floor, 410 N. Michigan Ave.

The Trust and Investment Departments

Have Been Moved To The Main Floor, South Section of The Wrigley Building, 400 N. Michigan Ave.



National Boulevard Bank
OF CHICAGO

400-410 N. Michigan Ave. • Phone SU 7-2323

Member Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

October 23, 1958

Mr. E. Kidder Meade, Jr.
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Ave.
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Kidder:

I just read Ed Murrow's remarks before the Association Radio and Television News Directors' convention. It's a marvelous speech. Why don't you print it up and send it out all over the place?

Among other things, it would let sponsors know about Murrow's thoughtful suggestion, something they might not hear of otherwise.

With best regards,

W. H. Ferry

1 WEST 72ND STREET
NEW YORK 23, NEW YORK

October 23, 1958

Dear Mr. Murrow,

I felt I must write to tell you how magnificent I thought your last speech was and how deeply disappointed I was that the Reporter could not publish it.

As far as I'm concerned, it's the most important statement ever made about television and the American people, and says - with authority, courage and brilliance - what I have been feeling for a long time.

Congratulations.

Marya Mannes

Marya Mannes

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
CBS-TV
485 Madison Avenue
New York City

Telephone: MUrray Hill 2-1250

The Fund for the Republic INC.

60 East 42nd Street, New York 17, New York

October 23, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Sure, I remember that SEE IT NOW is dead. The point is, Murrow isn't, a fact strikingly demonstrated by a draft on my desk now "For Association Radio and Television News Directors' Convention, Chicago, October 15, 1958."

This is a marvelous speech. Suppose a whole clutch of sponsors popped up and offered one hour each 13 weeks; couldn't you do Galbraith then, along with NATO, Nasser, and the moon?

Mostly this letter, however, is to say what a fine speech you made in Chicago.

All the best,

W. H. Ferry

Last night's radio show was grand, too. Why don't you trip once in a while like the rest of us do?

Cys
EF

Frank McNaughton and Associates
PUBLIC RELATIONS COUNSELORS
14 EAST JACKSON BOULEVARD · CHICAGO 4, ILLINOIS
TELEPHONE: HARRISON 7-4072

ROOM 1435
FLORENCE ABRAHAMSON
Executive Assistant
225

for speech 10/23.

October 22, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc.
485 Madison Avenue
New York City, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Please mail us a copy of your address before the Radio & TV News Directors Association here last week. We are enclosing stamped self-addressed envelope.

Thank you.

FRANK McNAUGHTON & ASSOCIATES

Chic. speech

October 22, 1958

Dear Mr. Snowden:

Many thanks for your recent letter. Your kind comments regarding my speech in Chicago are very much appreciated.

Enclosed herewith is a copy of the speech.

Very truly yours,

Mr. R. B. Snowden
Cotton Exchange Building
Memphis, Tennessee

gw
encl

R. B. SNOWDEN
COTTON EXCHANGE BUILDING
MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

October 17, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
New York, N.Y

Dear Mr. Murrow:

Congratulations on your recent speech, calling attention to the fact that the public must be told the truth about the dire peril in which this country finds itself.

Would you send me a clipping which gives a direct quote on this? I got it second-hand, and I'd rather have it right from the lion's mouth.

Thanks, and best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

R. B. Snowden

rbs/h

P.S. I hope all communications management can be awakened to the horror of the impending situation, and I am 100% in accord with you on this.

Chic speech

October 22, 1958

Dear Hank:

Many thanks for your recent note regarding my speech in Chicago.

Your kind words are very much appreciated.

As ever yours,

Mr. Horace Guillotte
KNX
6121 Sunset Blvd.
Los Angeles, California

gw

Murrow Appeals to Big Business To Sponsor 'Ideas & Information,' Help Elevate Program Standards

To Mr Edward R. Murrow

from

10/17

Dear Ed.

I hope you live to be a thousand years old.

H. Shuldotts

Chic speech

October 22, 1958

Dear Mr. Ebin:

Many thanks for your recent letter.

Your kind words regarding my speech in Chicago are most encouraging and very much appreciated.

Very truly yours,

Mr. David J. Ebin
The United Nations
Secretariat Building, Room 880
New York, New York

gw

CBS NEWS
485 Madison Avenue, New York 22 Plaza 1-2345

16 October 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow,

May I be allowed to add to what must be your mounting mail this week -- chorusing approval and delight on reading your address to the Conference of Radio and TV Directors.

As one who has peddled his wares through the television ghetto these last five years -- the formulation of a concrete program to break-through comes as a delayed but decided pleasure.

The end impression I get however is that in setting out a reasonable road for networks and sponsors the decisive element is that of leadership...And possibly no one as qualified as yourself. I would correct that and delete the word "possibly".

May this letter then be taken as a vote and a prayer -- minor though it may be -- that you are given the chance to spearhead the detail which tears down the ghetto walls.

Very truly yours,

David J. Ebin
UN IN ACTION -- WRITER

PL 5-2799

Cohn, Marcus

October 20, 1958

Dear Mr. Cohn:

Thank you for your letter of October 17th.

Here is a copy of the speech you requested.

Sincerely,

Mr. Marcus Cohn
Cafritz Building
Washington, D. C.

mcc

MARCUS COHN
LEONARD H. MARKS
PAUL DOBIN
STANLEY S. NEUSTADT
STANLEY B. COHEN

LAW OFFICES
COHN AND MARKS
CAFRITZ BUILDING
WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

TELEPHONE
STERLING 3-5880

CABLE ADDRESS
COMAR-WASHINGTON, D. C.

K/C

October 17, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow

Would you please be good enough to send me a copy of your speech before the Association of Radio and Television News Directors.

Sincerely

Marcus Cohn

Scharrer, Joseph F.

October 20, 1958

Dear Mr. Scharrer:

Thank you for your letter of October 17th.

Here is a copy of the speech you requested.

Sincerely,

Mr. Joseph F. Scharrer
Department of Speech
The Ohio State University
205 Derby Hall
Columbus 10, Ohio

mcc

Cowles, Gardner

October 20, 1958

Dear Mike:

Thank you for your letter of October 17th.

Here is a copy of the speech you requested.

Sincerely,

Mr. Gardner Cowles
488 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

mcc

7¢ THE WEATHER Sunny and pleasant Wednesday. High 80, low 56. Sun. Page 47.

CHICAGO
SUN-TIMES

FINAL HOME EDITION

Dear Ed -

So nice seeing you the other evening at the dinner.

Attached is a clipping I thought you might like to see.

Best regards,

Irv Kupcinet

PS - I promise to drop in next time I'm in N.Y.

Kup

KUPCINET

KUP'S COLUMN

Overheard at the Hucksters: "Where they gonna get the kind of money **Jack Muller** claims he was offered to drop out of the race for sheriff?" . . . "Maybe they made a deal with **Orville Hodge!**" . . . Arkansas **Gov. Orval Faubus** is expected in town Friday to extend a personal invitation to the National Editorial Assn., assembled in convention at the Sheraton Hotel, to go to Hot Springs for its winter meeting . . . **Marie (The Body) McDonald** revealed she'll become **Mrs. George Capri** in the "very near future." Capri, affiliated with the Flamingo Hotel in Las Vegas, accompanied Marie here for her In Town Tonight appearance Thursday. The Body's new accompanist in her act is famous bandleader **Ted Fio Rito.**

AFTER HIS NO-PUNCHES-PULLED speech before the Radio-TV News Directors Assn. at the Sheraton-Blackstone, **Ed Murrow** was asked why he lashed out at the "hand that feeds him," the networks. . . . "I've always been on the side of the heretics, against those who burned them," replied Murrow, "because the heretics so often proved right in the long run. Dead—but right!" . . . **Mayor Daley, in his speech** of welcome to the Radio-TV news directors, got a hearty chuckle with his nifty opening sentence: "The weather in Chicago is now 80 degrees and the prediction is continued sunny and warm."

KC

Cowles, Gardner

LOOK

COWLES MAGAZINES INC. *Look Building, 488 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y., MURRAY HILL 8-0300*

GARDNER COWLES, *President and Editor*

October 17, 1958

Dear Ed,

If you have a text of the speech you gave recently in Chicago at the convention of the Association of Radio and Television News Directors, I would appreciate a chance to read it.

Sincerely,

Mike

Sent

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Wilson, Bill

October 17, 1958

Dear Bill:

It was most thoughtful of you to send along the piece from the Sun-Times, which I had not seen.

I am sorry that in the general rush I had no chance to see you. Let's hope for better luck next time.

As ever yours,

Mr. Bill Wilson, Jr.
Young & Rubicam Inc.
333 No. Michigan Avenue
Chicago 1 Illinois

YOUNG & RUBICAM, INC.

Advertising

NEW YORK · CHICAGO · DETROIT · SAN FRANCISCO · LOS ANGELES · HOLLYWOOD · MONTREAL · TORONTO · MEXICO CITY · LONDON

WILLIAM W. WILSON, JR.
Manager, Radio-Television Dept.

CHICAGO 1 · 333 No. Michigan Avenue

Thanks — sorry didn't see him +

October 16, 1958

Dear Ed:

Just in case you left town before reading the review of your appearance in Chicago, thought you would be interested in the attached.

Kindest regards,

Bill Wilson, Jr.

WWW:dck
Att'd

K.C.

THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY
NOVICE G. FAWCETT, *President*
COLUMBUS 10

DEPARTMENT OF SPEECH

October 17, 1958.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

If available, would you please send me a copy of your speech before the Association of Radio and Television News Directors in Chicago on October 15.

I am a graduate student in radio-television at this university.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Jos. F. Scharrer.

Jos. F. Scharrer,
Department of Speech,
205 Derby Hall.

Mr. Edward R. Murrow,
The Columbia Broadcasting System,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York, 22, New York.

HARVARD COLLEGE OBSERVATORY
CAMBRIDGE 38, MASSACHUSETTS

Peterborough, N. H.,
October 16, 1958.

Mr. Edward Murrow,
CBS News,
Madison Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Murrow:

I understand that you have spoken out concerning the deterioration of radio news broadcasting; that you protest the insertion of commercials in the middle of the news program and especially deplore the introduction of the nauseating singing commercials.

If so, please pile this letter with the many others that are written in ~~defense~~ support of the radio as a decent channel of communication and business operations.

Why do the degenerate* writers and producers of advertising scripts believe, for example, that the corruption of artistic Dinah Shore, and her like, pleases people. Surely it disgusts many, probably the majority.

Our American radio is now in such a low estate, chiefly because of the singing commercial, that to a visitor from abroad we shamefacedly apologize for our broadcasting in advance of their first contact with it.

It may be better soon, we say, because there is now no way to go but up.

The crime against American culture is not only with the advertiser; some of the stations join the degeneration by singing or trickily squawking their "identification". I can't see what they have in mind. Why this unnecessary putridity? What have they to gain? Is that also a part of the brainwashing that the soap and tobacco merchants are foisting on us?

If your well-known voice can help counteract our present trend toward utter depravity, please use a megaphone; perhaps some dignity may eventually return to the profession of producing and selling programs.

Sincerely yours,

Harlow Shapley

Harlow Shapley

* I mean stupid or venal or perhaps opportunistic.

7-B-28

10/16/58

E.R.M.

Thought you might want to see what use was made of your speech on C.B.S. Radio last night. Local and network did it at 11.00 p.m.; and local again at Midnight and 1.00 a.m. And the 8.00 a.m.

Also, Stanton's full comment as put out by Press Information.

Mickelson visited the News Room last night and said that full play was to be given to the speech wherever possible.

Ron Cochran also quoted you and part of Stanton's comment at 11.00 p.m. I'll get his full text from T.V. News if you want it.

Dick Salant asked for a copy of the speech, which I gave him. Beryl Reubens says he has requests by the dozen. Can't see any reason for refusing copies of a speech that has now been made, so have ordered another 50 to be run off.

Among the many requests, one from Neville Maxwell of the London Times Washington Bureau, who says: "This is news!"

K.E.

LOCAL
10/15/58

C B S newsman Edward R. Murrow prodded the radio and television industry tonight -- to present more significant news and public information programs during the prime broadcast hours. In an address to the Radio-Television News Directors convention in Chicago -- Murrow pointed to those who fear controversy and who say the public is primarily interested in entertainment. He said he firmly believes the American public is more reasonable, restrained and more mature "than most of our industry's program-planners believe. Their fear of controversy is not warranted by the evidence." Murrow said responsibility for improvement in both radio and television programming rests at the top: with the major corporations which are the chief sponsors, and with the top network executives. He proposed that each of what he termed the 20 or 30 big corporations which dominate radio and television -- give up one or two of their regularly scheduled programs each year -- and turn the time over to the networks. He says he thinks the networks would pay for producing information programs during that time. The sponsor would get name credit -- but would have nothing to do with the content.

The president of the Columbia Broadcasting System -- Frank Stanton -- said of Murrow's speech: "What he has to say does not -- of course -- reflect the views of CBS management. But we think it most healthy that in industry meetings such as the one he is addressing, there be frank and full statements of individual opinions." Dr. Stanton said further: "On one thing we are certainly in agreement with Mr. Murrow -- that broadcasting hopes to play an increasingly important part in enabling the American people to get the information they must have to make wise judgments."

CBS NY 10/15/58

NOTE TO CITY AND TV EDITORS:

IN RESPONSE TO INQUIRIES ON A TALK SCHEDULED TO BE MADE BY EDWARD R. MURROW BEFORE THE ASSOCIATION OF RADIO AND TELEVISION NEWS DIRECTORS TONIGHT, FRANK STANTON, PRESIDENT OF THE COLUMBIA BROADCASTING SYSTEM, MADE THE FOLLOWING COMMENT THIS EVENING:

"I HAVE JUST READ WITH INTEREST THE SPEECH MR. MURROW PLANS TO MAKE IN CHICAGO TONIGHT.

"WHAT HE HAS TO SAY DOES NOT, OF COURSE, REFLECT THE VIEWS OF CBS MANAGEMENT, BUT WE THINK IT MOST HEALTHY THAT IN INDUSTRY MEETINGS SUCH AS THE ONE HE IS ADDRESSING, THERE BE FRANK AND FULL STATEMENTS OF INDIVIDUAL OPINIONS.

"ON ONE THING WE ARE CERTAINLY IN AGREEMENT WITH MR MURROW--- THAT BROADCASTING HOPES TO PLAY AN INCREASINGLY IMPORTANT PART IN ENABLING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE TO GET THE INFORMATION THEY MUST HAVE TO MAKE WISE JUDGMENTS."

CBS-TV PRESS INFO

NETWORK
10/15/58

C B S news correspondent Edward R. Murrow called on the radio and TV industry tonight to offer more significant news and information programs during prime broadcast time. Murrow proposes that major sponsors give up one or two of their regularly scheduled programs each year to the networks...which would pay the cost of producing special information programs in the time provided by the sponsors.

C B S president Frank Stanton comments that Murrow speaks for himself...not for the CBS management. But Stanton says CBS management is in hearty agreement with another Murrow statement...that broadcasting hopes to play an increasingly important part in enabling the American people to get the information they need in order to make wise judgments.

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: James Seward

from: Ed Murrow

October 15, 1958

FYI - Here is a draft of what I am saying at the meeting of the Radio Television News Directors Association in Chicago tonight.

E.R.M.

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: Sig Mickelson

from: Ed Murrow

October 15, 1958

FYI - Here is a draft of what I am saying at the meeting of the Radio Television News Directors Association in Chicago tonight.

E.R.M.

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: John Day

from: Ed Murrow

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E.R.M.

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: Arthur Hull Hayes

from: Ed Murrow

October 15, 1958

FYI - Here is a draft of what I am saying at the meeting of the Radio Television News Directors Association in Chicago tonight.

E.R.M.

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: Lou Cowan

from: Ed Murrow

October 14, 1958

FYI - Here is a draft of what I am saying at the meeting of the Radio Television News Directors Association in Chicago, Wednesday night, October 15th.

CBS NEWS

Office Communication

to: Arthur Hull Hayes

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E.R.M.

DRAFT FOR ASSOCIATION RADIO AND TELEVISION NEWS DIRECTORS'

CONVENTION: CHICAGO, OCTOBER 15, 1958.

This just might do nobody any good. At the end of this discourse a few people may accuse this reporter of fouling his own comfortable nest; and your organization may be accused of having given hospitality to heretical and even dangerous thoughts.

But the elaborate structure of networks, advertising agencies and sponsors will not be shaken or altered. It is my desire if not my duty to try to talk to you journeymen with some candor about what is happening to radio and television in this generous and capacious land.

I have no technical advice or counsel to offer those of you who labor in this vineyard that produces words and pictures. You will forgive me for not telling you that the instruments with which you work are miraculous; that your responsibility is unprecedented; or that your aspirations are frequently frustrated. It is not necessary to remind you of the fact that your voice is amplified to the degree where it reaches from one end of the country to the other does not confer upon you greater wisdom or understanding than you possessed when your voice reached only from one end of the bar to the other. All of these things you know.

You should also know at the outset that, in the manner of witnesses before Congressional Committees, I appear here voluntarily - by invitation - that I am an employee of the Columbia Broadcasting System - that I am neither an officer nor a director of that Corporation - and that these remarks are of a "do-it-yourself" nature. If what I have to say is responsible, then I alone am responsible for the saying of it. Seeking neither approbation from my employers, nor new sponsors, nor acclaim from the critics of radio and television, I cannot well be disappointed. Believing that potentially the commercial system of broadcasting as practised in this country is the best and freest yet devised, I have decided to express my concern about what I believe to be happening to radio and

television. These instruments have been good to me beyond my due. There exists in my mind no reasonable grounds for personal complaint. I have no feud, either with my employers, any sponsors, or with the professional critics of radio and television. But I am seized with an abiding fear regarding what these two instruments are doing to our society, our culture and our heritage.

Our history will be what we make it. And if there are any historians about fifty or a hundred years from now, and there should be preserved the kinescopes for one week of all three networks, they will there find recorded in black-and-white, or color, evidence of decadence, escapism and insulation from the realities of the world in which we live. I invite your attention to the television schedules of all networks between the hours of eight and eleven p.m. Eastern Time. Here you will find only fleeting and spasmodic reference to the fact that this nation is in mortal danger. There are, it is true, occasional informative programs presented in that intellectual ghetto on Sunday afternoons. But during the daily peak viewing periods, television in the main insulates us from the realities of the world in which we live. If this state of affairs continues, we may alter an advertising slogan to read: "Look Now, Pay Later". For surely we shall pay for using this most powerful instrument of communication to insulate the citizenry from the hard and demanding realities which must be faced if we are to survive. I mean the word - survive - literally. If there were to be a competition in indifference, or perhaps in insulation from reality, then Nero and his fiddle, Chamberlain and his umbrella, could not find a place on an early-afternoon sustaining show. If Hollywood were to run out of Indians, the program schedules would be mangled beyond all recognition. Then, some courageous soul with a small budget might be able to do a documentary telling what, in fact, we have done - and are still doing - to the Indians in this country. But that would be unpleasant. And we must at all costs shield the sensitive citizens from anything that is unpleasant.

I am entirely persuaded that the American public is more reasonable, restrained and more mature than most of our industry's program planners believe. Their fear of controversy is not warranted by the evidence. I have reason to know, as do many of you, that when the evidence on a controversial subject is fairly and calmly presented, the public recognizes it for what it is - an effort to illuminate rather than to agitate.

Several years ago, when we undertook to do a program on Egypt and Israel, well-meaning, experienced and intelligent friends shook their heads and said: "This you cannot do - you will be handed your head - it is an emotion-packed controversy, and there is no room for reason in it." We did the program. Zionists, anti-Zionists, the friends of the Middle East, Egyptian and Israeli officials said, with a faint note of surprise: "It was a fair count. The information was there. We have no complaints."

Our experience was similar with two half-hour programs dealing with cigarette smoking and lung cancer. Both the medical profession and the tobacco industry co-operated in a rather wary fashion. But in the end of the day they were both reasonably content. The subject of radio-active fall-out and the banning of nuclear tests was and is highly controversial. But according to what little evidence there is, viewers were prepared to listen to both sides with reason and restraint. This is not said to claim any special or unusual competence in the presentation of controversial subjects, but rather to indicate that timidity in these areas is not warranted - by the evidence.

Recently, network spokesmen have been disposed to complain that the professional critics of television have been "rather beastly". There have been hints that somehow competition for the advertising dollar has caused the critics of print to gang up on television and radio. This reporter has no desire to defend the critics. They have space in which to do that on their own behalf. But it remains a fact that the newspapers and magazines are the only instruments of mass communication which remain free from sustained and regular critical comment.

If the network spokesmen are so anguished about what appears in print, let them come forth and engage in a little sustained and regular comment regarding newspapers and magazines. It is an ancient and sad fact that most people in network television, and radio, have an exaggerated regard for what appears in print. And there have been cases where executives have refused to make even private comment on a program for which they were responsible, until they had read the reviews in print. This is hardly an exhibition of confidence.

The oldest excuse of the networks for their timidity is their youth. Their spokesmen say: "We are young; we have not developed the traditions, nor acquired the experience of the older media." If they but knew it, they are building those traditions, creating those precedents every day. Each time they yield to a voice from Washington or any political pressure, each time they eliminate something that might offend some section of the community, they are creating their own body of precedent and tradition. They are, in fact, not content to be "half safe".

Nowhere is this better illustrated than by the fact that the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission publicly prods broadcasters to engage in their legal right to editorialize. Of course, to undertake an editorial policy, overt and clearly labelled, and obviously unsponsored, requires a station or a network to be responsible. Most stations today probably do not have the manpower to assume this responsibility, but the manpower could be recruited. Editorials would not be profitable; if they had a cutting edge they might even offend. It is much easier, much less troublesome to use the money-making machine of television and radio merely as a conduit through which to channel anything that is not libelous, obscene or defamatory. In that way one has the illusion of power without responsibility.

So far as radio - that most satisfying and rewarding instrument - is concerned, the diagnosis of its difficulties is rather easy. And obviously I speak only of news and information. In order to progress it need only go backward.

To the time when singing commercials were not allowed on news reports, when there was no middle commercial in a fifteen-minute news report; when radio was rather proud, alert and fast. I recently asked a network official: Why this great rash of five-minute news reports (including three commercials) on week ends? He replied: "Because that seems to be the only thing we can sell."

In this kind of complex and confusing world, you can't tell very much about the why of the news in broadcast where only three minutes is available for news. The only man who could do that was Elmer Davis, and his kind aren't about any more. If radio news is to be regarded as a commodity, only acceptable when saleable, and only when packaged to fit the advertising appropriation of a sponsor, then I don't care what you call it - I say it isn't news.

My memory also goes back to the time when the fear of a slight reduction in business did not result in an immediate cutback in bodies in the News and Public Affairs Department, at a time when network profits had just reached an all-time high. We would all agree, I think, that whether on a station or a network, the stapling machine is a poor substitute for a newsroom typewriter.

One of the minor tragedies of television news and information is that the networks will not even defend their vital interests. When my employer, C.B.S., through a combination of enterprise and good luck, did an interview with Nikita Khrushchev, the President uttered a few ill-chosen, uninformed words on the subject, and the network practically apologized. This produced a rarity. Many newspapers defended the C.B.S. right to produce the program and commended it for initiative. But the other networks remained silent.

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One of the basic troubles with radio and television news is that both instruments have grown up as an incompatible combination of show business, advertising and news. Each of the three is a rather bizarre and demanding profession. And when you get all three under one roof, the dust never settles. The top management of the networks, with a few notable exceptions, has been trained in advertising, research, sales or show business. But by the nature of the corporate structure, they also make the final and crucial decisions having to do with news and public affairs. Frequently they have neither the time nor the competence to do this. It is not easy for the same small group of men to decide whether to buy a new station for millions of dollars, build a new building, alter the rate card, buy a new Western, sell a soap opera, decide what defensive line to take in connection with the latest Congressional inquiry, how much money to spend on promoting a new program, what additions or deletions should be made in the existing covey or clutch of vice presidents, and at the same time - frequently on the same long day - to give mature, thoughtful consideration to the manifold problems that confront those who are charged with the responsibility for news and public affairs.

Sometimes there is a clash between the public interest and the corporate interest. A telephone call, or a letter from the proper quarter in Washington is treated rather more seriously than a communication from an irate but not politically potent viewer. It is tempting enough to give away a little air time for frequently irresponsible and unwarranted utterances, in an effort to temper the wind of criticism.

Upon occasion, economics and editorial judgment are in conflict. And there is no law which says that dollars will be defeated by duty. Not so long ago the President of the United States delivered a television address to the nation. He was discoursing on the possibility or probability of war between this nation and the Soviet Union and Communist China - a reasonably compelling subject. Two networks - C.B.S. and N.B.C. - delayed that broadcast for an hour and fifteen minutes. If this decision was dictated by anything other than financial reasons, the networks didn't deign to explain those reasons. That hour-and-fifteen-minute delay, by the way, is about twice the time required for an I.C.B.M. to travel from the Soviet Union to major targets in the United States. It is difficult to believe that this decision was made by men who love, respect and understand news.

So far I have been dealing largely with the deficit side of the ledger, and the items could be expanded. But I have said, and I believe, that potentially, we have in this country a free enterprise system of radio and television which is superior to any other. But to achieve its promise, it must be both free and enterprising. There is no suggestion here that networks or individual stations should operate as philanthropies. But I can find nothing in the Bill of Rights or the Communications Act which says that they must increase their net profits each year, lest the republic collapse. I do not suggest that news and information should be subsidized by foundations or private subscriptions. I am aware that the networks have expended, and are expending very considerable sums of money on public affairs programs from which they cannot hope to receive any financial reward. I have had the privilege at C.B.S. of presiding over a considerable number of such programs. I testify, and am able to stand here and say that I have never had a program turned down by my superiors because of the money it would cost.

But we all know that you cannot reach the potential maximum audience in marginal time, with a sustaining program. This is so because so many stations on the network - any network - will decline to carry it. Every licensee who applies for a grant to operate in the public interest, convenience and necessity, makes certain promises as to what he will do in terms of program content. Many recipients of licenses have, in blunt language, welshed on those promises. The money-making machine somehow blunts their memories. The only remedy for this is closer inspection and punitive action by the F.C.C. But in the view of many this would come perilously close to supervision of program content by a Federal agency.

So it seems that we cannot rely on philanthropic support or Foundation subsidies, we cannot follow the "sustaining route", the networks cannot pay all the freight, and the F.C.C. cannot or will not discipline those who abuse the facilities that belong to the public.

What, then, is the answer? Do we merely stay in our comfortable nests, concluding that the obligation of these instruments has been discharged when we work at the job of informing the public for a minimum of time? Or do we believe that the preservation of the republic is a seven-day-a-week job, demanding more awareness, better skills, and more perseverance than we have yet contemplated.

I am frightened by the imbalance, the constant striving to reach the largest possible audience for everything; by the absence of a sustained study of the state of the nation. Heywood Broun once said: "No body politic is healthy until it begins to itch". I would like television to produce some itching pills rather than this endless outpouring of tranquilizers. It can be done. Maybe it won't be, but it could. Let us not shoot the wrong piano player. Do not be deluded into believing that the titular heads of the networks control what appears on their networks. They all have better taste. All are responsible to stockholders, and in my experience all are honorable men. But they must schedule what they can sell in the public market. And this brings us to the nub of the question.

In one sense it rather revolves around the phrase heard frequently along Madison Avenue: "The Corporate Image." I am not precisely sure what this phrase means, but I would imagine that it reflects a desire on the part of the corporations who pay the advertising bills, to have the public imagine, or believe, that they are not merely bodies with no souls, panting in pursuit of elusive dollars. They would like us to believe that they can distinguish between the public good and the private or corporate gain. So the question is this: Are the big corporations who pay the freight for radio and television programs wise to use that time exclusively for the sale of goods and services? Is it in their own interest and that of the stockholders so to do? The sponsor of an hour's television program is not buying merely the six minutes devoted to his commercial message. He is determining, within broad limits, the sum total of the impact of the entire hour. If he always, invariably, reaches for the largest possible audience then this process of insulation, of escape from reality, will continue to be massively financed, and its apologists will continue to make winsome speeches about giving the public what it wants, or "letting the public decide."

I refuse to believe that the presidents and chairmen of the boards of these big corporations want their "corporate image" to consist exclusively of a solemn voice in an echo chamber, or a pretty girl opening the door of a refrigerator, or a horse that talks. They want something better, and on occasion some of them have demonstrated it. But most of the men whose legal and moral responsibility it is to spend the stockholders' money for advertising, are removed from the realities of the mass media by five, six, or a dozen contraceptive layers of vice presidents, public relations counsel and advertising agencies. Their business is to sell goods, and the competition is pretty tough.

But this nation is now in competition with malignant forces of evil who are using every instrument at their command to empty the minds of their subjects, and fill those minds with slogans, determination, and faith in the future. If we

go on as we are, we are protecting the mind of the American public from any real contact with the menacing world that squeezes in upon us. We are engaged in a great experiment to discover whether a free public opinion can devise and direct methods of managing the affairs of the nation. We may fail. But we are handicapping ourselves needlessly.

Let us have a little competition. Not only in selling soap, cigarettes and automobiles, but in informing a troubled, apprehensive but receptive public. Why should not each of the twenty or thirty big corporations which dominate radio and television, decide that they will give up one or two of their regularly scheduled programs each year, turn the time over to the networks, and say in effect: "This is a tiny tithe, just a little bit of our profits. On this particular night we aren't going to try to sell cigarettes or automobiles; this is merely a gesture to indicate our belief in the importance of ideas." The networks should, and I think would, pay for the cost of producing the program. The advertiser, the sponsor, would get name credit, but would have nothing to do with the content of the program. Would this blemish the corporate image? Would the stockholders object? I think not. For if the premise upon which our pluralistic society rests - which as I understand it is, that if the people are given sufficient undiluted information, they will then somehow, even after long, sober second thoughts reach the right decision. If that premise is wrong, then not only the corporate image but the corporations are done for.

There used to be an old phrase in this country, employed when someone talked too much. It was: "Go hire a hall." Under this proposal the sponsor would have hired the hall; he has bought the time; the local station operator, no matter how indifferent, is going to carry the program - he has to. Then it's up to the networks to fill the hall. I am not here talking about editorializing, but about straightaway exposition as direct, unadorned and impartial, as fallible

human beings can make it. Just once in a while let us exalt the importance of ideas and information. Let us dream to the extent of saying that on a given Sunday night the time normally occupied by Ed Sullivan is given over to a clinical survey of the state of American education, and a week or two later the time normally used by Steve Allen is devoted to a thorough-going study of American policy in the Middle East. Would the corporate image of their respective sponsors be damaged? Would the stockholders rise up in their wrath and complain? Would anything happen other than that a few million people would have received a little illumination on subjects that may well determine the future of this country, and therefore the future of the corporations? This method would also provide real competition between the networks as to which could outdo the others in the palatable presentation of information. It would provide an outlet for the young men of skill, and there are some even of dedication, who would like to do something other than devise methods of insulating while selling.

There may be other and simpler methods of utilizing these instruments of radio and television in the interests of a free society. But I know of none that could be so easily accomplished inside the framework of the existing commercial system. I don't know how you would measure the success or failure of a given program. And it would be hard to prove the magnitude of the benefit accruing to the corporation which gave up one night of a variety or quiz show in order that the network might marshal its skills to do a thorough-going job on the present status of NATO, or plans for controlling nuclear tests. But I would reckon that the president, and indeed the majority of shareholders of the corporation who sponsored such a venture would feel just a little bit better about the corporation and the country.

It may be that the present system, with no modifications and no experiments, can survive. Perhaps the money-making machine has some kind of built-in perpetual

motion, but I do not think so. To a very considerable extent the media of mass communications in a given country reflects the political, economic and social climate in which it flourishes. That is the reason ours differs from the British and French, or the Russian and Chinese. We are currently wealthy, fat, comfortable and complacent. We have currently a built-in allergy to unpleasant or disturbing information. Our mass media reflect this. But unless we get up off our fat surpluses and recognize that television in the main is being used to distract, delude, amuse and insulate us, then television and those who finance it, those who look at it and those who work at it, may see a totally different picture too late.

I do not advocate that we turn television into a twenty-seven-inch wailing wall, where long-hairs constantly moan about the state of our culture and our defense. But I would just like to see it reflect occasionally - the hard, unyielding realities of the world in which we live. I would like to see it done inside the existing framework, and I would like to see the doing of it redound to the credit of those who finance and program it. Measure the results by Neilsen, Trendex or Silex - it doesn't matter, the main thing is to try. The responsibility can be easily placed, in spite of all the mouthings about giving the public what it wants. It rests on big business, and on big television, and it rests at the top. Responsibility is not something that can be assigned or delegated. And it promises its own reward: good business and good television.

Perhaps no one will do anything about it. I have ventured to outline it against a background of criticism that may have been too harsh, only because I could think of nothing better.

Someone once said - I think it was Max Eastman - that: "That publisher serves his advertiser best who best serves his readers." I cannot believe that radio and television, or the corporations that finance the programs, are serving well or truly their viewers or listeners, or themselves.

I began by saying that our history will be what we make it. If we go on as we are, then history will take its revenge, and retribution will not limp in catching up with us.

We are to a large extent an imitative society. If one or two or three corporations would undertake to devote just a small fraction of their advertising appropriation along the lines that I have suggested, the procedure would grow by contagion, the economic burden would be bearable, and there might ensue a most exciting adventure - exposure to ideas, and the bringing of reality into the homes of the nation.

To those who say: People wouldn't look, they wouldn't be interested, they're too complacent, indifferent and insulated - I can only reply: There is, in one reporter's opinion, considerable evidence against that contention. But even if they are right, what have they got to lose? Because if they are right, and this instrument is good for nothing but to entertain, amuse and insulate, then the tube is flickering now and we will soon see that the whole struggle is lost..

This instrument can teach, it can illuminate; yes, and it can even inspire. But it can do so only to the extent that humans are determined to use it to those ends. Otherwise it is merely wires and lights in a box. There is a great and perhaps decisive battle to be fought against ignorance, intolerance and indifference. This weapon of television could be useful.

Stonewall Jackson, who knew something about the use of weapons, is reported to have said: "When war comes, you must draw the sword and throw away the scabbard." The trouble with television is that it is rusting in the scabbard - during a battle for survival.

didn't rec. an award

SECOND DRAFT FOR ASSOCIATION RADIO AND TELEVISION NEWS DIRECTORS' CONVENTION: CHICAGO, OCTOBER 15, 1958.

This just might do nobody any good. At the end of this discourse a few people may accuse this reporter of fouling his own comfortable nest; and your organization may be accused of having given hospitality to heretical and even dangerous thoughts.

But the elaborate structure of networks, advertising agencies and sponsors will not be shaken or altered. It is my desire if not my duty to try to talk to you journeymen with some candor about what is happening to radio and television in this generous and capacious land.

I have no technical advice or counsel to offer those of you who labor in this vineyard that produces words and pictures. You will forgive me for not telling you that the instruments with which you work are miraculous; that your responsibility is unprecedented; or that your aspirations are frequently frustrated. It is not necessary to remind you of the fact that your voice is amplified to the degree where it reaches from one end of the country to the other does not confer upon you greater wisdom or understanding than you possessed when your voice reached only from one end of the bar to the other. All of these things you know.

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Sometimes there is a clash between the public interest and the corporate interest. A telephone call, or a letter from the proper quarter in Washington is treated rather more seriously than a communication from an irate but not politically potent viewer. It is tempting enough to give away a little air time for frequently irresponsible and unwarranted utterances, in an effort to temper the wind of criticism.

Upon occasion, economics and editorial judgment are in conflict. And there is no law which says that dollars will be defeated by duty. Not so long ago the President of the United States delivered a television address to the nation. He was discoursing on the possibility or probability of war between this nation and the Soviet Union and Communist China - a reasonably compelling subject. Two networks - C.B.S. and N.B.C. - delayed that broadcast for an hour and fifteen minutes. If this decision was

dictated by anything other than financial reasons, the networks didn't deign to explain those reasons. That hour-and-fifteen-minute delay, by the way, is about twice the time required for an I.C.B.M. to travel from the Soviet Union to major targets in the United States. It is difficult to believe that this decision was made by men who love, respect and understand news.

So far I have been dealing largely with the deficit side of the ledger, and the items could be expanded. But I have said, and I believe, that potentially, we have in this country a free enterprise system of radio and television which is superior to any other. But to achieve its promise, it must be both free and enterprising. There is no suggestion here that networks or individual stations should operate as philanthropies. But I can find nothing in the Bill of Rights or the Communications Act which says that they must increase their net profits each year, lest the republic collapse. I do not suggest that news and information should be subsidized by foundations or private subscriptions. I am aware that the networks have expended, and are expending very considerable sums of money on public affairs programs from which they cannot hope to receive any financial reward. I have had the privilege at C.B.S. of presiding over a considerable

number of such programs. I testify, and am able to stand here and say that I have never had a program turned down by my superiors because of the money it would cost.

But we all know that you cannot reach the potential maximum audience in marginal time, with a sustaining program. This is so because so many stations on the network - any network - will decline to carry it. Every licensee who applies for a grant to operate in the public interest, convenience and necessity, makes certain promises as to what he will do in terms of program content. Many recipients of licenses have, in blunt language, welshed on those promises. The money-making machine somehow blunts their memories. The only remedy for this is closer inspection and punitive action by the F.C.C. But in the view of many this would come perilously close to supervision of program content by a Federal agency.

So it seems that we cannot rely on philanthropic support or Foundation subsidies, we cannot follow the "sustaining route", the networks cannot pay all the freight, and the F.C.C. cannot or will not discipline those who abuse the facilities that belong to the public.

What, then, is the answer? Do we merely stay in our comfortable nests, concluding that the obligation of these instruments has been discharged when

we work at the job of informing the public for a minimum of time? Or do we believe that that the preservation of the republic is a seven-day-a-week job, demanding more awareness, better skills, and more perseverance than we have yet contemplated.

I am frightened by the imbalance, the constant striving to reach the largest possible audience for everything; by the absence of a sustained study of the state of the nation. Heywood Broun once said: "No body politic is healthy until it begins to itch". I would like television to produce some itching pills rather than this endless outpouring of tranquilizers. It can be done. Maybe it won't be, but it could. Let us not shoot the wrong piano player. Do not be deluded into believing that the titular heads of the networks control what appears on their networks. They all have better taste. All are responsible to stockholders, and in my experience all are honorable men. But they must schedule what they can sell in the public market. And this brings us to the nub of the question. In one sense it rather revolves around the phrase heard frequently along Madison Avenue: "The Corporate Image". I am not precisely sure what this phrase means, but I would imagine that it reflects a desire on the part of the corporations who pay the advertising bills, to have the public imagine,

or believe, that they are not merely bodies with no souls, panting in pursuit of elusive dollars. They would like us to believe that they can distinguish between the public good and the private or corporate gain. So the question is this: Are the big corporations who pay the freight for radio and television programs wise to use that time exclusively for the sale of goods and services? Is it in their own interest and that of the stockholders so to do? The sponsor of an hour's television program is not buying merely the six minutes devoted to his commercial message. He is determining, within broad limits, the sum total of the impact of the entire hour. If he always, invariably, reaches for the largest possible audience than this process of insulation, of escape from reality, will continue to be massively financed, and its apologists will continue to make winsome speeches about giving the public what it wants, or "letting the public decide."

I refuse to believe that the presidents and chairmen of the boards of these big corporations want their "corporate image" to consist exclusively of a solemn voice in an echo chamber, or a pretty girl opening the door of a refrigerator, or a horse that talks. They want something better, and on occasion some of them have demonstrated it. But most of the men whose legal and moral responsibility it is to spend the stockholders' money for

advertising, are removed from the realities of the mass media by five, six, or a dozen contraceptive layers of vice presidents, public relations counsel and advertising agencies. Their business is to sell goods, and the competition is pretty tough.

But this nation is now in competition with malignant forces of evil who are using every instrument at their command to empty the minds of their subjects, and fill those minds with slogans, determination, and faith in the future. If we go on as we are, we are protecting the mind of the American public from any real contact with the menacing world that squeezes in upon us. We are engaged in a great experiment to discover whether a free public opinion can devise and direct methods of managing the affairs of the nation. We may fail. But we are handicapping ourselves needlessly.

Let us have a little competition. Not only in selling soap, cigarettes and automobiles, but in informing a troubled, apprehensive but receptive public. Why should not each of the twenty or thirty big corporations which dominate radio and television, decide that they will give up one or two of their regularly scheduled programs each year, turn the time over to the networks, and say in effect: "This is a tiny tithe, just a little bit of our profits. On this particular night we aren't going to

try to sell cigarettes or automobiles; this is merely a gesture to indicate our belief in the importance of ideas." The networks should, and I think would, pay for the cost of producing the program. The advertiser, the sponsor, would get name credit, but would have nothing to do with the content of the program. Would this blemish the corporate image? Would the stockholders object? I think not. For if the premise upon which our pluralistic society rests - which as I understand it is, that if the people are given sufficient undiluted information, they will then somehow, even after long, sober second thoughts reach the right decision. If that premise is wrong, then not only the corporate image but the corporations are done for.

There used to be an old phrase in this country, employed when someone talked too much. It was: "Go hire a hall". Under this proposal the sponsor would have hired the hall; he has bought the time; the local station operator, no matter how indifferent, is going to carry the program - he has to. Then it's up to the networks to fill the hall. I am not here talking about editorializing, but about straightaway exposition as direct, unadorned and impartial, as fallible human beings can make it. Just once in a while let us exalt the importance of ideas and information. Let us dream to the extent of saying that on a given Sunday night the time normally occupied by Ed

Sullivan is given over to a clinical survey of the state of American education, and a week or two later the time normally used by Steve Allen is devoted to a thorough-going study of American policy in the Middle East. Would the corporate image of their respective sponsors be damaged? Would the stockholders rise up in their wrath and complain? Would anything happen other than that a few million people would have received a little illumination on subjects that may well determine the future of this country, and therefore the future of the corporations? This method would also provide real competition between the networks as to which could outdo the others in the palatable presentation of information. It would provide an outlet for the young men of skill, and there are some even of dedication, who would like to do something other than devise methods of insulating while selling.

There may be other and simpler methods of utilizing these instruments of radio and television in the interests of a free society. But I know of none that could be so easily accomplished inside the framework of the existing commercial system. I don't know how you would measure the success or failure of a given program. And it would be hard to prove the magnitude of the benefit accruing to the corporation which gave up one night of a variety or quiz show in order that the network might marshal its skills to do a thorough-going job on.

a thorough-going job on the present status of NATO, or plans for controlling nuclear tests. But I would reckon that the president, and indeed the majority of shareholders of the corporation who sponsored such a venture would feel just a little bit better about the corporation and the country.

It may be that the present system, with no modifications and no experiments, can survive. Perhaps the money-making machine has some kind of built-in perpetual motion, but I do not think so. To a very considerable extent the media of mass communications in a given country reflects the political, economic and social climate in which it flourishes. That is the reason ours differs from the British and French, or the Russian and Chinese. We are currently wealthy, fat, comfortable and complacent. We have currently a built-in allergy to unpleasant or disturbing information. Our mass media reflect this. But unless we get up off our fat surpluses and recognize that television in the main is being used to distract, delude, amuse and insulate us, then television and those who finance it, those who look at it and those who work at it, may see a totally different picture too late.

I do not advocate that we turn television into a twenty-seven-inch wailing wall, where long-hairs constantly moan about the state of our culture

and our defense. But I would just like to see it reflect occasionally - the hard, unyielding realities of the world in which we live. I would like to see it done inside the existing framework, and I would like to see the doing of it redound to the credit of those who finance and program it. Measure the results by Neilsen, Trendex or Silex - it doesn't matter, the main thing is to try. The responsibility can be easily placed, in spite of all the mouthings about giving the public what it wants. It rests on big business, and on big television, and it rests at the top. Responsibility is not something that can be assigned or delegated. And it promises its own reward: good business and good television.

Perhaps no one will do anything about it. I have ventured to outline it against a background of criticism that may have been too harsh, only because I could think of nothing better.

Someone once said - I think it was Max Eastman - that: "That publisher serves his advertiser best who best serves his readers." I cannot believe that radio and television, or the corporations that finance the programs, are serving well or truly their viewers or listeners, or themselves.

I began by saying that our history will be what we make it. If we go on as we are, then history will take its revenge, and retribution will

not limp in catching up with us.

We are to a large extent an imitative society. If one or two or three corporations would undertake to devote just a small fraction of their advertising appropriation along the lines that I have suggested, the procedure would grow by contagion, the economic burden would be bearable, and there might ensue a most exciting adventure - exposure to ideas, and the bringing of reality into the homes of the nation.

To those who say: People wouldn't look, they wouldn't be interested, they're too complacent, indifferent and insulated - I can only reply: There is, in one reporter's opinion, considerable evidence against that contention. But even if they are right, what have they got to lose? Because if they are right, and this instrument is good for nothing but to entertain, amuse and insulate, then the tube is flickering now and we will soon see that the whole struggle is lost.

This instrument can teach, it can illuminate; yes, and it can even inspire. But it can do so only to the extent that humans are determined to use it to those ends. Otherwise it is merely wires and lights in a box. There is a great and perhaps decisive battle to be fought against ignorance, intolerance and indifference. This weapon of television could be useful.

Stonewall Jackson, who knew something about the use of weapons, is reported to have said: "When war comes, you must draw the sword and throw away the scabbard." The trouble with television is that it is rusting in the scabbard - during a battle for survival.

October 15, 1958

Dear Mr. Lang:

Here is a copy of Mr. Murrow's speech requested by Mr. John Aspinwall. It will be delivered in Chicago at approximately 9:00 p.m. tonight.

Sincerely,

KAY CAMPBELL
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT

Mr. Andrew Lang
Radio News Department
Associated Press
50 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

mcc

October 13, 1958

Dear Bill:

Herewith the copies you requested. I assume the release time will be around 9:00 p.m.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

KAY CAMPBELL

Mr. Bill Garry
WBBM - TV
630 N. McClurg Court
Chicago, Illinois

October 13, 1958

Dear John:

Here is the copy you requested. It is to be done in Chicago on Wednesday of this week at about 9:00 p.m.

As ever yours,

Mr. John Crosby
230 West 41 Street
New York, New York

October 13, 1958

Dear George:

Here is the copy you requested. It is to be done in Chicago on Wednesday of this week at about 9:00 p.m.

As ever yours,

Mr. George Rosen
154 West 46 Street
New York, N. Y.

October 13, 1958

Dear Elmo:

Here is the copy you requested. It is to be done in Chicago on Wednesday of this week at about 9:00 p.m.

As ever yours,

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, New York

Schechter 9.9

March 19, 1958

Dear Abe:

Thanks for your gracious note. I remember that broadcast very well indeed.

Believe it or not, it gave me more satisfaction than many I did myself.

Some week end when you are driving near Pawling, stop in and have a drink. I can offer you a wide assortment.

As ever yours,

Mr. A.A. Schechter
580 Fifth Avenue
New York 36, New York

fc

A. A. SCHECHTER
580 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 36, N. Y.

March 10, 1958

Dear Ed:

As you approach your 20th anniversary this week, my sincere and heartiest congratulations at having lived through this period without having accumulated dents and fractures.

You still have a small credit with me for pulling me out of a hole in London when my man wasn't there, and you graciously looked around to pick up a substitute so that your rival network didn't have dead air.

That part of your character is one of the reasons for your great success.

Sincerely,

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
Columbia Broadcasting System
485 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Steele, R. N.

Puget Sound Oyster Growers

Associated for the prevention of Industrial Pollution

ROOM 4, FERRY DOCK
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Feb. 20, 1958

Mr. Edward R. Murrow
580 Park Ave
New York 21, New York

Dear Mr. Murrow;

Over the years we have heard your programs and considered them among the finest. I would certainly say that you speak for the people.

Recently the people of Blanchard, Washington, a small American Community wrote their governor in protest to the lack of fair play,in reqiring all Industries in the State of Washington to live by the Pollution Law exceptb the pulp mills. The Sate of Washington now produces more pulp than any other State in the Union, and we are growing each year. Refineries of three of the major oil companies are located here and more are building each year. They have been required to comply with very strict enforcement, as are we the people, but the pulp mills go on destroying our Natural resources.

I write to you now offering this as a news item. I do not know if you can make use of this as a story, but we cannot overlook any opportunity. If you can and wish more material, I would be happy to fill you in with all of the background material. There is a new organization in our State "Citizens for Clean Water", that boasts over 20,000 members,that is actively fighting for this same cause. If you are interested in this group, their offices are 407 Lloyd Building, Seattle.

As to my personal interest, I am an oyster farmer. My father started in oyster farming in Olympia in 1902 and in Samish Bay in 1922. I have seen our business decline over the past 15 years as the pulp mills grew. We are operating on a salvage basis today with no clams on our land, no more smelt runs, and the salmon on a decline. Our natural resources are fast declining and our people must look for another livelihood.

Can you help us?

Vary truly yours,

R. N. Steele
Rock Point Oyster Co.

A Perfect Gift for a Friend who Appreciates
Indian Crafts and Indian Culture

CEREMONIAL MAGAZINE

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Supplement To

1958 Ceremonial Magazine

Schedule of Evening Dances

Thursday August 14, 1958

Band Concert—7:30 (Zuni Tribal Band)
Lighting of Ceremonial Fires (Navajo)
Review of Performers (All Tribes)
National Anthem (Zuni Tribal Band)
Blessing (Navajo Medicine Man)
Riding Song (Navajo)
Hoop Dance (Taos)
Basket Dance (San Juan)
Blackfeet Dance (Kiowa)
Braiding-the-Belt Dance (San Ildefonso)
Eagle Dance (Whitecloud Jemez)
Song of Water Carriers (Zuni Maidens)
Hand Game (Sioux)
Dancing Feather (Navajo)
Parrot Dance (Cochiti)
Fire Dance (Navajo)
Quetzalcoatl Dance (Aztec)
Banner Dance (Picuris)
Crown Dance (Apache)
Thunderbird Dance (Tesuque)
Yeibeichai (Navajo)
Buffalo Dance (Jemez)
Turkey Dance (Zuni)
Dance (Treck Lip)
Butterfly Dance (Hopi)
Merrymaker's Dance (Yakima)
Grand Exit (All Tribes)

Friday August 15, 1958

Band Concert—7:30 (Navajo Tribal Band)
Lighting of Ceremonial Fires (Navajo)
Review of Performers (All Tribes)
National Anthem (Navajo Tribal Band)
Blessing (Navajo Medicine Man)
Riding Song (Navajo)
Courtship Dance (Yakima)
Night Bird Dance (Zuni)
Fire Ritual Dance (Aztec)
Buffalo Dance (Hopi)
Hoop Dance (Laguna)
Comanche Dance (San Ildefonso)
Eagle Dance (Taos)
Yeibeichai (Navajo)
Straight Arm Dance (Picuris)
Squat Dance (Kiowa)
Dancing Feather (Navajo)
Song of Water Carriers (Zuni Maidens)
Kettle Dance (Sioux)
Fire Dance (Navajo)
Rainbow Dance (Jemez)
Crown Dance (Apache)
Dance (Treck Lip)
Deer Dance (San Juan)
Corn Dance (Cochiti)
Old Shield Dance (Whitecloud Jemez)
Scalp Dance (Tesuque)
Grand Exit (All Tribes)

Saturday August 16, 1958

Band Concert—7:30 (Santa Fe Indian Band)
Lighting of Ceremonial Fires (Navajo)
Review of Performers (All Tribes)
National Anthem (Santa Fe Indian Band)
Blessing (Navajo Medicine Man)
Riding Song (Navajo)
Hunting Song (Hopi)
Eagle Dance (San Ildefonso)
Sneak-up Dance (Sioux)
Song of Water Carriers (Zuni Maidens)
Crow Dance (Jemez)
Dancing Feather (Navajo)
Sun Dance (Tesuque)
Slow and Fast War Dance (Kiowa)
Fire Dance (Navajo)
Thunderbird Dance (Yakima)
Turtle Dance (Cochiti)
Hoop Dance (Whitecloud Jemez)
Yeibeichai (Navajo)
Tonatihu Dance (Aztec)
Horsetail Dance (Taos)
Bow and Arrow Dance (San Juan)
Deer Dance (Picuris)
Squash Blossom (Zuni)
Dance (Treck Lip)
Grand Exit (All Tribes)

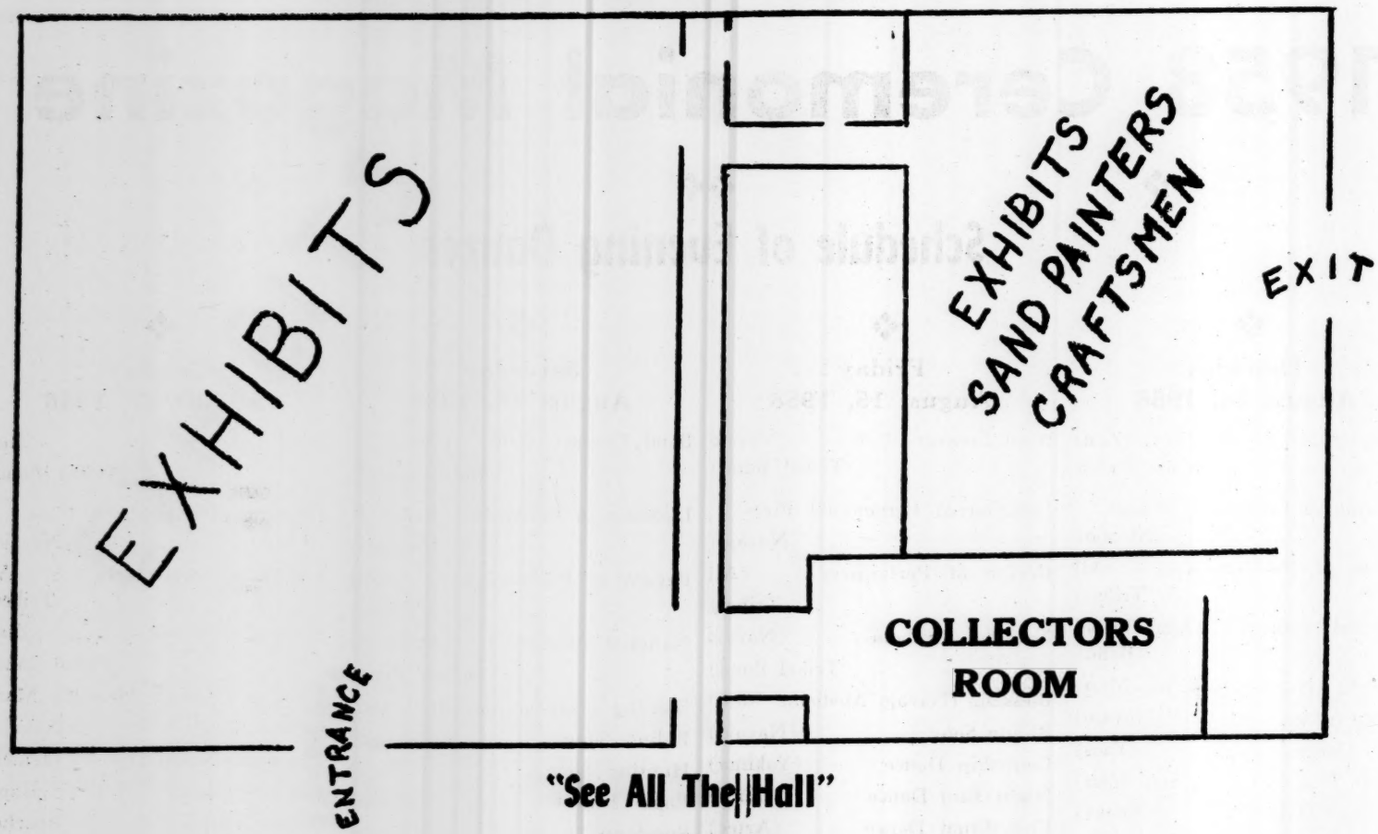
Sunday August 17, 1958

Band Concert—7:30 (Zuni Tribal Band)
Lighting of Ceremonial Fires (Navajo)
Review of Performers (All Tribes)
National Anthem (Zuni Tribal Band)
Blessing (Navajo Medicine Man)
Riding Song (Navajo)
Mountain Sheep Dance (Jemez)
Rainbow Dance (Hopi)
Crown Dance (Apache)
Snowbird Dance (San Ildefonso)
Hoop Dance (Laguna)
Willow Dance (Yakima)
Song of Water Carriers (Zuni Maidens)
Round Dance (Sioux)
Dancing Feather (Navajo)
Spring Dance (Picuris)
Yellow Corn Dance (San Juan)
Fire Dance (Navajo)
Eagle Dance (Taos)
Bow and Arrow Dance (Cochiti)
Xochiquetzal Dance (Aztec)
Yeibeichai (Navajo)
Harvest Dance (Zuni)
Shield Dance (Kiowa)
Dance (Treck Lip)
Comic Skunk Dance (Whitecloud Jemez)
Thunderbird Dance (Tesuque)
Grand Exit (All Tribes)

Additional performers who appear on each night's program and any changes will be announced.

Evening Dance Announcer . . . . . Merle H. Tucker, Director, N. M. State Tourist Bureau

1958 Ceremonial Exhibit Hall



"See All The Hall"

EXHIBITORS

FRED BEAVER, Painter, Box 269, Ardmore, Okla.
BILL BERNER, Dealer, 1531 E. San Juan, Phoenix, Ariz.
BLUE CORN, Potter, Rt. 1, Box 316, Santa Fe, N. M.
VICTOR COOCHWYTEWA, Silversmith, Second Mesa, Ariz.
RUSSELL FOUTZ, Dealer, The Indian Room, Farmington, N.M.
GALLUP INDIAN TRADING CO., Dealer, 300 West Warren, Gallup, N. M.
F. H. GRISWOLD, Dealer, 1704 Red Rock Drive, Gallup, N. M.
HOPI ARTS & CRAFTS GUILD, Tribal Guild, Oraibi, Ariz.
E. P. HUNT, Dealer, Tahoe City, California
WOLF ROBE HUNT, Dealer, 5527 E. Street, Tulsa, Okla.
INDIAN ARTS & CRAFTS BOARD, Department of Interior, Washington, D. C.
ANDREW T. JOHNSON, Dealer, 3313 Wilway Drive NE, Albuquerque, N. M.
KACHINA HOUSE, Dealer, Springerville, Arizona
KAIBAB BUCKSKIN, Dealer, 271 North Stone, Tucson, Ariz.
WILLARD LEIGHTON, Trader, Two Grey Hills Trading Post, Tohatchi, N. M.
LUCY LEWIS, Potter, Acoma Pueblo.
VIETS LOMAHAFTEWA, Kachina-maker, Second Mesa, Ariz.
LUTHEY'S NAVAJO INDIAN CRAFT, Dealer, 309 Romero NW, Old Albuquerque, N. M.
MAXWELL & SON, Dealer, Box 224, Farmington, N. M.
STANLEY C. MITCHELL, Dealer, 196 S. 27th, Las Vegas, Nev.
FLORENCE NARANJO, Potter, San Ildefonso Pueblo, Santa Fe, New Mexico
NAVAJO ARTS & CRAFTS GUILD, Tribal Guild, Window Rock, Arizona
N. B. MOORE, Dealer, Mohonk Lodge, Box 479, Clinton, Okla.
NORTHERN PLAINS INDIAN CRAFTS ASSN., Tribal Guild, 804 North 29th St., Billings, Montana
PACKARD'S CHAPARRAL TRADING POST, Dealer, Shelby & Water Streets, Santa Fe, New Mexico
EMIL POOLEY, Kachina-maker, Joseph City, Arizona
POPOVI DA, Potter, San Ildefonso Pueblo, Santa Fe, N. M.
PAT READ, Dealer, Box 1097, Albuquerque, New Mexico
PERCY SANDY, Painter, Taos Pueblo, Taos, New Mexico
SANTA FE INDIAN SCHOOL, Santa Fe, New Mexico
PAUL SAUFKIE, Second Mesa, Arizona
HALE SECAKUKU, Kachina-maker, Second Mesa, Arizona
BEN SETIMA, Dealer, Winslow, Arizona
SIOUX CRAFT CENTER, Tribal Guild, Halley Park, Rapid City, South Dakota
LEGORIA TAFOYA, Potter, Espanola, New Mexico
REESE VAUGHN, Dealer, 20th & Camelback Road, Phoenix, Arizona
PABLITA VELARDE, Painter, 805 Adams NE, Albuquerque, New Mexico
FRED WILSON, Dealer, 1930 East Camelback Road, Phoenix, Arizona
M. L. WOODARD, Dealer, 220 West Coal, Gallup, N. M.

EXHIBIT HALL MANAGER ..... FRED EISEMAN JR.
ASST. EXHIBIT HALL MANAGER ..... HERBERT WALSH
COLLECTORS ROOM ..... MRS. CHARLES WILLIAMS

JUDGES

JOHN ADAIR, Author, Box 6, Sandoval, N. M., Silvercraft-Silversmithing.

TOM BAHTI, Colector and Dealer, Tucson, Ariz., Silvercraft-Silversmithing, Kachinas.

MRS. E. BOYD, Curator, Spanish-Colonial Arts Assn., Santa Fe, New Mexico, Pueblo Weaving.

MR. and MRS. CHARLES COLE, Leonia, N. J. Designers, Lecturers, and Dealers, Silvercraft-Lapidary.

DR. BERTHA DUTTON, Associate Curator, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, N. M., Pottery.

DOROTHY DUNN, Teacher and Author, School of American Research, Museum of New Mexico, Santa Fe, N.M., Paintings.

CLARK FIELD, Collector, Tulsa, Okla., Baskets.

JOHN KIRK JR., Dealer, Albuquerque, N. M., Navajo Weaving.

CLAY LOCKETT, Dealer, Tucson, Ariz., Navajo Weaving.

JAMES PONCHO, Leatherworker, Gallup, N.M., Leathercraft.

PAT READ, Dealer and Collector, Albuquerque, New Mexico, Beadwork.

BRICE SEWELL, Dealer, Taos, N. M., Silvercraft-Lapidary.

WINFIELD SCOTT WELLINGTON, Director Department of Decorative Art, University of California, Berkeley, California., Miscellaneous.

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JUDGE and MRS. WILLIAM DENMAN—San Francisco, California, $175.00, Paintings best recording the Indian tradition.

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MRS. ANN McCORMICK—Scottsdale, Arizona, $25.00, Pottery.

WILDBERG BROS., SMELTING & REFINING—Los Angeles, California, $25.00, Silversmithing.

VIRGINIA DONEGHY—Minneapolis, Minnesota, $25.00, Silversmithing.

AMERICAN GEM CO. BILL WILSON—Tonopah, Nevada, $50.00, Silversmithing, Lapidary.

MR. and MRS. CHARLES de Y. ELKUS JR.—San Francisco, California, in honor of Mr. and Mrs. Charles de Y. Elkus Sr., $50.00, Baskets, Lapidary.

MR. and MRS. CHARLES de Y. ELKUS SR.—San Francisco, California, $50.00, Paintings.

GALLUP INDIAN TRADING CO.—Gallup, New Mexico, $50.00 Lapidary.

THE RANCH KITCHEN—Gallup, New Mexico, $25.00, Lapidary.

TOBE TURPEN INDIAN TRADING POST—Gallup, New Mexico, $25.00, Best Exhibit Hall booth decoration

TOBE TURPEN SR.—Gallup, New Mexico, $25.00, Silversmithing.

INDIAN JEWELERS SUPPLY CO.—Gallup, New Mexico, $25.00, Silversmithing.

E. A. ADAMS & SON—Providence, Rhode Island, $25.00, Lapidary.

HAROLD I. BOWMAN & SONS—Jacob Lake, Arizona, $20.00, Kachinas.

SEN. CLINTON P. ANDERSON—Washington, D. C., $20.00, Miscellaneous.

VICTOR H. WALKER—Estes Park, Colorado, $15.00, Pottery.

LITTLE BRIDGE TRADING POST—Phoenix, Arizona, $15.00, Baskets.

KATHERINE FITCH—Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, $10.00, Lapidary.

ENCHANTED MESA TRADING POST—Albuquerque, New Mexico, $10.00, Lapidary.

DELBERT POOLE—Ogden, Utah, $10.00, Beadwork.

LLOYD GIBSON & SONS FUR FARM—Delta, Colorado, $10.00, Navajo Weaving.

CEREMONIAL SEMINARS

EL MORRO THEATRE **DOWNTOWN GALLUP**

—:—

FRIDAY, AUGUST 15, 11 A. M.

SPEAKER

RENE d' HARNONCOURT

Director, Museum of Modern Art, New York City
Chairman, Indian Arts & Crafts Board

—:—

SATURDAY, AUGUST 16, 11 A. M.

SPEAKER

DR. JAMES R. SHAW

Assistant Surgeon General, Director, Division of Indian Health
United States Public Health Service

Questions and Answers

ABOUT INDIAN-AMERICANS OF THE SOUTHWEST

EXHIBIT HALL BASEMENT **CEREMONIAL GROUNDS**

Thursday, August 14

1:30 P. M. Abe Zuni, Leader

5:00 P. .M. John Keliiaa, Leader

6:45 P. M. Herbert Blatchford, Leader.

Friday, August 15

1:30 P. M. Indian Children and Their Outlook, Mrs. Harry Nieto, Principal - Teacher Cheechilgeetho Indian School, Leader.

5:00 P. M. Abe Zuni, Leader

6:45 P. M. Herbert Blatchford, Leader

Saturday, August 16

1:30 P. M. Indian Student Outlook, 1958—Student Panel Joe Herrera, Leader; William Ondelacy, Vivian Arviso, Leo Watchman.

5:00 P. M. Charles Minton, Exec. Sec. N. M. Assn. on Indian Affairs, Leader

6:45 P. M. Herbert Blatchford, Leader

Sunday, August 17

1:30 P. M. John Keliiaa, Leader

5:00 P. M. Abe Zuni, Leader

6:45 P. M. Herbert Blatchford, Leader

Movies, colored slides, pictorial materials, pamphlets and displays of educational materials will be used to supplement the program. A standby program will be in operation during most of the day between lectures and scheduled movies.

The Question and Answer Program has been arranged and supervised by the staff of the Gallup Indian Community Center

PUBLIC WELCOME **FREE ADMISSION**

Murrow
British Assoc Lect
Granada Lecture

February 3, 1960

LT
MURROW
ZION HOTEL
HAIFA

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REGARDS

CAMPBELL

514-70

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Gerald Barry

Directors: Sidney L. Bernstein, Cecil G. Bernstein, Maurice King, Victor Peers, John S. E. Todd

GRANADA TV NETWORK LIMITED

36 GOLDEN SQUARE LONDON W1

GRANADA LONDON TELEX

REGENT 8080

September 2, 1959.

Dear Miss Campbell,

Sir Gerald is attending a conference in York, so I am acknowledging the arrival of Mr. Murrow's Script for his Granada Lecture. Thank you very much for this.

We shall look forward to hearing from you when you arrive in London.

Yours sincerely,

Ann Whittles.

Private Secretary to Sir Gerald Barry.

Miss Kay Campbell,
Secretary to Dr. Edward R. Murrow,
485 Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.
U.S.A.

Gerald Barry

August 28, 1959

Dear Sir Gerald:

Here is the revised draft of Mr. Murrow's lecture. He has taken a copy with him to Sweden and will undoubtedly make further revisions before arriving in London on or about October 1st.

We are shipping to you some film clips, which may be used to illustrate certain points made in the lecture.

I shall probably be arriving in London shortly before Mr. Murrow gets there and will contact you.

Sincerely yours,

Sir Gerald Barry
Granada TV Network Limited
36 Golden Square
London W. 1
England

gw
att.

August 24, 1959

SIR GERALD BARRY
GRANADA LONDON TELEX

THANKS LETTER AUGUST 19 SAILING SS GRIPSHOLM TOMORROW

REACHABLE GRAND HOTEL STOCKHOLM SEPTEMBER 5 THROUGH 9

STOP HOPE ARRIVE LONDON FIRST WEEK OCTOBER BUT UNCERTAIN

REGARDS

MURROW

Gerald Barry

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WESTERN UNION

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W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

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LT SECRETARY ED MURROW=

485 MADISON AVENUE NYC22==

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BARRY==

(485 22)•=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

Gerald Barry

OVERSEAS

August 6, 1959

to:

SIR GERALD BARRY
GRANADA TELEX LONDON

HOPE YOU RECEIVED ROUGH OUTLINE OCTOBER SPEECH AIRMAILED FRIDAY JULY 31.

REGARDS.

KAY CAMPBELL

514-70

Gerald Barry

OVERSEAS July 30, 1959

to:

SIR GERALD BARRY
GRANADA LONDON TELEX

TITLE GRANADA LECTURE OCTOBER 19 IS TELEVISION AND POLITICS. REGARDS.

ED MURROW

514-70

WESTERN UNION
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Gerald Barry

Directors: Sidney L. Bernstein, Cecil G. Bernstein, Maurice King, Victor Peers, John S. E. Todd

GRANADA TV NETWORK LIMITED

36 GOLDEN SQUARE LONDON W1

GRANADA LONDON TELEX

REGENT 8080

24th July, 1959.

Dear Ed,

Thank you for your note of 20th July. All right - but the sooner the better. I shall, by the way, be away on leave between August 1st and 10th, and in Manchester on the latter date.

Don't be alarmed about Guildhall. You know as well as I, it is the place where bumbling Lord Mayors make the worst speeches in the English language, so the field is yours.

Yours ever,

Gerald

(Gerald Barry).

Dr. Edward R. Murrow,
485, Madison Avenue,
New York, 22, N.Y.

July 20, 1959

Dear Gerald:

I had hoped before now to send you at least a rough outline of my effort, but I seem to have been working harder since I took leave than I did before. I hope to give you an idea about it some time in the next two or three weeks. The idea of speaking in the Guildhall fills me with sheer terror.

My tendency at the moment is to think that we should do it without film clips or visual aids, although I am aware that an hour of straight talk is pretty tough to take, particularly on television. Once I get an idea of where I am going, if I ever do, maybe we can talk about it on the 'phone. I will give you a call.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Sir Gerald Barry
Granada TV Network Limited
36 Golden Square
London W. 1

Directors: Sidney L. Bernstein, Cecil G. Bernstein, Maurice King, Victor Peers, John S. E. Todd

Xlroof - 1958-59 Engagements -

GRANADA TV NETWORK LIMITED

36 GOLDEN SQUARE LONDON W1
GRANADA LONDON TELEX
REGENT 8080

3rd July, 1959.

My dear Ed,

I am delighted that Monday, 19th October suits. All is now set. I shall look forward to hearing from you in a couple of weeks with a rough synopsis of your lecture and information about visual aides.

I look forward to seeing you at the beginning of October. I hope Janet and Casey may be with you.

Kindest regards to you all,

Yours ever,

Gerald

Dr. Edward R. Murrow,
485, Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.

Directors: Sidney L. Bernstein, Cecil G. Bernstein, Maurice King, Victor Peers, John S. E. Todd

GRANADA TV NETWORK LIMITED

36 GOLDEN SQUARE LONDON W1

GRANADA LONDON TELEX

REGENT 8080

September 3, 1959.

Dear Miss Campbell,

The films for Mr. Murrow's Lecture at Guildhall arrived soon after the script. Thank you very much for sending them so promptly.

Yours sincerely,

Ann Whittles.

Private Secretary to Sir Gerald Barry.

Miss Kathryn Campbell,
Secretary to Dr. Edward R. Murrow,
485, Madison Avenue,
New York 22, N.Y.,
U.S.A.

Granada Speech
London, 1954

TELEVISION AND POLITICS

by Edward R. Murrow

You have done me much honor by inviting me here tonight, and "Beggar that I am, I am even poor in thanks." The wounded walls of this venerable building retain the echoes of words that have lifted men's hearts and inspired them to a sense of duty, and to deeds which will live in men's minds so long as the English language endures.

To stand here is a frightening experience for one who is accustomed to face only a camera or a microphone, for there is no case upon the record of either of those instruments yawning, falling asleep, or discoursing with its neighbor. You are a captive audience. We are met in a city where this reporter left all of his youth and much of his heart.

I am to try to talk to you about television and politics. Both professions involve curious contradictions, and when combined represent a dangerous mixture. Being without substantial credentials in either area, being without political affiliation or technical skill - knowing only that the long waves are short and the short waves are long - I take refuge in a remark of my fellow-countryman who said: "It is better to know less than to know so much that ain't so". So much that we think we know about both television and politics ain't so. My own attitude towards politicians has ranged from sympathy to affection, although as a political reporter I have found the late Vice President Barkley's advice to be sound. He counselled: "A political reporter must be agin everybody, some".

Your political storm has passed - ours is approaching; no doubt the results will not be as bad as they seem. For we both believe in progress by persuasion,

and we both believe with Dean Inge that even though counting heads is not an ideal way to govern, at least it is better than breaking them.

I must speak primarily of politics and television in terms of my own country, hoping that I am sufficiently far from home to pose as an expert.

But duty demands that I first deliver a message from my grandfather. He was an officer on Stonewall Jackson's staff during our Civil War. In my youth, he was a venerable, bearded old gentleman, many times wounded and entirely unreconstructed. It may be that he was not as venerable as he appeared to me, but as you will know from our recent history, we are more inclined to venerate, to attribute special qualities to old soldiers, than are you. My grandfather once said: "If you ever get to that England country, look carefully; they must be right stout people. Why, they tell me that during the war there was a place called Manchester where they wove cotton, and their young 'uns were hungry. And yet when we managed to get a smidgeon of cotton cut through the northern blockade, they wouldn't weave it. Now," he said, "as I understand it, they weren't against us, they were just against slavery, and they let their young 'uns go hungry for a principle. They helped to whip us, no doubt about that. But they must be real stout folks." The old man's grandson had the high honor of seeing their grandchildren demonstrate that they were as stout and steady, as grim and gay as their ancestors. No one who lived among you during those days, when most men save Britons despaired of Britain's life, will ever be quite the same.

I remember driving in the country behind Dover in the late autumn of 1940, with Gerald Barry. All road signs had been removed. The Germans were expected on the beaches the first foggy morning. We were lost. Mr. Barry asked a farmer in a field for directions. The farmer asked, as he had been instructed to do by

the wireless, for our identity cards. We presented them, received clear and concise directions, and then thinking to have a little fun with the farmer, Mr. Barry said: "And where is your identity card?" The farmer laughed and said: "No fear, I know who I be." You all knew who you were, where you came from, and whither you were going. You didn't talk much about it, but to me it seemed you were engaged in the business of being worthy of your ancestors and digging new root-holds in freedom for your descendants.

Tonight we are to examine politics and television, and it must be done in the light of perpetual crisis. Having undertaken massive research on this subject, you will excuse me for not saying that the television camera has revolutionized politics, and that it is an all-seeing X-ray eye which will make it inevitable that the voter will sort out the charlatan from the statesman. Nor shall I remind you that in my country we have more television sets than bathtubs. For candor compels me to confess that I do not know what this fascinating statistic proves. Television has been variously described as the opiate of the people, a group of midgets in a black box, and the most powerful instrument of communication yet devised. It was to "revolutionize politics" but it hasn't. I do know of one Senator who was badly beaten in the last election who is entirely convinced that the major reason for his defeat was that he so far forgot himself as to correct his wife's pronunciation during a television program. He was inundated with furious letters from female viewers, and is persuaded that they voted him out of office. The moral of this story probably is that a penalty must be paid for correcting one's wife in front of a television camera or anywhere else.

There is also the case of a politician who ran for public office four times, always assisted by his wife. Three times he won; once he was defeated. In all

three victorious campaigns his wife was pregnant; the occasion when he went down to defeat, she wasn't. It would seem that no general law regarding television and politics can be formulated as a result of this experience.

Probably the single most effective use of television in politics occurred in my own country during the 1952 presidential campaign. General Eisenhower was the Republican nominee, having been selected after a bitter Convention battle over Senator Taft - not because he was better qualified but because leaders of the Republican Party thought he had a better chance of winning. Richard Nixon, a relatively obscure Senator from California, was the Vice Presidential candidate. The two men were campaigning in different parts of the country when it was disclosed that a group of California citizens had raised a special fund for Senator Nixon, and it amounted to approximately eighteen thousand dollars. This disclosure created a political storm equal to that produced in your country by the Zinoviev Letter. What came to be known as the 'Nixon Fund" was to be used to pay for transportation, hotel expenses, telephone tolls, Christmas cards, advertising and general publicity. When the storm broke, excited politicians of both Parties took counsel. The Democrats demanded that the Republicans jettison Nixon as their candidate. Many Republican newspapers echoed the demand. Candidate Eisenhower echoed uncertainty. Many professional Republican politicans said privately that Nixon must go or the Party would be lost. Many personal friends and political cronies urged Nixon to resign for the good of the Party. Nixon and his advisors finally decided that he should make a nation-wide television explanation. The necessary arrangements were made, and the tension and suspense mounted. Would the Senator quit or try to ride out the storm? He hadn't made up his own mind until a few hours before air time. When he faced the cameras he talked from notes, made an explanation of the fund which probably would not entirely have satisfied a

Royal Commission, said he didn't think he ought to quit because he wasn't a quitter, and "incidentally" said Nixon, "Pat is not a quitter." At this point the camera panned around to show Mrs. Nixon's profile. "After all", said the Senator, "her name was Patricia Ryan and she was born on St. Patrick's Day, and you know the Irish never quit." Nixon admitted that he had received one gift after his election to the Senate. He spoke as follows: "It was a little cocker spaniel dog - black and white spotted - and our little girl Tricia, the six-year-old, named it Checkers. And you know, the kids love that dog, and I just want to say this right now, that regardless of what they say about it we're going to keep it." Checkers was not present in the studio.

As the clock ran out,the candidate for Vice President, with tears in his eyes and voice, was saying: "Wire and write to the Republican National Committee on whether you think I should stay or get off, and whatever their decision is, I will abide."

The result was sensational - telegrams, telephone calls, came pouring in; Eisenhower and Nixon staged a reunion, posed for pictures with arms around each other; and said Eisenhower to Nixon: "You're my boy!" No Hollywood writer would have dared write such a script, but it worked. Without question, Nixon was saved by television, although any fair-minded observer would probably have to give some of the credit to his wife, the Irish and to Checkers. Still the fact remains that the climate of opinion could not have been changed so quickly had television not been available to transmit throughout the country this amazing performance, which caused many to weep, and only a few to laugh.

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin, could not play upon the human emotions with the same skill as his friend, Richard Nixon. The trail that he left

on the face of my country will not soon fade, and there may be others who will try to follow in his footsteps. His weapon was fear. He was a politically unsophisticated man with a flair for publicity; and he was powerfully aided by the silence of timid men who feared to be the subject of his unfounded accusations. He polluted the channels of communication, and every radio and television network, every newspaper and magazine publisher who did not speak out against him, contributed to his evil work and must share part of the responsibility for what he did, not only to our fellow citizens but to our self-respect. He was in a real sense the creature of the mass media. They made him. They gave nation-wide circulation to his mouthings. They defended their actions on the grounds that what he said was news, when they knew he lied. His initial appearances on television were in the role of a man whose sole desire was to oust communists from government and all responsible positions. That was his announced objective. The overwhelming majority of people undoubtedly sympathized with him. It has been said repeatedly that television caused his downfall. This is not precisely true. His prolonged exposure during the so-called Army-McCarthy Hearings, certainly did something to diminish his stature. He became something of a bore. But his downfall really stemmed from the fact that he broke the rules of the club, the United States Senate, when he began attacking the integrity, the loyalty of fellow Senators, he was censured by that body, and was finished. The timidity of television in dealing with this man when he was spreading fear throughout the land, is not something to which this art of communication can ever point with pride, nor should it be allowed to forget it.

Being aware that I am in the presence of my masters in science, politics and television, it is my purpose to contend only that the development of television is potentially more important than the development of the zipper. This may be an

unreasonably optimistic view, for we may all remember that Rutherford, who first understood nuclear transmutations, held the view - regarded as reasonable at that time - that no practical use would be found on this minor planet for nuclear energy. In this perilous present we may discover that television and politics can be blended in such a way as to produce a more informed and enlightened electorate.

The politician in my country seeks votes, affection and respect, in that order. This is not unique or surprising. His is a trying profession, for the politician must spend an inordinate amount of time with bores. He has practically no mechanism to keep them at a distance. He is even less protected than the bus driver who at least has his "No Talking" sign, or the doctor with his stethoscope. The politician of necessity leads an isolated life, so far as his colleagues are concerned, because most of them are his rivals. Many of them are men of undoubted charm, ability and incredible energy, and yet too often they lack purpose or appetite for anything beyond their own careers. With few notable exceptions, they are simply men who want to be loved. They are, by and large, not specialists but general practitioners. They require supreme confidence in their own intelligence and ability. Few among them can make an objective appraisal of ability such as Andre Gide did when he was asked by a foreigner: "Who is France's greatest poet?" And he replied: "Victor Hugo, alas!"

As professionals, politicians are hard-working, not particularly dissolute. Some even prefer success to pleasure. But when it comes to television, the politician is severely handicapped. He is trained in the art of inexactitude. His words tend to be blunt or rounded, because if they have a cutting edge they may later return to wound him.

The politician has little time for contemplation or solitude. He fears to

step off the escalator, lest others pass him by. There have been a few exceptions. Prime Minister Nehru, who may be said to have been indoctrinated, contends that all politicians would be better off for a few years in jail. Ben Gurion may retire for a spell to his kibbutz in the Negev, confident that he will be recalled. Tiberius went away for seven years before reaching the pinnacle of his power. But today most politicians do not have time even to prepare those well-rehearsed improvisations that are so effective on television. They must choose between talking at length and precisely, and probably boring their audience; or talking briefly and misleading the audience. One United States Senator attempted to establish ground rules for political performances on television by introducing a bill that would have required all politicians who wore makeup or used visual aids of any kind (referred to in the trade as "idiot cards"), to make public announcement of the fact. This proposal did not become law.

In fact there are very few laws, either in politics or in television. And this is undoubtedly a good thing, otherwise elections would be decided by those who constantly burn candles on the altar of public opinion polls. Stimson Bullitt, in his little book, "What it means to be a politician", writes: "People often resent a politician for his failure to be both delicately responsive to public wishes, and a self-sustaining leader who leads. He disappoints them if he is not at once a thistledown on the breeze and a game fish that swims upstream. Hiram Gill was elected Mayor of Seattle on a "closed town" platform. He kept his promise and was dismissed from office at the next election. He ran again on an "open town" platform, was elected, kept this promise, and was again defeated. This confused Gill, who just wanted to be Mayor. Another attitude which makes for disappointed citizens and exasperated politicians, is people's dislike of a cocksure manner, and their concurrent wish that a politician be sure he knows the

answers, since they did not elect him to doubt and ponder. They want a humble Messiah. A politician also knows that many of his constituents wish him to perform the functions of his profession, yet be above politics, where President Eisenhower tried to be, and where they think President Lincoln was. There is a common wish that he be both subservient and dignified; that he run petty errands and run them as though he were descending Sinai with tablets of stone."

In a free society, politics essentially involve the resolution of conflict. It is part of television's duty to define, illuminate and illustrate the nature of the conflict - to supply the voter with the raw material upon which informed opinion may be based. Thucydides said: "We both alike know that into the discussion of human affairs the question of justice arises only where the pressure of necessity is equal; that the strong take what they can, and the weak grant what they must." The true function of television in politics is to operate a market place in which ideas may compete on an equal footing. It is true that the voter may elect to purchase the secondrate, shopworn or shoddy idea. He may mistake a mobile countenance for an agile mind. He may vote for Profile rather than for Principle. An unruly lock of hair may be more effective than a disciplined mind. There is no way to guarantee that television will prevent the voter from being as wrong as he has been so often in the past. Television offers no guarantee that demagogues can be kept from political power. It merely provides them with wider and more intimate, more immediate circulation. I would suggest that the evidence so far indicates that television can retard or accelerate a trend in public opinion, but it cannot reverse it. The hope so fondly held by enthusiasts a few years ago, the hope that television would make certain that the voter would sort out the phony from the statesman, is not proved. I would doubt that under today's system of communication a Lincoln or a Jefferson could be nominated or elected. According

to all reports, Jefferson had a most abrasive voice, and did not suffer fools gladly. While being interviewed on some panel program he might have told a particularly obnoxious questioner just what he thought of him, and that, of course, would have been fatal. Mr. Lincoln did not move gracefully, was not a handsome man, had a wife who was no political asset, and he was a solitary man. In our present society, he probably would have been examined at an early age by a psychiatrist, received an unfavorable report, have been told his attitude toward "togetherness" was altogether wrong, and advised to enter a trade school if he could gain admittance. On the other hand, it is conceivable that Woodrow Wilson might have won his fight for the League of Nations, and thereby changed world history, had he been able to use the tools of television and radio. He was a rather pedantic persuader, and these instruments wouldn't have changed him, but they would have given his ideas wider circulation; and the efforts of those who attempted to distort those ideas, might have had less success. It is part of the brief history of television that circulation is directly related to controversy.

But it is well to bear in mind that no large section of the public demands more information or a better presentation of it. Public affairs is a form of specialization. It is <u>not</u> recreation. The public as such does not feel the call to specialize, even in its own good. On the whole, it is unenterprising - it wants its fun. By the time most people turn on the television set, the work of the day is over. There is a welcome break in drudgery. Most people, after working hours, prefer to be called away from reality, not made to face it. There is a limit upon the attention the public is willing to devote to politics. This would be true even if television fulfilled its functions to the utmost. Television by itself does not usher in the democratic millenium, and its inability to do so is not its own peculiar failure. It is due to the unwillingness of men and women, even in the

highly developed democracies of Britain and the United States, to take more trouble to govern themselves better.

Both radio and television started as novelties, not as sociological or political devices. Their social importance was not at first imagined. They cost a great deal of money to develop. The pioneers in what Americans call "the industry" were businessmen and financiers, not scholars, statesmen or politicians. They still do not put public service first, for the simple reason that in my country it must pay its way. Business success has to come first.

In a competitive society, political broadcasts must compete. Generally they don't. For example, when Secretary of State Herter returned from the Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers - a conference which had dominated the headlines and news reports for many weeks - he made a fifteen-minute report to the nation on television. It was delivered at 9 o'clock at night, was broadcast by two of the three television networks. It secured a total audience of approximately thirteen million. At the same time, the third network presented an assembly-line predictable Western, a thrilling distortion of our history called "Rifleman". According to the measurement, slightly more than twenty-two million people viewed this contribution to escapism.

In 1957, President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles delivered a half-hour report on the Summit Conference. They did a little better than Secretary of State Herter. They were competing with a bunch of "good guys" and "bad guys" in a Western epic called "Wells Fargo". The gun slingers had almost precisely the same audience as the word slingers.

In 1958, President Eisenhower spoke solo for half-an-hour to a Republican gathering. A non-politico on another network - fellow named Bat Masterson, who

wears a bowler hat and goes about bashing people over the head with a gold-headed cane, was viewed by more than twice the number of people who watched the President. And on the third network, a personable young singer named Patti Page atrracted the attention of a few million more citizens than the President.

During the 1956 Presidential campaign, the average audience for all night-time political programs was roughly sixty percent below the average audience for regular entertainment programs.

As you know, we Americans have a great fondness for facts and figures, the kind of research that involves knowing more and more about less and less. During our last presidential campaign, both major Parties began to buy the last five minutes of a popular entertainment program. They were sort of hitch-hiking with their political message at the end of a popular program. It worked pretty well, too. But this produced trouble for the entertainment program immediately following; for it seems that about fifteen percent of the people went away during that five-minute period, and they didn't come back for the following program. This was bad - bad for the networks and for the sponsor of the following show.

There isn't much evidence that the advent of television has altered traditional voting habits. In certain areas there was no television during the 1952 campaign. By 1956 the magic box had arrived, but it produced no significant change in the traditional pattern of voting.

The television viewer is not fascinated by political orations. This may be due in part to the absence of meaningful controversy. The voter isn't interested. One of our most distinguished jurists - Judge Learned Hand - has remarked: "Doubtless things might become uncomfortable enough to arouse them, but, given

reasonable opportunity for personal favors, and not too irksome control, they are content to abdicate their sovereignty and to be fleeced, if the shepherds will only shear them in their sleep."

It may be that television magnifies all the facets of personality, the defects along with the merits. This ability of television to magnify the components of personality is not necessarily pure gain. A man's weaknesses may be brought to light, which is all to the good. But that is not all that happens, because a public leader in the age of television must be popular as well as sincere. He must have a quality not considered essential in the past, that is, simplicity. A politician to be popular must not be too complicated. He must not appear to be too subtle. He must be accessible, must be able to avoid the difficult question without appearing to do so.

We may have an illustration of this in the two races between Eisenhower and Stevenson for the presidency. Both men televised well; both had the necessary modicum of histrionics. But Eisenhower was simple, while Stevenson was considerably less so. Stevenson was more deft, had greater command of language and overtone, and had much more humor. But Stevenson just plain didn't like television. He resented the tyranny of the clock, the bright lights, the makeup, everything about it; and it showed.

Eisenhower may not be at all the characteristic leader in the age of modern communications, but he proved to be much easier for the public to be sure about. There was no doubt about his personality. He was a friendly, good, kind, paternal, successful General who stood above familiar political considerations, and could be trusted because he was not complicated. Eisenhower conveyed the impression that he would like to step out of the receiving set and, in the American vernacular,

"press the flesh" - shake hands - slap the viewer on the back and say: "We're just ordinary guys but together we can get the job done."

Stevenson, on the other hand, gave the impression that things were pretty complicated and would require some hard thinking and difficult decisions.

I am not saying that Stevenson would have won if there had been no modern communication. But his gifts of oratory and political analysis, his ability to improvise sentences that would parse, his mastery of debate and the wealth of his ideas would have counted more in earlier times. Such gifts, I suspect, count more in newsprint and radio than they do on the television screen.

Simplicity communicates itself more easily than complexity in persons: and it also does when it comes to issues. And this is part of the change brought about by television. This is by no means a boon. It surely is essential to have abstruse and complex ideas simplified, so that many can understand them. But we live in an age in which intelligence may not be able to simplify truthfully. The frontiers of knowledge have been pushed back, and the more that comes to be known, the less is understood, or perhaps I should say completely understood, even by the wisest. And since politics and television, more than ever before, have to take account of much of this abstruse and complicated knowledge, the art of self-government is not going to be perfected by the process of simplification alone. Indeed, looking ahead to the time when human destinies are to be determined by the uses or abuses of new sources of almost unlimited physical power, one may well ask if democracy will be able to develop the competence to deal with these complexities. If so, it must be through a broadening of education and a use of communications not yet realized, or perhaps even conceived.

I would suggest that the art of government in the near future, if it is to

improve or indeed survive, must develop along one of two approaches: either through a society in which politics - the whole art of governing - is left exclusively to the wise, or through an intellectually improved democracy. A society of the wise does not need television. Democracy, I suggest, cannot do its work well without it.

Supposing that freedom is more important than safety, then the tyranny of the wise is only less objectionable than the tyranny of the unwise. The choice we face is between a despotism of the ruthlessly ambitious, not of the wise, and of an intelligent democracy. The function of television in either kind of state is sure to be of tremendous importance. But in a free society it might almost be called supreme.

In a totalitarian state the role of television will not be to teach or facilitate self-government. It must be the opposite. Its purpose must be to make the governed content not to govern themselves. It will be to distract, and indeed to entertain. I suggest that what we are now asking from television is precisely what the totalitarian dictators will order when their countries have as many television sets per capita as we have. For people whose standard of living is rising, and who do not feel that their poverty is a sacrifice they are paying for the future, will need to be distracted if they are to be ruled by a despot.

It is surely ironic that we in the United States and Britain who ask for so much entertainment from television - so much escapism - so much insulation from harsh reality - are not having such programs imposed upon us by tyrants. We have been making the choice freely. But we have made it without any awareness of the nature, intensity and inevitability of the contest between the democracies and totalitarianism. We have reached our present prosperity and seeming security

without taking much heed. But now our societies must take on a new and more conscious development, and television must rise to a more constructive task. We must rid ourselves of our allergy to unpleasant and disturbing information.

I have acknowledged the natural limits to the performance of this task. I have admitted that television of itself cannot usher in the Utopia of freedom. I have ventured to suggest that the great drag on the growth of democracy is that people do not care to specialize in self-government, even if they know vaguely that the science of government never was as difficult as it is growing to be. Television is a tool that is not being used to finish the job of Education.

It is the duty of the politician to see to it that the controls imposed on television do not prevent it from being a medium where ideas may compete for the allegiance of the viewer. And it is the duty of those who control television to use it as a sound mirror to reflect conditions as they are. If what is reflected on the end of that tube is bigotry, poverty, discrimination or prejudice, that is good and wholesome so long as the picture be true. Where there is controversy it must be reflected. We have no alternative system so long as we are dedicated to the proposition that the voter in the polling booth is sovereign.

Television must find a little time to remind us of our inheritance, and it must find more than a little time for the dissenters, the heretics, the minority spokesmen who may be tomorrow's majority.

The editing of informational film for television presents problems that are without precedent. It is only a slight exaggeration to say that you may read verbatim text of what a man has said, but you do not understand what he means unless you see him say it. It is impossible to edit from text alone. A demonstration of how the spoken word plus picture can be misunderstood when reduced

to cold print, occurred in connection with a recent interview with Field Marshal Montgomery of Alamein. It was presented in my country as a conversation lasting an hour. The Field Marshal was blunt, unequivocal and most amiable. He was less than enchanted by certain aspects of American foreign and military policy. He indicated that some of our leaders had been, and were, fallible. He thought it important that if war should come again to Europe, American blood should be shed on the first day. And he said, to the accompaniment of laughter by all participating in the program, that he had promised his Continental friends that if necessary he, the Field Marshal, would shoot one himself. Now the British Press, working only from the text of the interview, broke out in a rash of headlines to the effect that, "Monty has done it again!", "Americans Outraged by Montgomery Attack"; in general this savage blow at Anglo-American amity was deplored. The fact was that, judged by all normal standards of measurement, the Americans loved it. There were a couple of critical editorials, but they appeared in papers that would denounce the arrival of manna, if it were stamped "Made in Britain".

As a result of this program I saw exactly three critical communications from viewers - many requests for a repeat performance, or for "More of Montgomery".

I do not blame my friends in Fleet Street for their treatment of this incident. After all, they were working from text and had not seen and heard the Field Marshal say these things which they were sure would outrage the Americans. It illustrates one of the differences between print and television. What is said is important, but how it's said may be equally important. And it may be said hopefully that perhaps this reaction on the part of my fellow-countrymen reflects a developing maturity. And it should be added that those who were distressed about what they regarded as the Field Marshal's indiscretions should see and hear some of his comments on the American scene, for which we did not have time! We

are saving those for a subsequent report, and I venture to predict that the alliance will survive the shock. After all, the Field Marshal didn't say very much that couldn't be turned up by a careful reading of the British Press. He just said it a little more bluntly, and looked the Americans squarely in the eye and smiled when he said it.

The ability to smile and to wait is just about the indispensable asset in interviewing a soldier or a politician, if the interview is being filmed. If you put a direct question, the interviewee will answer it as he has probably answered that same question dozens of times before. Then begins the waiting game. He thinks he has given you the definitive answer. You manage a slightly uncomprehending, puzzled expression, and you can watch his mind work. He hears that compulsive whirr of the camera in the background, and he says to himself (and I've known one or two to say it out loud to the interviewer): "You stupid oaf, if you didn't comprehend that, I'll put it in language you can understand", and proceeds to do so. Then, in the course of editing, you throw out the first answer and use the second one. And, as Mark Twain would have said: "That's about all, or maybe more than I know about conducting an interview."

I trust that you will not regard it as a violation of your hospitality if I venture a few personal comments upon your recent rather demure General Election. It would be a churlish visitor indeed, who failed to remark the technical excellence displayed by the entire television fraternity. This was particularly true in the presentation of the results.

I have heard none of your fellow-countrymen complain that television failed to report the campaign adequately and fairly. It should be possible to draw some profound conclusions as to the influence of television upon this General Election.

But that must be left to a bolder and wiser man. That the issues were aired cannot be doubted. The restraint of all partisans was remarkable. I would doubt that smoother production, better camera work, tighter editing in the Party political broadcasts would have altered the results substantially. It seems to me at least possible that television in this election did the one thing that it does superbly well. It aroused curiosity and excited interest; and that may be one reason why political meetings were so well attended. The voters may have seen the candidates on television, but they still retain the belief that if they see them in person they may be able to tell what they are really like.

I have somewhat the feeling that in both our countries the politicians are unduly fascinated by the mechanics of this new method of communication - a little too inclined to make political television a competition between film cutters and producers, rather than a competition of ideas and convictions. There is, I suggest, no substitute for the man who has at least a mild fire in his belly, and is able to pierce that screen with his own conviction. Also, there is no substitute for brevity; for brevity is good, both when we are and are not understood. For example, speaking strictly in terms of communication and not politics, I would have thought that the ten-minute talk by Jo Grimmond was as effective as anything presented during the recent campaign. That effort had none of the technical competence of the Labour Party broadcasts. He did not appear to be speaking down to us from Cloud 7, while moving from an almost unseen globe of the world to the casual leaning position on the lectern, as did Prime Minister Macmillan at his final effort at persuasion.

Of one thing I am sure. In the area of political television, we are all ignorant. We need to know much more than we do. In my own country we know a great deal about what will sell goods and services. We have spent vast sums on

research. And similar efforts have been made in this country. But we do not know enough, we have not been sufficiently interested, to try to determine what sells ideas. You can sell goods by repetition; there is some evidence that you can even sell them through irritation. But we don't know with any degree of accuracy how we sell or convey ideas. We ought to try to find out. My own conviction is that there is no substitute, no technique, no use of film that can replace the individual who has conviction, and who can in some mysterious manner convey that conviction to the viewer. May I try to illustrate this with an example that has nothing to do with politics? We once undertook a program on the peacetime uses of nuclear energy. We filmed eighteen hundred coal cars in a marshalling yard. We then filmed a simulated block of enriched uranium on a desk alongside an office typewriter. That represented the equivalent in fission fuel to the eighteen hundred coal cars filled with fossil fuel. We thought we were using this instrument of television in a most effective fashion. But immediately after this sequence, we did a ten-minute interview with Admiral Hyman Rickover. Now our unscientific survey indicated that most of our viewers had not seen, or at least had not remembered this unique contribution to visual communication. But they did remember Admiral Rickover and what he said. There is, I suspect, no substitute, even in television, for people.

Even in this age of bigness, where small farms are being taken over by bigger farms, where small businesses are being taken over by bigger ones, the individual remains the primary means of communication between the politician and the viewer. In political television, this represents a danger, particularly in a parliamentary system. It may mean that the Party leaders become more important symbols than the local candidate. The viewer is exposed, of necessity, more frequently to the national leader than to the local candidate. I do not know the results of Granada's "Operation Marathon", but anyone deeply concerned with the relationship between

television and the continuation of democratic processes must applaud the effort to prevent political television from becoming too big - from concentrating too much on the national political figures.

The politician who uses television should beware of booby traps, for a record is made of what he says. This is more dangerous than the writing of a book. For on a subsequent occasion, his utterances or his promises may return to bite him. If during a subsequent campaign his extravagant language is quoted in print or on radio, he may cry "foul", or "I have been misquoted", or "the statement was torn from context". But if he can be shown on film or a kinescope, no question remains as to what he said, where and when. If I were a politician concerned about future campaigns, I should collect and hoard the utterances of my opponent, in the hope that upon a subsequent occasion I might be able to convict him of false promises, double-dealing, insincerity, out of his own mouth, supported by his own picture, while saying these despicable and dishonorable things.

Perhaps the most important thing to be said about television and politics is that the politicians, whoever they are, should not be permitted to control television. Let them use it; let them be as persuasive as they may be. But do not permit them to use this instrument to prevent today's minority from becoming tomorrow's majority.

There is a tendency to believe that television becomes meaningful in relation to politics only when a General Election is imminent or in progress. This of course is not true. It is, or it should be, the business of television to provide in picture and sound the exposure of what is happening day by day and week by week in order that the voter may in due course make up his mind as to the Party which will produce in fact a picture of his country which is more pleasing and more satisfying to him.

The relationship between television and the politician should be at arm's length; the eye of the camera should pursue the politician to the very limits of privacy and decency. When the politicians complain, as they have in several countries, that television turns their proceedings into a circus, it should be made clear that the circus was already there, and that television has merely demonstrated that not all the performers are well trained. In short, the politicians ought to leave television alone, but never at any time should television leave the politician alone, except when he seeks refuge in his home, or when he becomes so boring as to drive viewers back to radio or a good book.

I would suppose that the important thing for politicians and others who use television to remember is that the fact that voice and picture can be transmitted from one end of the country to the other does not confer upon the speaker greater wisdom, perception or effectiveness than was the case when his voice reached only from one end of the street to the other. This new instrument only gives wider circulation to the cry of "Hope!" or "Havoc!" It doesn't make either more imminent or more believable.

The informative program can compete successfully for the listener's attention, but it must be good and it must be fair, and it must be fearless. Television won't save us, and probably it won't destroy us, but we should be mindful of Bernard Shaw's counsel: "We must get what we want, or we will come to want what we get."

It is a limited medium; it can amuse, entertain, and it can sell goods. It can also arouse curiosity, stimulate interest, cause the viewer to read and argue. It can stretch the horizon of his interest. But it can't reason - and is no substitute for reading.

In ancient times, cartographers were wont to label unknown or unexplored areas

of the map with the legend, "Here be dragons". In both television and politics, this Anglo-American partnership ought to go searching for dragons. We are both disposed to sit at home juggling our prejudices while we think we are thinking, sending out an occasional missionary to preach to the already converted. It is true that our political systems and our television systems differ. Your politicians are liable to answer a particularly outrageous or libellous statement from their opponents by saying: "You may be right", or "There may be something in what you say". Whereas our politicians would be content merely to label his opponent as the lineal descendant of thieves and traitors. Some of the exchanges between our two countries resemble the First Mate who wrote in the ship's log: "The Captain was drunk today." Whereupon the Captain made the entry: "The First Mate was sober today."

We need to argue more. This alliance is not a fragile thing likely to collapse if our differences are exposed. We ought to use television to explore the areas where the dragons live. We are both so preoccupied with the Russian menace that we forget our own potential. After all, freedom of expression is one of the hallmarks of our societies. By exercising it we lose only our prejudice and our ignorance.

In the field of television we have a few items for export that may be superior in quality to "Wagon Train", "Wells Fargo" or "I Love Lucy". And certainly the American viewer is isolated from the best product of British television. Something should be done about it, and the doing would not be difficult.

It would be cruel and inhumane to require our fellow citizens to read both Hansard and the Congressional Record. This would most certainly undermine faith in the alliance, cause lawyers to laugh and philosophers to weep. But there is no reason why we could not establish a weekly session of what might be called a

"Mid-Atlantic Parliament" by way of television. The dragons might object, but I foresee no opposition from other sources save the timid and those who fear the truth. Why not a weekly conversation piece between a Member of Parliament and a Senator or Representative? An old-fashioned argument, using this newfangled instrument. If you are offended, as you were when we tried to stop you flying a commercial airline across the Pacific, or when we refused to accept a low British bid for a hydro-electric plant, let's argue it out. Likewise, when you are reluctant to have American intermediate range missiles on British soil, or are somewhat less than enthusiastic about American bombers flying about over your heads with a bellyfull of nuclear weapons, let's argue about that. There would be no shortage of controversy - controversy makes good television. It wouldn't be very expensive. Certainly, there is no shortage of politicians, and we might just possibly learn something. The right to disagree, indeed to revile each other in public, is one of the many things that makes us different from totalitarian states. The option needs to be exercised.

There are, it is true, subtle differences in the debating techniques employed in the House of Commons and in Congress, but the language has not diverged to the point where we fail to understand each other's insults, and it is some time since honorable gentlemen wore swords or members of Congress carried pistols.

I think it was von Clausewitz who said that in war the first duty was to recognize one's enemy. Surely in peacetime the first duty is to recognize one's friends. And the second duty is to argue with them in complete candor. I am told that the width of the carpet dividing the House of Commons was determined by the length of two rapiers, in order that Honorable Members might not puncture each other in the heat of debate. If we use this electronic instrument properly, the

Atlantic Ocean need be no wider than that carpet in the House of Commons.

This is not to suggest that politics should represent the only television traffic between our two countries. This instrument, if properly used, can be made to transport our fellow-citizens across the Atlantic faster than the most modern Jet. It can make us acquainted. It can cross-fertilize our cultures and it can strengthen our common heritage. Neither our broadcasters nor our politicians are doing their best, while the Russians are doing their worst. If this alliance of ours flinches or falters - it will be because we have failed to communicate with each other. Our policies may from time to time reflect fear, but our purpose is as clear in the perilous present as it was to all of you in the days when this island stood for a whole year - the one Fortress of Freedom, ready, waiting, and indeed eager to defend the faith.

The common purpose is clear - we desire and are determined to live in the same kind of world. We argue about methods and tactics, not about objectives. Television and Radio can and should reflect those arguments - should record our accomplishments and frustrations, our common hopes and fears. To speak our minds, whether face to face or at a distance through electronic devices, is part of our heritage. May it continue to be our habit.

Nielsen, A. C.

June 5, 1959

Mr. A.C. Nielsen
2101 Howard Street
Chicago 45, Illinois

Dear Mr. Nielsen:

This is not an appeal for you to write a speech for me, although it might sound like it. My problem is this. As a result of ignorance and arrogance, I am committed to perpetrate a full hour lecture in mid-October before the British Association for the Advancement of Science in London. The subject is TELEVISION AND POLITICS. Could you possibly ask someone in your office to pull out whatever material you have on this subject and shoot it along to me? I will be most grateful and your contribution may cause me to make at least a little sense before such a distinguished group.

Sincerely yours,

ERM:skh

Roper, Elmo
f

June 5, 1959

Dear Elmo:

This is not an appeal for you to write a speech for me, although it might sound like it. My problem is this. As a result of ignorance and arrogance, I am committed to perpetrate a full hour lecture in mid-October before the British Association for the Advancement of Science in London. The subject is TELEVISION AND POLITICS. Could you possibly ask someone in your office to pull out whatever material you have on this subject and shoot it along to me? I will be most grateful, and your contribution may cause me to make at least a little sense before such a distinguished group.

As ever yours,

ERM:skh

Mr. Elmo Roper
30 Rockefeller Plaza
New York, N.Y.

COMMUNICATION IN THE MODERN WORLD

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THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION GRANADA LECTURES

1959

TELEVISION AND POLITICS

EDWARD R. MURROW

YOU HAVE DONE ME MUCH HONOUR by inviting me here tonight, and 'Beggar that I am, I am even poor in thanks'. The wounded walls of this venerable building retain the echoes of works that have lifted men's hearts and inspired them to a sense of duty, and to deeds which will live in men's minds so long as the English language endures.

To stand here is a frightening experience for one who is accustomed to face only a camera or a microphone, for there is no case upon the record of either of these instruments yawning, falling asleep, or discoursing with its neighbour. You are a captive audience. We are met in a city where this reporter left all of his youth and much of his heart.

I am to try to talk to you about television and politics. Both professions involve curious contradictions, and when combined represent a dangerous mixture. Being without substantial credentials in either area, being without political affiliation or technical skill—knowing only that the long waves are short and the short waves are long—I take refuge in a remark of my fellow-countryman who said: 'It is better to know less than to know so much that ain't so'. My own attitude towards politicians has ranged from sympathy to affection, although as a political reporter I have found the late Vice-President Barkley's advice to be sound. He counselled: 'A political reporter must be agin everybody, some'.

Your political storm has passed—ours is approaching; no doubt the results will not be as bad as they seem. For we both believe in progress by persuasion, and we both believe with Dean Inge that even though counting heads is not an ideal way to govern, at least it is better than breaking them.

I must speak primarily of politics and television in terms of my own country, hoping that I am sufficiently far from home to pose as an expert.

But duty demands that I first deliver a message from my grandfather. He was an officer on Stonewall Jackson's staff during our Civil War. In my youth he was a venerable, bearded old gentleman, many times wounded and entirely unreconstructed. It may be that he was not as venerable as he appeared to me, but as you will know from our recent history, we are more inclined to venerate, to attribute special duties to old soldiers, than you are. My grandfather once said: 'If you ever get to that England country, look carefully; they must be right stout people. Why, they tell me that during the war there was a place called Manchester where they wove cotton, and their young 'uns were hungry. And yet when we managed to get a smidgeon of cotton out through the northern blockade, they wouldn't weave it. Now,' he said, 'as I understand it, they weren't against *us*, they were just against slavery, and they let their young 'uns go hungry for a principle. They helped to whip us, no doubt about that. But they must be real stout folks.' The old man's grandson had the high honour of seeing their grandchildren demonstrate that they were as stout and steady, as grim and gay as their ancestors. No one who lived among you during those days, when

most men save Britons despaired of Britain's life, will ever be quite the same.

I remember driving in the country behind Dover in the late autumn of 1940, with Gerald Barry. All road signs had been removed. The Germans were expected on the beaches the first foggy morning. We were lost. Mr. Barry asked a farmer in a field for directions. The farmer asked, as he had been instructed to do by the wireless, for our identity cards. We presented them, received clear and concise directions, and then, thinking to have a little fun with the farmer, Mr. Barry said: 'And where is *your* identity card?' The farmer laughed and said: 'No fear, I know who I be.' You all knew who you were, where you came from, and whither you were going. You didn't talk much about it, but to me it seemed you were engaged in the business of being worthy of your ancestors and digging new root-holds in freedom for your descendants.

Tonight we are to examine politics and television, and it must be done in the light of perpetual crisis. Having underaken massive research on this subject, you will excuse me for not saying that the television camera has revolutionized politics, and that it is an all-seeing X-ray eye which will make it inevitable that the votes will sort out the charlatan from the statesman. Nor shall I remind you that in my country we have more television sets than bathtubs. For candour compels me to confess that I do not know what this fascinating statistic proves. Television has been variously described as the opiate of the people, a group of midgets in a black box, and the most powerful instrument of communication yet devised. It was to 'revolutionize politics', but it hasn't. I do know of one

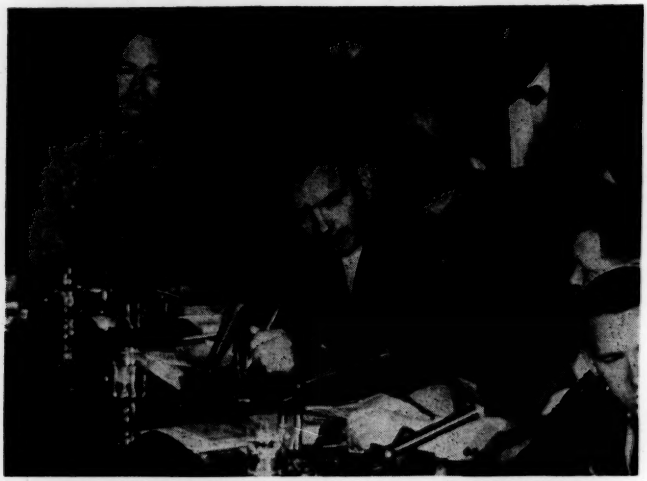
Senator who was badly beaten in the last election who is entirely convinced that the major reason for his defeat was that he so far forgot himself as to correct his wife's pronunciation during a television programme. He was inundated with furious letters from female viewers, and is persuaded that they voted him out of office. The moral of this story probably is that a penalty must be paid for correcting one's wife in front of a television camera or anywhere else.

There is also the case of a politician who ran for public office four times, always assisted by his wife. Three times he won; once he was defeated. In all three victorious campaigns his wife was pregnant; the occasion when he went down to defeat, she wasn't. It would seem that no general law regarding television and politics can be formulated as a result of this experience.

Probably the single most effective use of television in politics occurred in my own country during the 1952 presidential campaign. General Eisenhower was the Republican nominee, having been selected after a bitter Convention battle over Senator Taft—not because he was better qualified but because leaders of the Republican Party thought he had a better chance of winning. Richard Nixon, a relatively obscure Senator from California, was the Vice-Presidential candidate. The two men were campaigning in different parts of the country when it was disclosed that a group of California citizens had raised a special fund for Senator Nixon, and it amounted to approximately eighteen thousand dollars. This disclosure created a political storm equal to that produced in your country by the Zinoviev Letter. What came to be known as the

'"... the kids love that dog, and I just want to say this right now, that regardless of what they say about it we're going to keep it." Checkers was not present in the studio.'

'Nixon Fund' was to be used to pay for transportation, hotel expenses, telephone tolls, Christmas cards, advertising and general publicity. When the storm broke, excited politicians of both Parties took counsel. The Democrats demanded that the Republicans jettison Nixon as their candidate. Many Republican newspapers echoed the demand. Candidate Eisenhower echoed uncertainty. Many professional Republican politicians said privately that Nixon must go or the Party would be lost. Many personal friends and political cronies urged Nixon to resign for the good of the Party. Nixon and his advisers finally decided that he should make a nation-wide television explanation. The necessary arrangements were made, and the tension and suspense mounted. Would the Senator quit or try to ride out the storm? He hadn't made up his own



'The trail that he left on the face of my country will not soon fade . . .'

mind until a few hours before air time. When he faced the cameras he talked from notes, made an explanation of the fund which probably would not entirely have satisfied a Royal Commission, said he didn't think he ought to quit because he wasn't a quitter, and 'incidentally' said Nixon, 'Pat is not a quitter.' At this point the camera panned around to show Mrs. Nixon's profile. 'After all,' said the Senator, 'her name was Patricia Ryan and she was born on St. Patrick's Day, and you know the Irish never quit.' Nixon admitted that he had received one gift after his election to the Senate. He spoke as follows: 'It was a little cocker spaniel dog—black and white spotted—and our little girl Tricia, the six-year-old, named it Checkers. And you know, the kids love that dog, and I just want to say this right now, that regardless of what

they say about it we're going to keep it.' Checkers was not present in the studio.

As the clock ran out the candidate for Vice-President, with tears in his eyes and voice, was saying: 'Wire and write to the Republican National Committee on whether you think I should stay or get off, and whatever their decision is, I will abide.'

The result was sensational—telegrams, telephone calls, came pouring in, Eisenhower and Nixon staged a reunion, posed for pictures with arms around each other, and said Eisenhower to Nixon: 'You're my boy!' No Hollywood writer would have dared write such a script, but it worked. Without question, Nixon was saved by television, although any fair-minded observer would probably have to give some of the credit to his wife, the Irish and to Checkers. Still, the fact remains that the climate of opinion could not have been changed so quickly had television not been available to transmit throughout the country this amazing performance which caused many to weep, and only a few to laugh.

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin, could not play upon the human emotions with the same skill as his friend, Richard Nixon. The trail that he left on the face of my country will not soon fade, and there may be others who will try to follow in his footsteps. His weapon was fear. He was a politically unsophisticated man with a flair for publicity and he was powerfully aided by the silence of timid men who feared to be the subject of his unfounded accusations. He polluted the channels of communication, and every radio and television network, every newspaper and magazine publisher who did not speak out against him,

contributed to his evil work and must share part of the responsibility for what he did, not only to our fellow citizens but to our self-respect. He was in a real sense the creature of the mass-media. They made him. They gave nation-wide circulation to his mouthings. They defended their actions on the grounds that what he said was news, when they knew he lied. His initial appearances on television were in the rôle of a man whose sole desire was to oust communists from government and all responsible positions. That was his announced objective. The overwhelming majority of people undoubtedly sympathized with him. It has been said repeatedly that television caused his downfall. This is not precisely true. His prolonged exposure during the so-called Army-McCarthy Hearings certainly did something to diminish his stature. He became something of a bore. But his downfall really stemmed from the fact that he broke the rules of the club, the United States Senate: when he began attacking the integrity, the loyalty of fellow Senators, he was censured by that body, and was finished. The timidity of television in dealing with this man when he was spreading fear throughout the land, is not something to which this art of communication can ever point with pride, nor should it be allowed to forget it.

Being aware that I am in the presence of my masters in science, politics and television, it is my purpose to contend only that the development of television is potentially more important than the development of the zipper. This may be an unreasonably optimistic view, for we may all remember that Rutherford, who first understood nuclear transmutations, held the view —regarded as reasonable at that time—that no prac-

tical use would be found on this minor planet for nuclear energy. In this perilous present we may discover that television and politics can be blended in such a way as to produce a more informed and enlightened electorate.

The politician in my country seeks votes, affection and respect, in that order. This is not unique or surprising. His is a trying profession, for the politician must spend an inordinate amount of time with bores. He has practically no mechanism to keep them at a distance. He is even less protected than the bus driver, who at least has his 'No Talking' sign, or the doctor with his stethoscope. The politician of necessity leads an isolated life, so far as his colleagues are concerned, because most of them are his rivals. Many of them are men of undoubted charm, ability and incredible energy, and yet too often they lack purpose or appetite for anything beyond their own careers. With few notable exceptions they are simply men who want to be loved. They are, by and large, not specialists but general practitioners. They require supreme confidence in their own intelligence and ability. Few among them can make an objective appraisal of ability such as Andre Gide did when he was asked by a foreigner: 'Who is France's greatest poet?' And he replied: 'Victor Hugo, alas!'

As professionals, politicians are hard-working, not particularly dissolute. Some even prefer success to pleasure. But when it comes to television, the politician is severely handicapped. He is trained in the art of inexactitude. His words tend to be blunt or rounded, because if they have a cutting edge they may later return to wound him.

The politician has little time for contemplation or solitude. He fears to step off the escalator, lest others pass him by. There have been a few exceptions. Prime Minister Nehru, who may be said to have been indoctrinated, contends that *all* politicians would be better off for a few years in jail. Ben Gurion may retire for a spell to his kibbutz in the Negev, confident that he will be recalled. Tiberius went away for seven years before reaching the pinnacle of his power. But today most politicians do not have time even to prepare those well-rehearsed improvisations that are so effective on television. They must choose between talking at length and precisely, and probably boring their audience; or talking briefly and misleading the audience. One United States Senator attempted to establish ground rules for political performances on television by introducing a Bill that would have required all politicians who wore makeup or used visual aids of any kind (referred to in the trade as 'idiot cards'), to make public announcement of the fact. This proposal did not become law.

In fact there are very few laws, either in politics or in television. And this is undoubtedly a good thing, otherwise elections would be decided by those who constantly burn candles on the altar of public opinion polls. Stimson Bullitt, in his little book, 'What It Means To Be A Politician', writes: 'People often resent a politician for his failure to be both delicately responsive to public wishes, and a self-sustaining leader who leads. He disappoints them if he is not at once a thistledown on the breeze and a game fish that swims upstream.' Hiram Gill was elected Mayor of Seattle on a 'closed town' platform. He kept his promise and

was dismissed from office at the next election. He ran again on an 'open town' platform, was elected, kept this promise, and was again defeated. This confused Gill, who just wanted to be Mayor. Another attitude which makes for disappointed citizens and exasperated politicians, is people's dislike of a cocksure manner, and their concurrent wish that a politician be sure he knows the answers, since they did not elect him to doubt and ponder. They want a humble Messiah. A politician also knows that many of his constituents wish him to perform the functions of his profession, yet be above politics, where President Eisenhower tried to be, and where they think President Lincoln was. There is a common wish that he be both subservient and dignified; that he run petty errands and run them as though he were descending Sinai with tablets of stone.

In a free society, politics essentially involve the resolution of conflict. It is part of television's duty to define, illuminate and illustrate the nature of the conflict—to supply the voter with the raw material upon which informed opinion may be based. Thucydides said: 'We both alike know that into the discussion of human affairs the question of justice arises only where the pressure of necessity is equal; that the strong take what they can, and the weak grant what they must.' The true function of television in politics is to operate a market place in which ideas may compete on an equal footing. It is true that the voter may elect to purchase the second-rate, shopworn or shoddy idea. He may mistake a mobile countenance for an agile mind. He may vote for profile rather than for principle. An unruly lock of hair may be more effective

'Television offers no guarantee . . .'

'. . . that demagogues can be kept from political power.'

'The hope so fondly held by enthusiasts a few years ago, the hope that television would make certain that the voter would sort out the phoney from the statesman, is not proved.'

than a disciplined mind. There is no way to guarantee that television will prevent the voter from being as wrong as he has been so often in the past. Television offers no guarantee that demagogues can be kept from political power. It merely provides them with wider and more intimate, more immediate circulation. I would suggest that the evidence so far indicates that television can retard or accelerate a trend in public opinion, but it cannot reverse it. The hope so fondly held by enthusiasts a few years ago, the hope that television would make certain that the voter would sort out the phoney from the statesman, is not proved. I would doubt that under today's systems of communication a Lincoln or a Jefferson could be nomi-

nated or elected. According to all reports, Jefferson had a most abrasive voice, and did not suffer fools gladly. While being interviewed on some panel programme he might have told a particularly obnoxious questioner just what he thought of him, and that, of course, would have been fatal. Mr. Lincoln did not move gracefully, was not a handsome man, had a wife who was no political asset, and he was a solitary man. In our present society he probably would have been examined at an early age by a psychiatrist, received an unfavourable report, have been told his attitude toward 'togetherness' was altogether wrong, and advised to enter a trade school if he could gain admittance. On the other hand, it is conceivable that Woodrow Wilson might have won his fight for the League of Nations, and thereby changed world history, had he been able to use the tools of television and radio. He was a rather pedantic persuader, and these instruments wouldn't have changed him, but they would have given his ideas wider circulation; and the efforts of those who attempted to distort those ideas might have had less success. It is part of television's brief history that circulation is directly related to controversy.

But it is well to bear in mind that no large section of the public demands more information or a better presentation of it. Public affairs is a form of specialization. It is *not* recreation. The public as such does not feel the call to specialize, even in its own good. On the whole it is unenterprising—it wants its fun. By the time most people turn on the television set the work of the day is over. There is a welcome break in drudgery. Most people, after working hours, prefer to be called away from reality, not made to face it. There

is a limit upon the attention the public is willing to devote to politics. This would be true even if television fulfilled its functions to the utmost. Television by itself does not usher in the democratic millenium, and its inability to do so is not its own peculiar failure. It is due to the unwillingness of men and women, even in the highly developed democracies of Britain and the United States, to take more trouble to govern themselves better.

Both radio and television started as novelties, not as sociological or political devices. Their social importance was not at first imagined. They cost a great deal of money to develop. The pioneers in what Americans call 'the industry' were businessmen and financiers, not scholars, statesmen or politicians. They still do not put public service first, for the simple reason that in my country it must pay its way. Business success has to come first.

In a competitive society, political broadcasts must compete. Generally they don't. For example, when Secretary of State Herter returned from the Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers—a conference which had dominated the headlines and news reports for many weeks—he made a fifteen-minute report to the nation on television. It was delivered at 9 o'clock at night, was broadcast by two of the three television networks. It secured a total audience of approximately thirteen million. At the same time the third network presented an assembly line, predictable Western, a thrilling distortion of our history called 'Rifleman'. According to the measurement, slightly more than twenty-two million people viewed this contribution to escapism.

In 1957, President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles delivered a half-hour report on the Summit Conference. They did a little better than Secretary of State Herter. They were competing with a bunch of 'good guys' and 'bad guys' in a Western epic called 'Wells Fargo'. The gun slingers had almost precisely the same audience as the word slingers.

In 1958, President Eisenhower spoke solo for half-an-hour to a Republican gathering. A non-politico on another network—fellow named Bat Masterson, who wears a bowler hat and goes about bashing people over the head with a gold-headed cane—was viewed by more than twice the number of people who watched the President. And on the third network a personable young singer named Patti Page attracted the attention of a few million more citizens than the President.

During the 1956 presidential campaign the average audience for all night-time political programmes was roughly sixty per cent. below the average audience for regular entertainment programmes.

As you know, we Americans have a great fondness for facts and figures, the kind of research that involves knowing more and more about less and less. During our last presidential campaign, both major Parties began to buy the last five minutes of a popular entertainment programme. They were sort of hitch-hiking with their political message at the end of a popular programme. It worked pretty well, too. But this produced trouble for the entertainment programme immediately following; for it seems that about fifteen per cent. of the people went away during that five-minute period, and they didn't come back for the

following programme. This was bad—bad for the networks and for the sponsor of the following show.

There isn't much evidence that the advent of television has altered traditional voting habits. In certain areas there was no television during the 1952 campaign. By 1956 the magic box had arrived, but it produced no significant change in the traditional pattern of voting.

The television viewer is not fascinated by political orations. This may be due in part to the absence of meaningful controversy. The voter isn't interested. One of our most distinguished jurists—Judge Learned Hand—has remarked: 'Doubtless things might become uncomfortable enough to arouse them, but, given reasonable opportunity for personal favours, and not too irksome control, they are content to abdicate their sovereignty and to be fleeced, if the shepherds will only shear them in their sleep.'

It may be that television magnifies all the facets of personality, the defects along with the merits. This ability of television to magnify the components of personality is not necessarily pure gain. A man's weaknesses may be brought to light, which is all to the good. But that is not all that happens, because a public leader in the age of television must be popular as well as sincere. He must have a quality not considered essential in the past, that is, simplicity. A politician to be popular must not be too complicated. He must not appear to be too subtle. He must be accessible, must be able to avoid the difficult question without appearing to do so.

We may have an illustration of this in the two races between Eisenhower and Stevenson for the presidency.

Both men televised well; both had the necessary modicum of histrionics. But Eisenhower was simple, while Stevenson was considerably less so. Stevenson was more deft, had greater command of language and overtone, and had much more humour. But Stevenson just plain didn't like television. He resented the tyranny of the clock, the bright lights, the makeup, everything about it; and it showed.

Eisenhower may not be at all the characteristic leader in the age of modern communications, but he proved to be much easier for the public to be sure about. There was no doubt about his personality. He was a friendly, good, kind, paternal, successful General who stood above familiar political considerations, and could be trusted because he was not complicated. Eisenhower conveyed the impression that he would like to step out of the receiving set and, in the American vernacular, 'press the flesh'—shake hands—slap the viewer on the back and say: 'We're just ordinary guys but together we can get the job done.'

Stevenson, on the other hand, gave the impression that things were pretty complicated and would require some hard thinking and difficult decisions.

I am not saying that Stevenson would have won if there had been no modern communications. But his gifts of oratory and political analysis, his ability to improvize sentences that would parse, his mastery of debate and the wealth of his ideas would have counted more in earlier times. Such gifts, I suspect, count more in newsprint and radio than they do on the television screen.

Simplicity communicates itself more easily than complexity in persons; and it also does when it comes

to issues. And this is part of the change brought about by television. This is by no means a boon. It surely is essential to have abstruse and complex ideas simplified, so that many can understand them. But we live in an age in which intelligence may not be able to simplify truthfully. The frontiers of knowledge have been pushed back, and the more that comes to be known the less is understood, or perhaps I should say completely understood, even by the wisest. And since politics and television, more than ever before, have to take account of much of this abstruse and complicated knowledge, the art of self-government is not going to be perfected by the process of simplification alone. Indeed, looking ahead to the time when human destinies are to be determined by the uses or abuses of new sources of almost unlimited physical power, one may well ask if democracy will be able to develop the competence to deal with these complexities. If so, it must be through a broadening of education and a use of communications not yet realized, or perhaps even conceived.

I would suggest that the art of government in the near future, if it is to improve or indeed survive, must develop along one or two approaches: either through a society in which politics—the whole art of governing—is left exclusively to the wise, or through an intellectually improved democracy. A society of the wise does not need television. Democracy, I suggest, cannot do its work well without it.

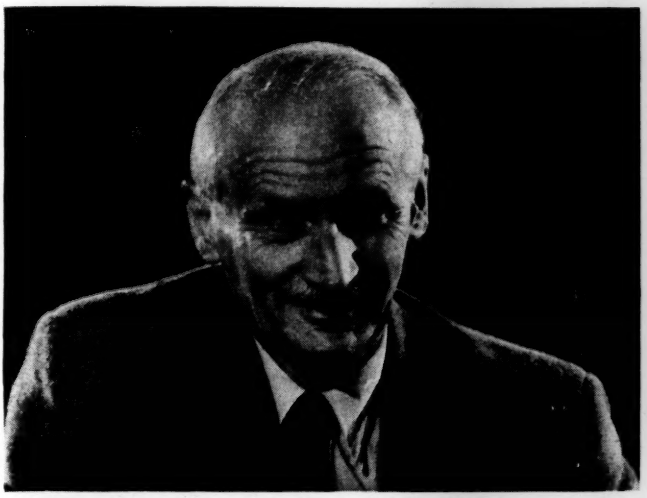
Supposing that freedom is more important than safety, then the tyranny of the wise is only less objectionable than the tyranny of the unwise. The choice we face is between a despotism of the ruthlessly am-

bitious, not of the wise, and of an intelligent democracy. The function of television in either kind of state is sure to be of tremendous importance. But in a free society it might almost be called supreme.

In a totalitarian state the rôle of television will not be to teach or facilitate self-government. It must be the opposite. Its purpose must be to make the governed content not to govern themselves. It will be to distract, and indeed to entertain. I suggest that what we are now asking from television is precisely what the totalitarian dictators will order when their countries have as many television sets *per capita* as we have. For people whose standard of living is rising, and who do not feel that their poverty is a sacrifice they are paying for the future, will need to be distracted if they are to be ruled by a despot.

It is surely ironic that we in the United States and Britain who ask for so much entertainment from television—so much escapism—so much insulation from harsh reality—are not having such programmes imposed upon us by tyrants. We have been making the choice freely. But we have made it without any awareness of the nature, intensity and inevitability of the contest between the democracies and totalitarianism. We have reached our present prosperity and seeming security without taking much heed. But now our societies must take on a new and more conscious development, and television must rise to a more constructive task. We must rid ourselves of our allergy to unpleasant and disturbing information.

I have acknowledged the natural limits to the performance of this task. I have admitted that television of itself cannot usher in the Utopia of freedom. I



'The Field Marshal was blunt, unequivocal and most amiable.'

have ventured to suggest that the great drag on the growth of democracy is that people do not care to specialize in self-government, even if they know vaguely that the science of government never was as difficult as it is growing to be. Television is a tool that is not being used to finish the job of Education.

It is the duty of the politician to see to it that the controls imposed on television do not prevent it from being a medium where ideas may compete for the allegiance of the viewer. And it is the duty of those who control television to use it as a sound mirror to reflect conditions as they are. If what is reflected on the end of that tube is bigotry, poverty, discrimination or prejudice, that is good and wholesome so long as the picture be true. Where there is controversy it must be reflected. We have no alternative system so

long as we are dedicated to the proposition that the voter in the polling booth is sovereign.

Television must find a little time to remind us of our inheritance, and it must find more than a little time for the dissenters, the heretics, the minority spokesmen who may be tomorrow's majority.

The editing of informational film for television presents problems that are without precedent. It is only a slight exaggeration to say that you may read verbatim text of what a man has said, but you do not understand what he means unless you see him say it. It is impossible to edit from text alone. A demonstration of how the spoken word plus picture can be misunderstood when reduced to cold print, occurred in connection with a recent interview with Field Marshal Montgomery of Alamein. It was presented in my country as a conversation lasting an hour. The Field Marshal was blunt, unequivocal and most amiable. He was less than enchanted by certain aspects of American foreign and military policy. He indicated that some of our leaders had been, and were, fallible. He thought it important that if war should come again to Europe, American blood should be shed on the first day. And he said, to the accompaniment of laughter by all participating in the programme, that he had promised his Continental friends that if necessary he, the Field Marshal, would shoot one himself. Now the British Press, working only from the text of the interview, broke out in a rash of headlines to the effect that 'Monty has done it again!', 'Americans Outraged by Montgomery Attack:'; in general this savage blow at Anglo-American amity was deplored. The fact was that, judged by all normal standards of measurement,

the Americans loved it. There were a couple of critical editorials, but they appeared in papers that would denounce the arrival of manna, if it were stamped 'Made in Britain'.

As a result of this programme I saw exactly three critical communications from viewers—many requests for a repeat performance, or for 'More of Montgomery'.

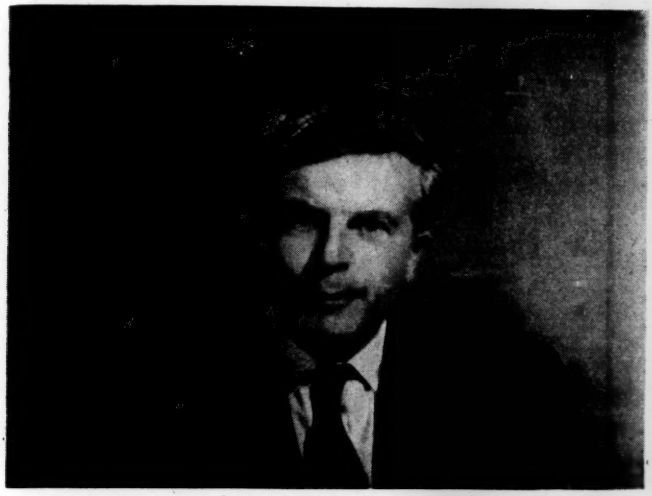
I do not blame my friends in Fleet Street for their treatment of this incident. After all, they were working from text and had not seen and heard the Field Marshal say these things which they were sure would outrage the Americans. It illustrates one of the differences between print and television. What is said is important, but how it's said may be equally important. And it may be said hopefully that perhaps this reaction on the part of my fellow-countrymen reflects a developing maturity. And it should be added that those who were distressed about what they regarded as the Field Marshal's indiscretions should see and hear some of his comments on the American scene, for which we did not have time! We are saving those for a subsequent report, and I venture to predict that the alliance will survive the shock. After all, the Field Marshal didn't say very much that couldn't be turned up by a careful reading of the British Press. He just said it a little more bluntly, and looked the Americans squarely in the eye and smiled when he said it.

The ability to smile and to wait is just about the indispensable asset in interviewing a soldier or a politician, if the interview is being filmed. If you put a direct question, the interviewee will answer it as he has probably answered that same question dozens of

'I would doubt that smoother production, better camera work, tighter editing in the Party political broadcasts would have altered the results substantially.'

times before. Then begins the waiting game. He thinks he has given you the definitive answer. You manage a slightly uncomprehending, puzzled expression, and you can watch his mind work. He hears that compulsive whirr of the camera in the background, and he says to himself (and I've known one or two to say it out loud to the interviewer): 'You stupid oaf, if you didn't comprehend that I'll put it in language that you can understand,' and proceeds to do so. Then in the course of editing you throw out the first answer and use the second one. And, as Mark Twain would have said: 'That's about all, or maybe more than I know about conducting an interview.'

I trust that you will not regard it as a violation of your hospitality if I venture a few personal comments



'. . . the ten-minute talk by Jo Grimond was as effective as anything presented . . .'

upon your recent rather demure General Election. It would be a churlish visitor indeed who failed to remark the technical excellence displayed by the entire television fraternity. This was particularly true in the presentation of the results.

I have heard none of your fellow-countrymen complain that television failed to report the campaign adequately and fairly. It should be possible to draw some profound conclusions as to the influence of television upon this General Election. But that must be left to a bolder and wiser man. That the issues were aired cannot be doubted. The restraint of all partisans was remarkable. I would doubt that smoother production, better camera work, tighter editing in the Party political broadcasts would have altered the results sub-

'. . . speaking down to us from Cloud 7 . . .'

stantially. It seems to me at least possible that television in this election did the one thing that it does superbly well. It aroused curiosity and excited interest; and that may be one reason why political meetings were so well attended. The voters may have seen the candidates on television, but they still retain the belief that if they see them in person they may be able to tell what they are *really* like.

I have somewhat the feeling that in both our countries the politicians are unduly fascinated by the mechanics of this new method of communication—a little too inclined to make political television a competition between film cutters and producers, rather than a competition of ideas and convictions. There is, I suggest, no substitute for the man who has at least a mild fire in his belly, and is able to pierce that screen

with his own conviction. Also, there is no substitute for brevity; for brevity is good, both when we are and are not understood. For example, speaking strictly in terms of communication and not politics, I would have thought that the ten-minute talk by Jo Grimond was as effective as anything presented during the recent campaign. That effort had none of the technical competence of the Labour Party broadcasts. He did not appear to be speaking down to us from Cloud 7, while moving from an almost unseen globe of the world to the casual leaning position on the lectern, as did Prime Minister Macmillan at his final effort at persuasion.

Of one thing I am sure. In the area of political television we are all ignorant. We need to know much more than we do. In my own country we know a great deal about what will sell goods and services. We have spent vast sums on research. And similar efforts have been made in this country. But we do not know enough, we have not been sufficiently interested, to try to determine what sells ideas. You can sell goods by repetition; there is some evidence that you can even sell them through irritation. But we don't know with any degree of accuracy how we sell or convey ideas. We ought to try to find out. My own conviction is that there is no substitute, no technique, no use of film that can replace the individual who has conviction, and who can in some mysterious manner convey that conviction to the viewer. May I try to illustrate this with an example that has nothing to do with politics? We once undertook a programme on the peacetime uses of nuclear energy. We filmed eighteen hundred coal cars in a marshalling yard. We then filmed a simulated block of enriched uranium on a

desk alongside an office typewriter. That represented the equivalent in fission fuel to the eighteen hundred coal cars filled with fossil fuel. We thought we were using this instrument of television in a most effective fashion. But immediately after this sequence we did a ten-minute interview with Admiral Hyman Rickover. Now our unscientific survey indicated that most of our viewers had not seen, or at least had not remembered this unique contribution to visual communication. But they did remember Admiral Rickover and what he said. There is, I suspect, no substitute, even in television, for people.

Even in this age of bigness, where small farms are being taken over by bigger farms, where small businesses are being taken over by bigger ones, the individual remains the primary means of communication between the politician and the viewer. In political television this represents a danger, particularly in a parliamentary system. It may mean that the Party leaders become more important symbols than the local candidate. The viewer is exposed, of necessity, more frequently to the national leader than to the local candidate. I do not know the results of Granada's 'Operation Marathon', but anyone deeply concerned with the relationship between television and the continuation of democratic processes must applaud the effort to prevent political television from becoming too big—from concentrating too much on the national political figures.

The politician who uses television should beware of booby traps, for a record is made of what he says. This is more dangerous than the writing of a book. For on a subsequent occasion his utterances or his promises

may return to bite him. If during a subsequent campaign his extravagant language is quoted in print or on radio, he may cry 'foul', or 'I have been misquoted', or 'the statement was torn from context'. But if he can be shown on film or a kinescope, no question remains as to what he said, where and when. If I were a politician concerned about future campaigns, I should collect and hoard the utterances of my opponent, in the hope that upon a subsequent occasion I might be able to convict him of false promises, double-dealing, insincerity, out of his own mouth, supported by his own picture, while saying these despicable and dishonourable things.

Perhaps the most important thing to be said about television and politics is that the politicians, whoever they are, should not be permitted to control television. Let them use it; let them be as persuasive as they may be. But do not permit them to use this instrument to prevent today's minority from becoming tomorrow's majority.

There is a tendency to believe that television becomes meaningful in relation to politics only when a General Election is imminent or in progress. This, of course, is not true. It is, or it should be, the business of television to provide in picture and sound the exposure of what is happening day by day and week by week in order that the voter may in due course make up his mind as to the Party which will produce in fact a picture of his country which is more pleasing and more satisfying to him.

The relationship between television and the politician should be at arm's length; the eye of the camera should pursue the politician to the very limits of

privacy and decency. When the politicians complain, as they have in several countries, that television turns their proceedings into a circus, it should be made clear that the circus was already there, and that television has merely demonstrated that not all the performers are well trained. In short, the politicians ought to leave television alone, but never at any time should television leave the politician alone, except when he seeks refuge in his home, or when he becomes so boring as to drive viewers back to radio or a good book.

I would suppose that the important thing for politicians and others who use television to remember is that the fact that voice and picture can be transmitted from one end of the country to the other does not confer upon the speaker greater wisdom, perception or effectiveness than was the case when his voice reached only from one end of the street to the other. This new instrument only gives wider circulation to the cry of 'Hope!' or 'Havoc!' It doesn't make either more imminent or more believable.

The informative programme can compete successfully for the listener's attention, but it must be good and it must be fair, and it must be fearless. Television won't save us, and probably it won't destroy us, but we should be mindful of Bernard Shaw's counsel: 'We must get what we want, or we will come to want what we get'.

It is a limited medium; it can amuse, entertain, and it can sell goods. It can also arouse curiosity, stimulate interest. But it can't reason—and is no substitute for reading.

In ancient times cartographers were wont to label unknown or unexplored areas of the map with the

legend, 'Here be dragons'. In both television and politics this Anglo-American partnership ought to go searching for dragons. We are both disposed to sit at home juggling our prejudices while we think we are thinking, sending out an occasional missionary to preach to the already converted. It is true that our political systems and our television systems differ. Your politicians are liable to answer a particularly outrageous or libellous statement from their opponents by saying: 'You may be right', or 'There may be something in what you say'. Whereas our politician would be content merely to label his opponent as the lineal descendant of thieves and traitors. Some of the exchanges between our two countries resemble the First Mate who wrote in the ship's log: 'The Captain was drunk today'. Whereupon the Captain made the entry: 'The First Mate was sober today'.

We need to argue more. This alliance is not a fragile thing likely to collapse if our differences are exposed. We ought to use television to explore the areas where the dragons live. We are both so preoccupied with the Russian menace that we forget our own potential. After all, freedom of expression is one of the hallmarks of our societies. By exercising it we lose only our prejudice and our ignorance.

In the field of television we have a few items for export that may be superior in quality to 'Wagon Train', 'Wells Fargo', or 'I Love Lucy'. And certainly the American viewer is isolated from the best product of British television. Something should be done about it, and the doing would not be difficult.

It would be cruel and inhuman to require our fellow citizens to read both Hansard and the Con-

gressional Record. This would most certainly undermine faith in the alliance, cause lawyers to laugh and philosophers to weep. But there is no reason why we could not establish a weekly session of what might be called a 'Mid-Atlantic Parliament' by way of television. The dragons might object, but I foresee no opposition from other sources save the timid and those who fear the truth. Why not a weekly conversation piece between a Member of Parliament and a Senator or Representative? And old-fashioned argument, using this newfangled instrument. If you are offended, as you were when we tried to stop you flying a commercial airline across the Pacific, or when we refused to accept a low British bid for a hydro-electric plant, let's argue it out. Likewise, when you are reluctant to have American intermediate range missiles on British soil, or are somewhat less than enthusiastic about American bombers flying about over your heads with a bellyful of nuclear weapons, let's argue about that. There would be no shortage of controversy—controversy makes good television. It wouldn't be very expensive. Certainly there is no shortage of politicians, and we might just possibly learn something. The right to disagree, indeed to revile each other in public, is one of the many things that makes us different from totalitarian states. The option needs to be exercised.

There are, it is true, subtle differences in the debating techniques employed in the House of Commons and in Congress, but the language has not diverged to the point where we fail to understand each other's insults, and it is some time since honourable gentlemen wore swords or members of Congress carried pistols.

I think it was von Clausewitz who said that in war the first duty was to recognize one's enemy. Surely in peacetime the first duty is to recognize one's friends. And the second duty is to argue with them in complete candour. I am told that the carpet dividing the House of Commons was determined by the length of two rapiers, in order that Honourable Members might not puncture each other in the heat of debate. If we use this electronic instrument properly, the Atlantic Ocean need be no wider than that carpet in the House of Commons.

This is not to suggest that politics should represent the only television traffic between our two countries. This instrument, if properly used, can be made to transport our fellow-citizens across the Atlantic faster than the most modern Jet. It can make us acquainted. It can cross-fertilize our cultures and it can strengthen our common heritage. Neither our broadcasters nor our politicians are doing their best, while the Russians are doing their worst. If this alliance of ours flinches or falters—it will be because we have failed to communicate with each other. Our policies may from time to time reflect fear, but our purpose is as clear in the perilous present as it was to all of you in the days when this island stood for a whole year—the one Fortress of Freedom, ready, waiting, and indeed eager to defend the faith.

The common purpose is clear—we desire and are determined to live in the same kind of world. We argue about methods and tactics, not about objectives. Television and radio can and should reflect those arguments—should record our accomplishments and frustrations, our common hopes and fears. To speak our

minds, whether face to face or at a distance through electronic devices, is part of our heritage. May it continue to be our habit.

check this Bleare - Shakespeare

LONDON LECTURE.

Master copy

POLITICS AND TELEVISION - DICTATION DRAFT.

You have done me much honor by inviting me here tonight, and "beggar that I am, I am even poor in thanks." The wounded walls of this venerable building ~~must~~ retain the echoes of words that have lifted men's hearts and inspired them to a sense of duty, and to deeds which will live in men's minds so long as the English language endures.

To stand here is a frightening experience for one who is accustomed to face only a camera or a microphone, for there is no case upon the record of either of those instruments yawning, falling asleep, or discoursing with it's neighbor. You are a captive audience. We are in a city where this reporter left all of his youth and much of his heart.

I am to try to talk to you about television and politics. Both professions ~~combine~~ involve curious contradictions, and when combined represent a dangerous mixture. Being without substantial credentials in either area, being without political affiliation or technical skill - knowing only that the long waves are short and the short waves are long - I take refuge in a remark of my fellow-countryman who said: "It is better to know less than

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In both our countries the Political storms are approaching, no doubt the results will not be as bad as they seem to us both believe in progress by persuasion and we both believe with Dean Inge that even though counting heads is not an ideal way to govern, at least it is better than breaking them.

to know so much that ain't so". So much that we think we know about both television and politics ain't so. My own attitude towards politicians has ranged from sympathy to affection, although as a political reporter I have found the late Vice President Barkley's advice to be sound. He counselled: A political reporter must be agin everybody, some." Grant C

I must speak primarily of politics and television in terms of my own country, hoping that I am sufficiently far from home to pose as an expert.

But duty demands that I first deliver a message from my grandfather. He was an officer on Stonewall Jackson's staff during our Civil War. In my youth he was a venerable, bearded old gentleman, many times wounded and entirely unreconstructed. It may be that he was not as venerable as he appeared to me, but as you will know from our recent history, we are more inclined to venerate, to attribute special qualities to old soldiers, than are you. My grandfather once said: " If you ever get to that England country, look carefully; they must be right smart people. Why they tell me that during the war there was a place called Manchester where they wove cotton, and their young 'uns were hungry. And yet when we managed to get a smidgeon of cotton out through the northern blockade, they wouldn't

weave it. Now," he said, "as I understand it, they weren't against us, they were just against slavery, and they let their young 'uns go hungry for a principle. They helped to whip us, no doubt about that. But they must be real stout folks." The old man's grandson had the high honor of seeing their grandchildren demonstrate that they were as stout and steady, as grim and gay as their ancestors. No one who lived among you during those days, when most men save Britons despaired of Britain's life, will ever be quite the same.

I remember driving in the country behind Dover in the late autumn of 1940, with Gerald Barry. All road signs had been removed. The Germans were expected on the beaches the first foggy morning. We were lost. Mr. Barry asked a farmer in a field for directions. The farmer asked, as he had been instructed to do by the wireless, for our identity cards. We presented them, received clear and concise directions, and then thinking to have a little fun with the farmer, Mr. Barry said: "And where is your identity card?" The farmer laughed and said: "No fear, I know who I be." You all knew who you were, where you came from, and whither you were going.

You didn't talk much about it, but to me it seemed you were engaged in the business of being worthy of your ancestors and digging new root-holes in freedom for your descendants.

Tonight we are to examine politics and television, and it must be done in the light of perpetual crisis. Having undertaken massive research on this subject, you will excuse me for not saying that the television camera has revolutionized politics, that it is an all-seeing X-ray eye which will make it inevitable that the voter will sort out the charlatan from the statesman. Nor shall I remind you that in my country we have more television sets than bathtubs. For candor compels me to confess that I do not know what this fascinating statistic proves. Television has been variously described as the opiate of the people, a group of midgets in a black box, and the most powerful instrument of communication yet devised. It was to "revolutionize politics" but it hasn't. I do know of one Senator who was badly beaten in the last election who is entirely convinced that the major reason for his defeat was that he so far forgot himself as to correct his wife's pronunciation during a television program. He was inundated with furious letters from female viewers, and is persuaded they voted him out of

TELEVISION AND POLITICS: INSERT I. (A)

Probably the single most effective use of television in politics occurred in my own country during the 1952 presidential campaign. General Eisenhower was the Republican nominee, having been selected after a bitter Convention battle over Senator Taft - not because he was better qualified but because the leaders of the Republican Party thought he had a better chance of winning. Richard Nixon, a relatively obscure Senator from California, was the Vice Presidential candidate. The two men were campaigning in different parts of the country when it was disclosed that a group of California citizens had raised a special fund for ~~Mr.~~ SENATOR Nixon. This fund was designed to defray special campaign expenditures incurred by Mr. Nixon, and it amounted to approximately eighteen thousand dollars. This disclosure created a political storm equal to that produce d in ~~this~~ your country by the ~~Zinoviev~~ Zinoviev letter. What came to be known as the "Nixon Fund" was to be used to pay for transportation, hotel expenses, telephone tolls, Christmas cards, advertising and general publicity. When the storm broke, excited politicians of both Parties took counsel. The Democrats demanded that the Republicans jettison Nixon as their candidate. Many Republican newspapers

echoed the demand. Candidate Eisenhower echoed uncertainty. Many professional Republican politicians said privately that Nixon must go or the Party would be lost. Many personal friends and political cronies urged Nixon to resign for the good of the Party. Nixon and his advisors finally decided that he should make a nation-wide television explanation. The necessary arrangements were made, and the tension and suspense mounted. Would the Senator quit or try to ride out the storm? He hadn't made up his own mind until a few hours before air time. When he faced the cameras he talked from notes, made an explanation of the fund which probably would not entirely have satisfied a Royal Commission, said he didn't think he ought to quite because he wasn't a quitter, and "incidentally" said Nixon, "Pat is not a quitter". At this point the camera panned around to show Mrs. Nixon's profile. "After all", said the Senator, "her name was Patricia Ryan and she was born on St. Patrick's Day, and you know the Irish never quit." Nixon ~~made modest reference to his modest war record, and~~ admitted that he had received one gift after his election to the Senate. He spoke as follows: "It was a little cocker spaniel dog - black and white spotted, - and our little girl Tricia, the six-year-old, named it

Checkers. And you know the kids love that dog, and I just want to say this right now, that regardless of what they say about it we're going to keep it." Checkers was not present in the studio. (Beautiful line - Just cruel TO Pat)

As the clock ran out the candidate for Vice President, with tears in his eyes and voice, was saying: "Wire and write to the Republican National Committee on whether you think I should stay or get off, and whatever their decision is, I will abide."

The result was sensational - telegrams, telephone calls, came pouring in; Eisenhower and Nixon staged a reunion, posed for pictures with arms around each other; and said Eisenhower to Nixon: "You're my boy!" No Hollywood writer would have dared write such a script, but it worked. Without question, Nixon was saved by television, although any fair-minded observer would probably have to give some of the credit to his wife, the Irish and to Checkers. Still the fact remains that the climate of opinion could not have been changed so quickly had television not been available to transmit throughout the country this amazing performance which caused many to weep, and only a few to laugh.

(*) U.S. press with damaging call of speech: "M. calls me Fascist"

Insert I: (D)

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin, could not play upon the human emotions with the same skill as his friend, Richard Nixon. The trail that he left on the face of my country will not soon fade, and there may be others who will try to follow in his footsteps. His weapon was fear. He was a politically unsophisticated man with a flair for publicity; and he was powerfully aided by the silence of timid men who feared to be the subject of his unfounded ~~if not false~~ accusations. He polluted the channels of communication, and every radio and television network, every newspaper and magazine publisher who did not speak out against him, contributed to his evil work and must share part of the responsibility for what he did, not only to our fellow citizens but to our self-respect. He was in a real sense the creature of the mass media. They made him. They gave nation-wide circulation to his mouthings. They defended their actions on the grounds that what he said was news, when they knew he lied. His initial appearances on television were in the role of a man whose ~~MMXX~~ sole desire was to oust communists from government and all responsible positions. That was his announced objective. The overwhelming majority of people undoubtedly sympathized with him. It has been said repeatedly that television caused his downfall. This is not precisely true. His

prolonged exposure during the so-called Army-McCarthy Hearings, certainly did something to diminish his stature. He became something of a bore. But his downfall really stemmed from the fact that he broke the rules of the club, the United States Senate; when he began attacking the integrity, the loyalty of fellow Senators, he was censured by that body, and was finished. The timidity of television in dealing with this man when he was spreading fear throughout the land, is not something to which this art of communication can ever point with pride, nor should it be allowed to forget it.

"(B) P. 5 —

a penalty must be paid for
counting ones wife whether in
front of a Television camera or
anywhere else.

office. The moral of this story probably is the ancient one that ~~it's a mistake to correct one's wife, whether in front of a television or on any social occasion.~~

There is also the case of a politician who ran for public office four times, always assisted by his wife. Three times he won; once he was defeated. In all three victorious campaigns his wife was pregnant; the occasion when he went down to defeat, she wasn't. It would seem that no general law regarding television and politics can be formulated as a result of this experience.

INSERT 1. here Nixon + McCarthy +

Being aware that I am in the presence of my ~~peers~~ masters in science, politics and television, it is my purpose to contend only that the development of television is potentially more important than the development of the zipper. This may be an unreasonably optimistic view, for we may all remember that Rutherford, who first understood nuclear transmutations, held the view - regarded as reasonable at that time - that no practical use would be found on this minor planet for nuclear energy. In this furious present We may ~~yet~~ discover that television and politics ~~may~~ can be blended in such a way as to produce a more informed and enlightened electorate.

The politician in my country seeks votes, affection and respect, in that order. This is not unique or surprising. It is a trying profession, for the politician must spend an inordinate amount of time with bores. He has practically no mechanism to keep them at a distance. He is even less protected than the bus driver who at least has his "No Talking" sign, or the doctor with his stethoscope. The politician of necessity leads an isolated life, so far as his colleagues are concerned, because most of them are his rivals. Many of them are men of undoubted charm, ability and incredible energy, and yet TOO OFTEN they lack purpose or appetite for anything beyond their own careers. With few notable exceptions they are simply men who want to be loved. They are, by and large, not specialists but general practitioners. They require supreme confidence in their own intelligence and ability. Few among them can make an objective appraisal of ability such as Andre Gide did when he was asked by a foreigner: "Who is France's greatest poet?" And he replied: "Victor Hugo, alas!"

As a profession ALS(?) politicians are hard-working, not particularly dissolute. SOME even prefer success to pleasure. But when it comes to television, the politician is severely handicapped. He is trained in the

art of inexactitude. His words tend to be blunt or rounded, because if they have a cutting edge they may later return to ~~lacerate~~ wound him.

The politician has little time for contemplation or solitude. He fears to step off the escalator, lest others pass him by. There have been a few exceptions. Prime Minister Nehru, who may be said to have been indoctrinated, contends that all politicians would be better off for a few years in jail. Ben Gurion may retire for a spell to his kibbutz in the Negev, confident that he will be recalled. Tiberius went away for seven years before reaching the pinnacle of his power. But today most politicians do not have time even to prepare those well-rehearsed improvisations that are so effective on television. They must choose between talking at length and precisely, and probably boring their audience; or of talking briefly and misleading the audience. One United States Senator attempted to establish ground rules for political performances on television by introducing a bill that would have required all politicians who wore makeup or used visual aids of any kind (referred to in the trade as "idiot cards"), to make public announcement of the fact. This proposal did not become law.

In fact there are very few laws, either in politics or in television. And this is undoubtedly a good thing, otherwise elections would be decided by those who constantly burn candles on the altar of public opinion polls. Stimson Bullitt, in his little book, "What It Means to be a Politician", writes: "People often resent a politician for his failure to be both delicately responsive to public wishes, and a self-sustaining leader who leads. He disappoints them if he is not at once a thistledown on the breeze and a game fish that swims upstream." Hiram Gill was elected Mayor of Seattle on a "closed town" (in the phrase misunderstood in G.B.?) platform. He kept his promise and was dismissed from office at the next election. He ran again on an "open town" platform, was elected, kept this promise, and was again defeated. This confused Gill, who just wanted to be Mayor. Another attitude which makes for disappointed citizens and exasperated politicians, is people's dislike of a cocksure manner, and their concurrent wish that a politician be sure he knows the answers, since they did not elect him to doubt and ponder. They want a humble Messiah. A politician also knows that many of his constituents wish him to perform the functions of his profession, yet be above politics, where Pres Eisenhower tried to be, and where they think Pres. Lincoln was. There is

a common wish that he be both subservient and dignified; that he run petty errands and run them as though he were descending Sinai with tablets of stone."

In a free society politics essentially involve the resolution of conflict. It is part of television's duty to define, illuminate and illustrate the nature of the conflict - to supply the voter with the raw material upon which informed opinion may be based. Thucydides said: "We both alike know that into the discussion of human affairs the question of justice arises only where the pressure of necessity is equal; that the strong take what they can, and the weak grant what they must." The true function of television in politics is to operate a market place in which ideas may compete on an equal footing. It is true that the voter may elect to purchase the secondrate, shopworn or shoddy idea. He may mistake a mobile countenance for an agile mind. He may vote for a profile rather than for principle. An unruly lock of hair may be more effective than a disciplined mind. There is no way to guarantee that television will prevent the voter from being as wrong as he has been so often in the past.

Television offers no guarantee that demagogues ~~will not achieve~~ CAN BE KEPT FROM political power. It merely provides them with wider and more intimate, more immediate circulation. I would suggest that the evidence so far indicates that television can retard or accelerate a trend in public opinion, but it cannot reverse it. The hope so fondly held by enthusiasts a few years ago, the hope that television would make certain that the voter would sort out the phony from the statesman, is not proved. I would doubt that under today's systems of communication a Lincoln or a Jefferson could be nominated or elected. According to all reports, Jefferson had a most abrasive voice, and did not suffer fools gladly. While being interviewed on some panel ~~show~~ program he might have told a particularly obnoxious questioner just what he thought of him, and that, of course, would have been fatal. Mr. Lincoln did not move gracefully, was not a handsome man, had a wife who was no political asset, and he was a solitary man. In our present society he probably would have been examined at an early age by a psychiatrist, received an unfavorable report, have been told his attitude toward "togetherness" was altogether wrong, and advised to enter a trade school if he could gain admittance. On the other hand, it is conceivable that Woodrow Wilson might

have won his fight for the League of Nations, and thereby changed world history, had he been able to use the tools of television and radio. He was a rather pedantic persuader, and these instruments wouldn't have changed him, but they would have given his ideas wider circulation; and the efforts of those who attempted to distort those ideas, might have had less success. It is part of the brief history of television that circulation is directly related to controversy.

But it is well to bear in mind that no large section of the public demands more information or a better presentation of it. Public affairs ~~are~~ is (?) a form of specialization. They are <u>not</u> recreation. The public as such does not feel the call to specialize, even in its own good. On the whole it is unenterprising - it wants its fun. By the time most people turn on the television set the work of the day is over. There is a welcome break in drudgery. Most people, after working hours, prefer to be called away from reality, not made to face it. There is a limit upon the attention the public is willing to devote to politics. This would be

true even if television fulfilled its functions to the utmost. Television by itself does not usher in the democratic millenium, and its inability to do so is not its own peculiar failure. It is due to the unwillingness of men and women, even in the highly developed democracies of Britain and the United States, to take more trouble to govern themselves better.

Both radio and television started as novelties, not as sociological or political devices. Their social importance was not at first imagined. They cost a great deal of money to develop. The pioneers in what Americans call "the industry" were businessmen and financiers, not SCHOLARS, statesmen or politicians. They still do not put public service first, for the simple reason that in my country ~~they~~ IT must pay ~~their~~ ITS way. Business success has to come first.

In a competitive society, political broadcasts must compete. Generally they don't. For example, when Secretary of State Herter returned from the Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers - a conference which had dominated the headlines and news reports for many weeks he ~~made~~ ~~delivered~~ made a fifteen-minute report to the nation on television. It was delivered at 9 o'clock at night, was broadcast by two of the three television networks.

It secured a total audience of approximately thirteen million. At the same time the third network presented an assembly line, predictable Western, a thrilling distortion of our history called "Rifleman". According to the measurement, slightly more than twenty-two million people viewed ~~XMIXX~~ this contribution to escapism.

In 1957, President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles delivered a half-hour report on the Summit Conference. They did a little better than Secretary of State Herter. They were competing with a bunch of "good guys" and "bad guys" in a Western epic called "Wells Fargo". The gun slingers had almost precisely the same audience as the word slingers.

In 1958, President Eisenhower spoke solo for half-an-hour to a Republican gathering. A non-politico on another ~~nationwide~~ network - fellow named Bat Masterson, who wears a bowler hat and goes about bashing people over the head with a gold-headed cane, was viewed by more than twice the number of people who watched the President. And on the third network a personable young singer named Patti Page attracted the attention of a few million more citizens than the President.

During the 1956 Presidential campaign the average audience for all

Grant O—

The television viewer is not fascinated by political orations. This may be due in part to the absence of meaningful controversy. The vote is not interested. One of our most distinguished jurists - Judge Learned Hand has remarked "Doubtless things might become uncomfortable enough to arouse them, but given reasonable opportunity for personal favors, and not too intrusive control, they are content to abdicate their sovereignty and to be flattered, if the shepherds will only shear them in their sleep."

night-time political programs was roughly sixty percent below the average audience for regular entertainment programs.

As you know, we Americans have a great fondness for facts and figures, the kind of research that involves knowing more and more about less and less. During our last presidential campaign, both major Parties began to buy the last five minutes of a popular entertainment program. They were sort of hitch-hiking with their political message at the end of a popular program. It worked pretty well, too. But this produced trouble for the entertainment program immediately following; for it seems that about fifteen percent of the people went away during that five-minute period, and they didn't come back for the following program. This was bad - bad for the networks and for the sponsor of the following show.

There isn't much evidence that the advent of television has altered traditional voting habits. In certain areas there was no television during the 1952 campaign. By 1956 the magic box had arrived, but it produced no significant change in the traditional pattern of voting. Great O-

It may be that television magnifies all the facets of personality, the defects along with the merits. This ability of television to magnify

the components of personality is not necessarily pure gain. A man's weaknesses may be brought to light, which is all to the good. But that is not all that happens, because a public leader in the age of television must be popular as well as sincere. He must have a quality not considered essential in the past, that is simplicity. A politician to be popular must not be too complicated. He must not appear to be too subtle. He must be accessible, must be able to avoid the difficult question without appearing to do so.

We may have an illustration of this in the two races between Eisenhower and Stevenson for the presidency. Both men televised well; both had the necessary modicum of histrionics. But Eisenhower was simple, while Stevenson was considerably less so. Stevenson was more deft, had greater command of language and overtone, and had much more humor. But Stevenson just plain didn't like television. He resented the tyranny of the clock, the bright lights, the make-up, everything about it; and it showed.

Eisenhower may not be at all the characteristic leader in the age of modern communications, but he proved to be much easier for the public to be sure about. There was no doubt about his personality. He was a friendly, good, kind, paternal General who stood above familiar political considerations,

and could be trusted because he was not complicated. Eisenhower conveyed the impression that he would like to step out of the receiving set and, in the American vernacular, "press the flesh" - shake hands, slap the viewer on the back and say: "We're just ordinary guys but together we can get the job done."

Stevenson, on the other hand, gave the impression that things were pretty complicated and would require some hard thinking and difficult decisions.

I am not saying that Stevenson would have won if there had been no modern communications. But his gifts of oratory and political analysis, his ability to improvise sentences that would parse, his mastery of debate and the wealth of his ideas would have counted more in earlier times. Such gifts, I suspect, count more in newsprint (& RADIO?) than they do on the television screen.

NOT TOO CLEAR?

Simplicity communicates itself more easily than complexity in persons; and it also does when it comes to issues. And this is part of the change brought about by television. This is by no means a boon. It

surely is essential to have abstruse and complex ideas simplified, so that many can understand them. But we live in an age in which intelligence may not be able to simplify truthfully. The frontiers of knowledge have been pushed back, and the more that comes to be known the less is understood, or perhaps I should say completely understood , even by the wisest. And since politics and television, more than ever before, ~~has~~ have to take account of much of this abstruse and complicated knowledge, the art of self-government is not going to be perfected by the process of simplification alone. Indeed, looking ahead to the time when human destinies are to be determined by the uses or abuses of new sources of almost unlimited physical power, one may well ask if democracy will be able to develop the competence to deal with these complexities. If so, it must be through a broadening of education and a use of communications not yet realized, or perhaps even conceived.

I would suggest that the art of government in the near future, if it is to improve or indeed survive, must develop along one of two approaches: either through a society in which politics - the whole art of governing - is left exclusively to the wise, or through an intellectually improved

democracy. A society of the wise does not need television. Democracy, I suggest, cannot do its work well without it.

Supposing that freedom is more important than safety, then the tyranny of the wise is only less objectionable than the tyranny of the unwise. ~~But I will not detain you with such a choice, for we are not~~ have it. The choice we ~~do~~ face is between a despotism of the ruthlessly ambitious, not of the wise, and of an intelligent democracy. The function of television in either kind of state is sure to be of tremendous importance. But in a free society it might almost be called supreme.

In a totalitarian state the role of television will not be to teach or facilitate self-government. It must be the opposite. Its purpose must be to make the governed content not to govern themselves. It will be to distract, and indeed to entertain. I suggest that what we ~~and the democracies~~ are now asking from television is precisely what the totalitarian dictators will order when their countries have as many television sets per capita as we have. For people whose standard of living is rising, and who do not feel that their poverty is a sacrifice they are paying for the future, will need to be distracted if they are to be ruled by a despot.

It is surely ironic that we in Britain and the United States who ask for so much entertainment from television - so much escapism - so much insulation from harsh reality - are not having such programs imposed upon us by tyrants. We have been making the choice freely. But we have made it without any awareness of the nature, intensity and inevitability of the contest between the democracies and totalitarianism. We have reached our present prosperity and seeming security without taking much heed. But now our societies must take on a new and more conscious development, and television must rise to a more constructive task. We must rid ourselves of our allergy to unpleasant and disturbing information.

I have acknowledged the natural limits to the performance of this task. I have admitted that television of itself cannot usher in the Utopia of freedom. I have ventured to suggest that the great drag on the growth of democracy is that people do not care to specialize in self-government, even if they know vaguely that the science of government never was as difficult as it is growing to be. Television is a tool that is not being used to finish the job of ~~adult~~ education.

It is the duty of the politician to see to it that the controls imposed

INSERT 2: (A)

The editing of informational film for television presents problems that are without precedent. It is only a slight exaggeration to say that you may read verbatim text of what a man has said, but you do not understand what he means unless you see him say it. It is impossible to edit from text alone. A demonstration of how the spoken word plus picture can be misunderstood when reduced to cold print, occurred in connection with a recent interview with Field Marshal Montgomery of Alamein. It was presented in my country as a conversation lasting an hour. The Field Marshal was blunt, unequivocal and most amiable. He was less than enchanted by certain aspects of American foreign and military policy. He indicated that some of our leaders had been, and were, fallible. He thought it important that if war should come again to Europe, American blood should be shed on the first day. And he said, to the accompaniment of laughter by all participating in the program, that he had promised his Continental friends that if necessary he, the Field Marshal, would shoot one himself. Now the British Press, working only from the text of the interview, broke out in a rash of headlines to the effect that, "Monty has done it again!", "Americans Outraged By Montgomery Attack"; in general this savage blow at Anglo-American amity was deplored. The fact was

Insert 2: (B)

that judged by all normal standards of measurement the Americans loved it. There were a couple of critical editorials, but they appeared in papers that would denounce the arrival of manna, if it were stamped "Made in Britain".

As a result of this program I saw exactly three critical communications from viewers - many requests for a repeat performance or for, "More of Montgomery".

I do not blame my friends in Fleet Street for their treatment of this incident. After all, they were working from text and had not seen and heard the Field Marshal say these things which they were sure would outrage the Americans. It illustrates one of the differences between print and television. What is said is important, but how it's said may be equally important. And it may be said hopefully that perhaps this reaction on the part of my fellow-countrymen reflects a developing maturity. And it should be added that those who were distressed about what they regarded as the Field Marshal's indiscretions should see and hear some of his comments on the American scene for which we did not have time! We are those for a subsequent report, and I venture to predict that the alliance will survive the shock. After all, the Field Marshal didn't

very much that couldn't be turned up by a careful reading of the British ~~XXXXX~~ Press. He just said it a little more bluntly, and looked the Americans squarely in the eye and smiled when he said it.

~~I have been advised by a friend who has survived many such interviews, that~~

The ability to smile and to wait is just about the indispensible asset in interviewing a soldier or a politician, if the interview is being filmed. If you put a direct question, the interviewee will answer it as he has probably answered that same question dozens of times before. Then begins the ~~XXXXX~~ waiting game. He thinks he has given you the definitive answer. ~~my friend advises:~~ You manage a slightly uncomprehending, puzzled expression, and you can watch his mind work. He hears that compulsive whirr of the camera in the background, and he says to himself (and I've known one or two to say it out loud to the interviewer): "You stupid oaf, if you didn't comprehend that I'll put it language that you can understand", and proceeds to do so. Then in the course of editing you throw out the first answer and use the second one. And, as Mark Twain would have said: "That's about all, or maybe more than I know about conducting an interview."

on television do not prevent it from being a medium where ideas may compete for the allegiance of the viewer. And it is the duty of those who control television to use it as a sound mirror to reflect conditions as they are. If what is reflected on the end of that tube is bigotry, poverty, ~~discrimination~~ discrimination or prejudice, that is good and wholesome so long as the picture be true. Where there is controversy it must be reflected. We have no alternative system so long as we are dedicated to the proposition that the vo t er in the polling booth is sovereign. Television must find a little time to remind us of our inheritance, and it must find more than a little time for the dissenters, the heretics, the minority spokesmen who may be tomorrow's majority.

— Insert 2 here -

The informative program can compete successfully for the listener's attention, but it must be good and it must be fair, and it must be fearless. Television won't save us, and probably it won't destroy us, but we should be mindful of Bernard Shaw's counsel: "We must get what we want, or we will come to want what we get."

It is a limited medium; it can amuse, entertain, and it can sell goods. It can also arouse curiosity, stimulate interest, cause the viewer to read

Insert (a) P. 21 -

But it can't reason - and is no substitute for reading x

and argue. It can stretch the horizon of his interest. Insert (a) (~~The Horizon's~~ "LIMITED" ~~AS A DOGMA~~)

In ancient times cartographers were wont to label unknown or unexplored areas of the map with the legend, "Here be dragons". In both television and politics this anglo-american partnership ought to go searching for dragons. We are both disposed to sit at home juggling our prejudices while we think we are thinking, sending out an occasional missionary to preach to the already converted. It is true that our political systems and our television systems differ. Your politicians are liable to answer a particularly outrageous or libellous statement ~~by~~ FROM their opponents by saying: "You may be right", or "There may be something in what you say." Whereas our politicians would be content merely to label his opponent as the lineal descendant of thieves and traitors. Some of the exchanges between our two countries resemble the First Mate who wrote in the ship's log: "The Captain was drunk today." Whereupon the Captain made the entry: "The First Mate was sober today."

We need to argue more. This alliance is not a fragile ~~thingxlikely~~ thing likely to collapse if our differences are exposed. We ought to use

television to explore the areas where the dragons live. We are both so preoccupied with the Russian menace that we forget our own potential. After all, freedom of expression is one of the hallmarks of our societies. By exercising it we lose only our prejudice and our ignorance.

In the field of television we have a few items for export that may be superior in quality to "Wagon Train", "Wells Fargo", or "I Love Lucy". And certainly the American viewer is isolated from the best product of British television. Something should be done about it, and the doing would not be difficult.

It would be cruel and inhumane to require our fellow citizens to read both Hansard and the Congressional Record. This would most certainly undermine faith in the alliance. Some laugh to laugh + philosophers to weep. But there is no reason why we could not establish a weekly ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ session of what might be called a "Mid-Atlantic Parliament" by way of television. The dragons might object, but I foresee no opposition from other sources save the timid and those who fear the truth. Why not a weekly conversation piece between a Member of Parliament and a Senator or Representative? An oldfashioned argument, using this newfangled instrument. If you are offended, as you were when we

tried to stop you flying a commercial airline across the Pacific, or when we refused to accept a low British bid for a hydro-electric plant, let's argue it out. Likewise, when you are reluctant to have American intermediate range missiles on British soil, or are somewhat less than enthusiastic about American bombers flying about over your heads with a bellyfull of nuclear weapons, let's argue about that. There would be no shortage of controversy - controversy makes good television. It wouldn't be very expensive. Certainly there is no shortage of politicians, and we might just possibly learn something. The right to disagree, indeed to ~~blackguard~~ Rile each other in public, is one of the many things that makes us different from totalitarian states. ~~It~~ The OPTION needs to be exercised.

There are, it is true, subtle differences in the debating techniques employed in the House of Commons and in Congress, but the language has not diverged to the point where we fail to understand each other's insults, and it is some time since honorable gentlemen wore swords or members of Congress carried pistols.

I think it was von Clausewitz who said that in war the first duty was to recognize one's enemy. Surely in peacetime the first duty is to recognize one's friends. And the second duty is to argue with them ~~with~~ it

complete candor. I am told that the width of the carpet dividing the House of Commons was determined by the length of two rapiers, in order that Honorable Members might not puncture each other in the heat of debate. If we use this electronic instrument properly, the Atlantic Ocean need be no wider than that carpet in the House of Commons.

~~Close~~ Conclusion — the end

This is not to suggest that politics should represent the only television traffic between our two countries. This instrument, if properly used can be made to transport our fellow citizens across the Atlantic faster ~~and less~~ than the most modern jet. It can make us acquainted. It can cross fertilize our cultures and it can strengthen our common heritage. Neither ~~the~~ our broadcasters nor ~~the~~ our politicians are doing this best, while the Russians are doing this worst. If this alliance ever flinches or ~~fails~~ falters — it will be because we have failed to communicate ~~to~~ with each other. Our policies may from time to time reflect fear but our purpose is as clear in the perilous present as it was ~~dang~~ to all of you in the days when this island stood for a whole year

-the one Fortress of Freedom, ready willing, and indeed eager to defend the faith x—

~~It may be that I am wrong. For I have ventured beyond a reporter's province. Perhaps I should be long in your midst, your island ways.~~

~~Perhaps this alliance will wither away. It is not easy to be partners in an uneasy peace x~~

The common purpose is clear - we desire and are determined to live in the same kind of world x. We argue about methods & tactics not about objectives x

Television and Radio can and should offset these arguments - should unveil our

accomplishments and frustrations x
and common hopes & fears x
To speak our minds whether face to face
or at a distance thru electronic devices
is part of our heritage may it continue
to be our habit x

Iabakov, Dr. G.

Oct.I4th,I958
Cleveland,Ohio

Editor inChief
CBS,New-York,N.Y.

Dear Sir,

I am a new-comer to U.S. and I have just recently escaped communism after having horribly suffered there/sentenced to death,then to 20 year of inprisonment,and later released following a revision of my court case/.The only reason for all this was my devoted friendship with americans,reseidents of my native country before world war II. So you can believe my sincerety and confession that I was shocked to hear unfavourable echos regarding your BS whose achievements I do very well know. The echos are relevant to the so called Ed.R.Murrow's political commentaries.More than ten highly intelligent and educated people - americans and immigrants suggested me not to listen these commentaries because of their antiamericanism and indirectly or directly - procommunist. While not sharing exactly their opinion,I take the liberty of pointing out some of them:

I.The manner in which he ie represented to the public,they say,is typical communist.First there is no other commentator of no broadcasting system in the world? advertized in the way it is done about Mr.Murrow;of course they believe - under his personal insistance.Simultaneously,they continue - as communists do their propaganda unbacked by any human truth,so his commentaries are nothing but recordings of the events,or are commentaries as far as some antiamerican purpose is aimed at. According to those people this way of treatening the public and the world is one of the contributing factors for the fading american prestige throughout the globe.

2.Mr.Murrow's commentaries refer only to subjects that are vital for the american nation,but always contrary to the stand of the american government,performed even after the american government has taken a distinct stand before the entire world.They point out as examples the way Mr.Murrow has behaved during the onset of the middle east crisis,Quemoy,etc.This they think could have been done but directly to the american government,not publicly,as they say-it is unadmitable from a patriotic stand point of view to be carried on in the way Mr.Murrow has been doing it.

3.Those people say,Mr.Murrow is unconcerned of such events as Little Rock or Atlanta,or for instance the mass fleeing of germans and german youth and scientists from east Germany - to West Germany.But he is silent on these issues because the former are profiting communist propaganda,the latter -damaging.

4. He is very hostile to Mr.Dulles and identifies the U.S.foreign policies as personal Mr.Dulles',which is offending because Mr.Dulles and the President are basing their decisions on the motivations by other factors,first The General Staff.

5.Mr.Murrow's commentaries are of such character that every communist would gladly sign under them.He is much adhered to the peace,which is the thesis of the communists,but he never stops just on this issue of immense significance;he is not pointing out the hypocrisy of the communists who behind the peace propaganda are building and have built the mighiest military mashine ever existing in history.

6.The way he treated the role of Natinalist'China Government has been disastrous for U.S,in the eyes of the enemies and of the friends: an ally to be degraded,in times fateful,to the state of almost criminal,as far as there was qualification by Mr.Murrow that Nationalist China Leader simply wishes to drive U.S.to war,which is unsupported by no one fact,denied sharply by Mr.J.Alsop.

Finally it is well known by the entire world,those people criticizing Mr. Murrow, ~~knows~~ say,that what Natinalist China has been and what is now is all a result of U.S.policies,that everything has been done according to the interests of U.S. and the free world,so how can now be preceeded in a way of retreat and disloyalty,in the face of the entire world.

To my arguments that not all should be understood under this light,those same people maintain that:you will see now,they are adding-the aniversary of the Hungarian national anticommunist uprising is forthcoming.This is an event of historical,colossal meaning and significance for this great nation - U.S. No one american patriot,no one pretencious commentator as Mr.Murrow,would have the right to have the opinion of being a patriot;no one man-lover of peace and freedom would ever cease to draw lessons from this hungarian tragedy when the communist empire was in process of destruction.But they went on - you will see what will be the behaviour of Mr.Murrow on this occasion.These are the problems which Mr.Murrow should comment and comment in a proamerican way,consistent with the pretensions,responsibilities,the leadership and the generosity of this great people ,the american people in comparison with the soviet barbarism and spiritual and material misery,dishonesty and slavery.

As I said,being a newcomer and not well aware of the reality here in this country I only wonder at one fact:why communism is gaining more and more ground why your friends are decreasing in number,why american prestige is diminishing? It is true that the main cause is communist propaganda.But another cause is that you americans yourselves care little,that is-insufficiently to retain and even increase it. And where we would reach as developments go on in this dynamic age? I think that all this what is happening with the free world,especially following the hungarian revolution,every failure of the free world whose leader and protector you pretend to be,is a sin and a crime.We have to succeed and more and more reach the goals of christianity and freedom and since we are failing - we have to recognize that something wrong is been done.And in that wrong a considerable share have every one of us and especially your BCS and all other american broadcasting systems and services,for they are very little credited in comparison with other western broadcasting systems.

I therefore beseech you,as your fateful friend,who since june 1956 has been in Bulgaria/my native Country/,Chechoslovakia,Jougoslavia,Germany/the Federal Republic and France and has a sufficient and objective understanding about what those peoples think of you and what you are losing and the immense threat ahead of you-be kind to improve your transmissions,to harmonize them with the goals of the mission of this nation.Let the deeds speak of your job, let SBS become a well of patriotism,of healthy information and of creative cultural activity.It is time to draw the public to a higher level of spiritual and cultural interests.It is time to regain what you rapidly lost and are constantly losing.On both sides of the iron curtain is believed and desperately hoped that you will continue to be and will become still stronger "salt of the earth"as Jesus says.Otherwise a undescribable tragedy will follow and destroy all.

Yours very sincerely and devotedly :

/Dr.G.Tabakov/
Commodore Hotel,Cleveland,Ohio
/on the Staff of Babies'and Children's Hosp
WRU /

[redacted]

[redacted]

APRIL - JUNE 1945

Truman talks to Congress for first time
845 German planes knocked out in 1 day; Spaatz says air war is won
Nimitz reveals first Kamikaze attack off Okinawa
Truman broadcasts to armed forces: "We're depending on you"
Vandenberg-Connally cheered in Congress before leaving for San Francisco
Russians enter Berlin
Nuremberg falls on Hitler's Birthday
Reports from Belsen and Buchenwald
Rodgers-Hammerstein "Carousel" opens
Ernie Pyle killed on Ie Jima
Gloria Vanderbilt marries Stokowski
April 28th false armistice upsets UN delegates meeting in San Francisco
Chandler new baseball czar says "may be in error but never in doubt"
Stettinius opens UN - Truman, Molotov, Eden speak
Mussolini lynched
Hitler dead
British blackout ends
Nicholas Murray Butler to resign in October
VE-Day; Truman, Churchill on radio
Lehman off to Europe for UNRRA
Doenitz surrender broadcast
First French election since liberation goes left
La Guardia says he won't run again
OPA Boss Chester Bowles issues reconversion plans
Hutchins calls for end of "hard peace" talk
Vinson reconversion report
85 points for discharge
Goering surrenders in Bavaria
Doolittle predicts 2000 planes will hit Japan daily
Keitel officially surrenders
U-858 surrenders off Cape May
Weygand arrested in Paris says:"I don't give a damn"
Churchill says invasion saved Britain from long-range artillery attack
Commando Kelly in ban drive
Trouble brews in Trieste
Clay says German occupation will be stern
Labor Party votes to quit coalition; Churchill offers to resign
Himmler suicide
Phil Murray calls for 20% wage raise

JUNE - SEPTEMBER 1945

First big boat-load of US soldiers reaches US from Europe
Peron's Argentine revolt
Post Office tries to bar Esquire magazine
Bradley made VA head - gets rousing reception in Missouri
Marshall, Grew etc testify as House opens peacetime draft hearings
Boston welcomes Patton
FBI makes "Amnesia" spy arrests
Russia agrees on UN veto procedure
Churchill campaigns - Conservatives lose
Okinawa captured - Buckner killed - Typhoon hits island
Eisenhower welcomed home
Carrier Bunker Hill sunk in Pacific
AP loses anti-trust suit begun by Marshall Field
Truman in Berlin says we're not fighting for conquest
Potsdam
Halsey takes largest task force off Honshu
Leopold abdicates
Byrnes named Secretary of State
Hopkins retires
MAc Arthur says Phillipine campaign is ended
Grew tells of Jap peace feelers
Plane hits Empire State building
Petain treason trial
First DDT for consumers
First A Bomb dropped on Hiroshima - Truman broadcast
Japs surrender @ Truman balcony message
Wainwright liberated
Churchill urges US-Britain keep secret of bomb
Hirohito broadcast
Nagi-Kari in Japan
Chaing broadcast of Chinese victory
De Gaulle visits US
Quisling guilty
Truman broadcast on Jap surrender; also to forces overseas
Pearl Harbor report partially blames Marshall, Hull, etc.
Official Jap surrender aboard Missouri
Attlee broadcast to Britain says must tighten belts
Shirley Temple gets married
Tojo suicide attempt

SEPTEMBER - DECEMBER 1945

London Foreign Ministers Conference
Haw-Haw guilty
Emperor visits Mac Arthur
The Lost Weekend
Wallace on radio urges labor to demand higher wages
Mac Arthur broadcasts occupation report
Laval shot
Reds win Czech election
Budenz returns to Church
Birth of Fourth Republic
Truman in Central Park Navy Day speech says we'll keep A-Bomb secret
Spruille Braden attacks Peron
Dodgers announce they've signed Jackie Robinson
Truman broadcast on prices, wages, etc.
Heavy fighting in Java - Wilhelmina makes broadcast
Blanshard-Davis tear up gridiron
Churchill-Bevin discuss bomb in Commons
Byrnes discusses bomb in Charleston speech
Joe Vitelo sees a "vision" in the Bronx
War in Palestine increases
Auto strike - GM vs. UAW
Jackson speech opens Nurnberg trial
Reds lost elections in Austria and Hungary
Hurley resigns as China Ambassador; blasts State Department at hearing
Revolt in Iran
Foreign Ministers meet in Moscow
General Patton dies

JANUARY - APRIL 1946

UN General Assembly meets in London on Iran
Truman State Union message
CIO Steel Strike - Murray press conference in Washington
Fairless suggests on radio Truman call Labor-Management Conference
Kimmel tells Pearl Harbor story to Congress
Boston welcomes Curley after his mail fraud conviction
De Gaulle resigns
Hearings begin on Pauley nomination for Navy Secretary
Nylons come back as women riot to get them
Harry Hopkins dies
Trygvie Lie named UN Secretary
Truman broadcasts US must tighten belt(more flour for Europe, etc.)
Byrnes at Foreign Policy dinner urges British loan
Canada spy roundup
Pope inducts new Cardinals(Spellman, Stritch etc.)
Bevin tells Commons there's no need for war with Russia
Byrnes broadcast urging firm policy toward Russia
Churchill at Fulton
Byrnes calls for draft extension in St. Patrick Day's broadcast
Stalin says Churchill sounding new call for war
Attlee offers India Dominion status or immediate independence
Baruch discusses US economy perils before House Committee
Pepper attacks Truman "get tough" policy
Bikini bomb test
Tito captures Mihailovich
La Guardia tells UNRRA at Atlantic City "ticker tape ain't spaghetti"
Reuther elected head of UAW
Gromyko takes walk over Iran issue
MRS. FDR & Truman broadcast from Hyde Park on first anniversary FDR death
Eisenhower urges congress to extend draft
Hoover after tour, broadcasts from Cairo:" Europe has real food crisis"
Congress waters down OPA;Bowles on radio:"We're on joyride to disaster"
Chief Justice Harlan Stone dies
Chandler bans Mexican baseball jumpers for five years
Soft coal strike begins

MAY - SEPTEMBER 1946

Roxas elected President of Phillipines
Italian monarchy ends - de Gasperi wins
Prison seige at Alcatraz
Byrnes back from Paris proposes 25-year pact in radio broadcast
Jap war trials begin
French reject left Constitution
Railroad strike - Truman on radio
Hoover on radio re European famine tour
Truman asks joint session of Congress for Labor Restraints
AF Whitney tells NY Labor Rally:"can't make President out of ribbon clerk
Carter Glass dies
Reds win Czech election
Vinson named Chief Justice
The Durants & the Hesse Jewel thefts
La Salle Hotel fire in Chicago
Mikolajczyk says Reds can't shoot everyone in Poland
Peron hailed as legal President of Argentina
Justice Jackson attacks Hugh Black
Baruch presents International atomic control plan to UN
Louis KOs Billy Conn
Truman veto message on OPA
British begin Palestine curfew
Garrson-May hearings begin
Sidney Hillman dies
Byrnes radio report on Paris Big Four Meeting
De Gaulle calls for Western European bloc & treaty with Britain
Bradley criticizes 52-20 boys
H.G. Wells dies
Yugoslavs shoot down US plane
4000 dead in Hindu-Moslem rioting in Calcutta
Maritime strike
Byrnes in Stuttgart tells Germans they should run own affairs
Greeks go Right; vote return of King George
Wallace tells NY CIO "U.S. should go easy on Russia"
Barney Ross "episode"
Truman asks Wallace to resign as Secretary of Commerce
Stepinac arrested by Tito
Louis knocks out Tami Mauriello

OCTOBER - DECEMBER 1946

Hollywood film strike
Goering sentenced to hang - suicide
Taft denounces Nurnberg trial at Kenyon College
Jackson at Buffalo says Nurnberg trials were justified
Stillwell dies
UN Assembley meets in NY - Truman, Molotov, Bevin speak
Russia proposes troop inventories at UN
Mergenthaler $800,000 linotype swindle
Joe Martin in pre-election radio speech says "GOP is ready to lead"
PAC radio plugs built around FDR
GOP wins Congressional elections
Dewey carries NY by biggest majority in history
Truman in Armistice Day speech says:"I accept the election verdict"
Jimmy Walker dies
Reds win Romanian "election"
Goldsborough holds Lewis in contempt - fined - miners go back to work
Navy almost upsets Army in last minute of football game
GOP holds first victory dinner in 18 years; Reece tells Truman watch out
Atlantic Winecoff Hotel fire
UN decides to locate in NYC - Rockefeller donates land
Gene Talmadge dies

-- 1947 --

Britain nationalizes coal mines
80th Congress tries to bar Bilbo
Byrnes resigns and Marshall succeeds him
Thompson-Talmadge Georgia governorship battle
Reds win Poland's first "free" election
Grace Moore and King Gustav killed in Copenhagen air crash
The Durocher "episode" leading to his ban from baseball
Eisler accused of being top US Commie
Britain's coal famine, electric shut off, floods, meat rationed, Cripps
Peace treaties for Italy, Romania and Hungary signed in Paris
Navy Antarctic expedition finds pea-green lakes, etc
British Royal family goes to Capetown
British announce they'll withdraw from India in '48 - split into 2
France & Britain sign 50 year alliance
Camino drives bus to Florida
Collyer brothers dead
Supreme Court finds Lewis in contempt -Lewis calls off strike
Moscow Foreign Ministers meeting on German-Austrian treaty
Truman asks Greek-Turkey aid
Margaret Truman makes singing debut
Congress outlaws portal-to-portal suits
Truman orders loyalty check
111 die in Centralia mine explosion
King George of Greece dies
British dump Palestine problem into U.N.
468 killed in Texas City explosion
First UN Assembly meets in NY on Palestine
Senate passes Taft-Hartley
28 admit guilt in South Carolina lynching - are aquitted
Mayor Hague announces retirement
Senate filibuster, longest in 20 years, holds up veto vote on Taft-Hartle
Eisenhower accepts Presidency of Columbia
Paris Foreign Ministers Conference
Marshall Foreign Aid speech at Harvard
May-Garrson conviction
Franco wins plebiscite
Congress passes Armed Service unification bill
Security Council orders end of fighting in Java
Howard Hughes investigation
Greek gurellas set up free state
Commies win Hungarian election which world calls "fraud"
Rio Conference on mutal defense
US offers to share isotopes
Jewish refugees riot on Exodus en route to camp
Russia accuses US of propaganda instigating new war - Cominform formed
Grain for Europe; meatless, eggless, poultryless days

1947 - CON'T

Petrillo recording ban
De Gaulle's new political machine wins
Movie writers before House Un-American activities Committee
Bar Harbor forest fires
Truman Civil Rights message
Man of War dies
Mikolajczyk escapes
Molotov says atom bomb secret no longer exists
Truman asks for power to revive price controls if needed
Princess Elizabeth married
Foreign Ministers meet in London on German treaty
John Winant commits suicide
Yankees beat Dodgers in 7 game World Series

-- 1948 --

Babe Ruth dies
Gandhi dies
Little UN Assembly meets for first time
Eisenhower says he couldn't accept nomination
Truman asks Congress for Greek-Turkey aid
Glen Taylor bolts Democratic Party
Reds take over Czechoslavakia; Benes resigns
Michael repudiates abdication
Masaryk killed
Miners & meat packers go on strike
Truman asks revival of draft - Congress approves it
Benelux Alliance signed
Congress passes Marshall Plan
Lewis ignores Court order on strike, then tells miners to return
Communists lose Italian election
Government seizes railroads
Isreal becomes nation; Arabs invade Palestine
Big Four give up on Austrian peace treaty
Russians veto Czech inquiry in UN
Clark rules no Commies can hold Federal jobs
Truman calls Congress "worst in history"
Russians blockade Berlin - end four power rule there
Louis beats Walcott
Dewey-Warren nominated
Truman-Barkley nominated
Thurmond-Wright nominated
Wallace-Tayylor nominated
Special Session of Congress
Elizabeth Bentley testifies at spy hearings; Hiss, Chambers
Mrs. Kasenkina episode
Wilhemina abdicates
Commies storm Berlin City Hall
Count Bernadotte killed
UN meets in Paris
Stalin says US try ing to start new war
First DPs arrive in U.S.
Commies get complete control of Manchuria
Cleveland-Braves World Series & close pennant race
Tojo to hang
Princess Elizabeth has baby
THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN - Truman, Barkley elected

Fall '56

Eng Post Fall 1956

Chicago Speech 10/15/58

American Life Insurance (10/11/56)

FOREIGN POLICY DECISIONS SINCE THE WAR

1. WE STAND UP TO THE SOVIET UNION TO STOP PENETRATION OF IRAN. 1945 AND 1946

2. BRITISH LOAN, JULY 1946

3. TRUMAN DOCTRINE, MARCH 1947

4. MARSHALL PLAN, 1947-1950

5. WE RELIEVE YUGOSLAVIA, JUNE 1948

6. POINT FOUR, JANUARY 1949

7. NATO ORGANIZED, APRIL 1949

8. AIRLIFT TO BERLIN, JUNE-AUGUST 1949

9. KOREA INTERVENTION, JUNE 1950 TO JULY 1953

10. MUTUAL AID PACTS, WITH JAPAN, PHILIPPINES, ANZUS, 1951, WITH KOREA 1953

11. JAPANESE PEACE TREATY, SEPTEMBER 1951

12. ATOMS FOR PEACE OFFER, DECEMBER 1953

13. CEASE FIRE IN INDOCHINA (WE DECIDE AGAINST MILITARY PARTICIPATION) JULY 1954

14. SEATO TREATY, SEPTEMBER 1954

15. TRIESTE SETTLEMENT, OCTOBER 1954

16. RESOLUTION ON DEFENSE OF FORMOSA, JANUARY 1955

17. AGREEMENT TO REARM GERMANY, MAY 1955

18. OPEN SKIES OFFER, (SUMMIT MEETING) JULY 1955

19. WE WITHDRAW ASSUAN DAM OFFER, JULY 1956

CONTINUED.....

20. WE TAKE MIDDLE GROUND, SUEZ CRISIS AUGUST-OCTOBER 1956

21. NEGATIVE MOVES AGAINST SOVIET, USUALLY REACTIONS, NOT ACTIONS

22. POSITIVE AND CREATIVE STEPS TO WHICH SOVIET HAS TO REACT

23. LESS CLEAR AS TO CHARACTER.

CONCLUSIONS

1. NUCLEAR STALEMATE

2. ENTHUSIASM FOR MILITARY PACTS

3. SPLIT PERSONALITY IN REGARD TO COLONIALISM

4. PROBLEM OF UNDER-DEVELOPED AREAS -- ALMOST ONE BILLION SEARCHING FOR NEW ALLEGIANCE

5. ASIA, SIX HUNDRED MILLION UNDER COMMUNIST CONTROL SINCE END OF WAR -- SIX HUNDRED MILLION LIVE IN TEN NATIONS CREATED SINCE WAR'S END

6. COMPETITION BETWEEN INDIA AND CHINA -- WHICH CAN BECOME MAGNET -- FIRST FIVE YEAR PLAN STARTED IN 1950, FOUR YEARS LATER INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION UP NEARLY FORTY PER CENT -- STILL NEEDS HELP

7. COUNTRIES OF FREE ASIA REPRESENT HUGE ARSENAL NATURAL RESOURCES -- FIVE-SIXTHS OF WORLD'S RUBBER, ONE-HALF OF ITS TIN -- QUININE -- KAPOK -- TWO-THIRDS WORLD OUTPUT OF COCONUT PRODUCTS -- ONE-THIRD PALM OIL -- ALSO TUNGSTEN AND CHROMIUM SIGNIFICANT QUANTITIES

8. BASIS OF FOREIGN AID

   IF TRYING TO BUY FRIENDSHIP AND GRATITUDE, BETTER SAVE OUR MONEY --

CONTINUED.....

IF TRYING TO BUILD MILITARY ALLIANCES THROUGH ECONOMIC AID, ALSO FUTILE ENDEAVOR -- BUT IF GOAL IS TO HELP UNDER-DEVELOPED COUNTRIES TO BECOME SELF-SUFFICIENT, INDEPENDENT, DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES THEN WORTH THE EFFORT

9. REAL MEANING OF NEUTRALISM

10. NEED FOR LONG-TERM PLANNING

11. RELATIONS WITH ASIA AND AFRICA

12. THEIR CONFUSION ABOUT COLONIALISM -- IMPOSSIBLITY SUBSTITUTING INTELLIGENCE FOR EXPERIENCE

13. POSSIBILITY OF ISOLATION

May '57

Perform Speaking for Dir. M.I.T. questions. — when been what done

TIMETABLE OF US FOREIGN POLICY SINCE WAR

1945 Sept 2	VJ-Day
1945 Oct.27	Truman:"We believe in the eventual return of sovereign rights & self-government to all peoples who have been deprived of them by force. . . We shall refuse to recognize any government imposed on any nation by force of any foreign Power."
1945 Dec 6	US lends Britain $4.4 billons.
Dec 21	General Marshall arrives Nanking to end civil war in China.
1946 Jan 14	Baruch plan submitted to UN atomic energy commission.
March 6	US-sponsored Japanes constitution published.
July 4	Independent Philippine Republic proclaimed
1947 Feb 24	Britain informs US she unable continue aid to Greece and Turkey after March 31.
March 12	Truman doctrine proclaimed.
April 24	Hope of Big Four colaboration vanishes with breakdown over German issue at Moscow meeting of Big Four foreign ministers.
June 5	Marshall Plan announced at Harvard.
Sept 2	Rio treaty signed in which American nations agree to assist each other against aggression
1948 Feb.26	(Communist coup in Czechoslovakia)
April 1	(Soviet blockade of Berlin begins.)
May 14	Independent state of Israel proclaimed, recognized by Truman de-faco.
June 11	Senate adopts Vandenberg resolution to provide "certainty in advance concerning the intentions of the USA" and to break with tradition of no foreign entanglements.
June 28	(Cominform expels Yugoslav communists)
July 4	Berlin airlift begins.
1949 Jan 20	Truman announces Point Four program in inaugural
Apr 4	North Atlantic Treaty signed in Washington
Sept 8	US aid to Jugoslavia begins.
Sept.22	US,Canadian & Brit.govts announce first atomic explosion in USSR.

1949 Oct 1	(Chinese People's Republic inaugurated in Peking.)
1950 Jan 5	Truman declares US has no desire to establish military bases on Formosa, will not pursue course leading to involvement in Chinese civil war, will not provide military aid or advice to Chinese forces on Formosa.
Jan 12	Acheson in speech defines US defense perimeter in Far East, omitting Korea & Formosa.
Jan 31	Truman announces order to develop H-bomb
May 25	Tri-partite US-British-French declaration for maintaining status quo in Middle East
June 25	North Korean Communists invade Korea .
June 27	Truman orders US naval & air forces to cover & support South Korean troops. Orders 7th Fleet to prevent attack on Formosa, calls on Chinese govt off Formosa to cease operations against mainland. UN submits resolution to Security Council recommending all member-states "furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel armed attack. Passed by 7 votes.
Sept 15-26	At NATO Council session in NY US proposes to set up West German military units.
Nov. 30	Truman seems to suggest atomic bomb will be used in Kora Atlee decides to visit Washington.
Dec 4-8	Attlee visit ends without pledge not to use atomic weapon in Korea
1951 May 18	UN General Assembly adopts embargo on strategic materials for communist China
	Truman sends Russia text of Goodwill resolution passed by congress expressing friendship of American people for all peoples on earth.
July 18	Acheson proposes understanding with Spain to supplement defense of Western Europe
Aug 6	Soviet Union, answering good will resolution, proposes peace pact by 4 great powers & Red China, and ban on atomic bomb and disarmament.
Sept 8	Japanese peace treaty signed
1953 Jan 20	Eisenhower inaugurated
March 5	Stalin dies
May 10-29	Dulles tours Middle East, asked Nehru to warn Peking to accept truce In Korea. Broaches Bagdad pact.
May 11	Churchill proposes summit conference

1953	July 27	Kor an armistice signed.
	Aug 12	Soviet Union explodes first H-bomb
	Sept 26	US-Spanish defense agreement signed (valid 20 yrs)
	Dec 8	Eisenhower presents atomic peace plan at UN.
	Dec. 14	NATO Council finds France reluctant to sign EDC. Dulles tells press that if not signed: this would compel an agonizing reappraisal of basic US policy.
1954	Jan 12	Dulles annouc ed massive retaliation as policy to deter aggression.
	Jan 25-Feb 18	Big Four foreign minister (in Berlin) decide on Geneva conference for settlement Korean question and for an armistice in Indo-china.
	March 1	US explodes H-bomb in Marshall Islands
	March 28	Caracas Dcotrine announced at Pan-American conference. (Communist control of any American state would require counter-measures).
	March 29	Dulles calls for united action in defense of Indo-China.
	April 16	Nixon (off-record talk at Natl Press Club) advocates sending US troops to Indo-China.
	April 16	Eisenhower, trying to save EDC, promises US will keep troops in Europe, Germany included, as long as that area is threatened, and will consult with Allies before reducing its forces in Europe.
	May 19	US signs defense pact with Pakistan.
	June 30	Dulles acclaims overthrow of pro-com unist Guatemalan government.
	July 21	Geneva conference on Korea & Indochina, which failed to settle Korean question, partitioned Vietnam and neutralized Laos & Cambodia.
	Sept. 3	Communists put military pressure o n offshore Islands, Formosa.
	Oct 4	Western European Union approved at London.
	Oct.20	Eisenhower at news conference says there is no longer any alternative to peac e.
	Dec 2	US re-leashes Chiang Kai-Shek, Eisenhower rejects blockade of Communist China because it would be act of war.
1955	Feb 8	(Malenkov resigns, Bulganin is new premier)
	Apr 23	(Bandung conference)
	May-July	US signs agreements for cooperation in peaceful uses of atomic energy with 26 states
	May 6	West Germany joins NATO
	May 15	Austrian State treaty signed.

1955 July 18-23 Summit conference. Eisenhower proposes aerial inspection,

Aug 1 Talks with Red China on ambassadorial level begin in Geneva

Sept. 20 (USSR grants sovereignty to East German)

Sept 27 Robert Murphy negotiaes with Tito on aid

Egypt announces acceptance of Soviet arms.

Oct 27-Nov 16 Geneva conference of foreign ministers end without agreement

Nov 1 Dulles visits Franco;Nov 6 visits Tito.

Nov 22 Bagdad Pact meets for first time, with US an observer.

Dec. 22 Khruschev rejects Eisenhower aerial inspection proposal

1956 Jan 18 Aid agreement giving Jugoslavia $95 million (most of it a gift) signed. On same day, Soviet-Jugoclav credit agreement published in Belgrade, for $110 millions over 10 yrs.

Jan 25 US tells Israel it not prepared to provide arms "at this time"

Jan 28 Long letters between Bulganin & Eisenhower published Bulganin proposes 20 yr treaty of friendship based on non-interference in each other's a fairs, settlement of disputes by peaceful means in accordance with UN charter, strengthening og economic, cultural relations. Eisenhower declines. Calls for prompt measures to unify Germany, freedom of East European cpative nations to choose own form of government, acceptance of open skies proposal, and fr ee movement of news, people & ideas.

Jan 30-Feb 3 Eden and Llloyd in Washington with no outstanding results.

Feb 22 Eisenhower announces setting aside 44,000 pounds of U-235 for domestic,and similar amount for certain foreign users.

March 7 Eisenhower declares warns that conflict between communists and free world broadening in economic & political field

March 19 Eisenhower asks congress for $4,859,975,000 foreign aid

March 20 Dillon in Paris announces wholehearted US support of France in search for liberal solution in NortbAfrica.

March 26-8 "Little" summit meetings of Eisenhower, Dulles with Canadian,Mexican heads of state, without agenda, communique or results.

April 4 Eisenhower speaking on Middle East leaves doubt whether US forces would aid attacked country in Middle East.

April 21 Eisenhower tells editors:"Interests & purposes of US & free world do not conflict with legitimate interests of Russian nation or aspiration of its people."

1956 June 9	Dulles: "Neuytrality . . . except under exceptional circumstances is an immoral and shortsighted conception."
June 12	US rejects negotiations on foreign minister level with Red China
June 28-30	(Poznan riots)
July 3-10	Nixon tours Philippines, South Vietnam, Formosa, Thailand, Pakistan, Turkey, Sapin
July 19	US withdraws offer to help Egypt build Asswan dam.
July 26	Nasser seizes canal
July 25	House-Senate conferees cut foreign aid to $3,766,570,000
Aug 16-23	London conference on Suez
Sept 19-21	Second London conference on Suez.
Oct 1	Canal Users' association meets
Oct 22	Hungarian revolt starts.
Oct 23	Israeli mobilization reported
Oct 29	(Israeli army marches toward Suez Britain and France intervene)
Nov 3	US signs to provide $98,300,000 aid to Jugoslavia Poland says it is ready to negotiate for American aid
Nov. 6	US calls for cease fire in UN
Nov 15	First UN forces arrive in Egypt
Nov 24	UN General Assembly calls on Britain, France, Israel to comply with resolution of Nov 2, demanind withdrawal from Egypt.
Nov. 28	US ambassador tells Syria of US concern over Soviet arms shipped to that country
1957 Jan 1	Eisenhower announces he will ask congress to authorize more economic aid for Middle East, and pass resolution designed to deter communist aggression in Middle East area.
Jan 5	Eisenhower submits Esienhower doctrine plan to Congress.
Jan 30 to Feb 9	King Saud in Washington
March 9	Eisenhower doctrine resolution signed
March 21-24	Bermuda conference with MacMillen, Lloyd. Certain guided missiles to be made available to Britain
April 6	Nixon reports to Eisenhower on his visit to 8 African countries. US tanker reaches Elath via Gulf of Aq uaba
April 8	Dulles proposed development fund of $750 million for long term foreign aid. Stassen begins unfolding disarmam ent proposals, in London
April 24	US stresses that independence of Jordan is vital
April 27	US grants $10 million to Jordan
April 24	US agrees to changes in status of trade between its allies and Communist China, while maintaining its own embargo
April 22	Dulles (AP luncheon): "We seek the liberation of captive nations. . . We do not ourselves incite violent revolt."

1957 May 7 U.S. stations Matador guided missile unit on Formosa.

since then:

Collapse of disarmament talks.

Dulles backs down on massive retaliation as only deterrent

Cold war breaks out as of old in UN.

Ellenden-Acheson-
Sky Bolt.

MANY VOICES OF AMERICA

USIA's job: make policy intelligible and, if possible, palatable.

associate American people with hopes, aspirations of others

USIA, at annual cost of single Polaris sub, covers only fraction of spectrum of American influence abroad, however.

Other influences: 33,000 missionaries. Operations of Foundations in schools, exchanges, research. Nearly one million soldiers and dependents overseas. 4 million American tourists abroad annually. Vast export of Hollywood and commercial TV.

American papers, magazines have international editions

Reader's Digest: 9 million copies monthly in 12 languages

Time, Newsweek, Life; Paris editions of Herald Trib and NYTimes, Rome Daily American, Stars and Stripes.

USIA OPERATIONS

USIA's role in policy-formulation

NSC attendance

multi-level working relationship with State, Defense

Nuclear Testing

USIA in overseas Embassies

Integral component of "Country Teams" - with State, AID, MAAG, CIA and Service attaches

USIS communications network is one of principal US assets abroad.

Dual USIS role: psychological and public affairs adviser to ambassador and means by which US point of view is communicated to local populations.

Media Operations:

Radio: 107 hours daily in 38 languages on short-wave.

"Package programs": 780 hours daily in up to 60 languages on medium-wave stations throughout non-Communist world.

Latin America alone: 260 stations in 15 countries replay VOA programs.

Films: 600 million people abroad see USIA films monthly.

220 film libraries in 104 countries.

Newsreel "Today" in 700 theaters in 30 African countries.

Television: 150 million audience in 57 countries see USIA's 500 filmed reports and feature stories annually.

"Panorama Panamericano": 42 cities, 18 countries, 12 million audience in Latin America.

"Let's Learn English" on TV in 31 countries.

Service Centers: 176 in 80 countries plus 85 libraries and 128 binational centers.

English-teaching: over one million since 1953.

Exhibits: some 300 circulating worldwide at all times. - Russia -

Exchanges: (with State Dept.) 5,000 students, leaders annually.

Press & Publications: 10,000 words daily to 5 world areas by radio-teletype - commentaries, features, backgrounders.

Amerika Illustrated: 80,000 Russian; 30,000 Polish

Free World: 430,000 in 8 languages produced in Manila

60 other magazines and periodicals in 23 languages to 2-1/2 million audience.

Pamphlets: some 12,500,000 copies in 1961

Cartoons: 5 strips used by 2,700 papers in 87 countries.

Personal Contact: 900 US officers abroad: 6,000 locals

Work with Private Sector: growing support from domestic TV and book industries in provision of resources for our use or placement overseas. Example: "Books USA" 5 Paperbacks - Some 450 US companies transmit USIA-provided policy documents to their 7,000 overseas representatives (documents explaining US policy on Cuba, Viet Nam, Disarmament, Berlin, etc.)

New efforts in Latin America:

Book Translation Officers, two each to Buenos Aires, Rio and Mexico City; working with local publishers to translate and distribute selected US books in low-priced editions.

Labor Information Officers, nine in number, assigned to capital cities to help make Latin American unions more effective forces for democracy.

Student Affairs Officers, six in number plus 21 USIA "grantees" have been placed in 13 countries to work with university and student-union groups to counter Communist encroachment and manipulation.

4. FREE CHOICE - The Sino-Soviet Bloc, despite lip-service support to emerging nationalism, is implacably opposed to independent nationalist movements and genuine neutrality. Man's best hope is in "a world of free choice" such as sought by the U. S., not a "world of coercion" as favored by the Communist.

5. MODERNIZATION - Modernization of newly-developing nations can best achieved through democratic, pragmatic political and economic development consistent with the traditions, character and aspirations of a people.

CUBAN CRISIS: USIA IN ACTION (a case history)

- Many months prior to October 22, USIA had been telling the world of Castro's sordid sell-out to Communism; generating support in Latin America for "Alliance for Progress" as best antidote to Communism; seeking by radio to disaffect Cubans from Castro.

- Agency brought into planning for US policy moves regarding Cuba several days before October 22.

- Arranged for linkup with 10 commercial radio stations to broadcast in Spanish southward.

- Staffed Spanish-language crews for round-the-clock VOA operation. Installed air-transportable 50 KW transmitter on Marathon Key in tandem with Navy transmitter installed on Tortugas within days.

- Alerted worldwide radio audience to President's upcoming speech to obtain maximum audience; rebroadcast speech repeatedly at peak listening times.

- Doubled frequencies for Spanish casts; broadcast in Russian for "technicians" in Cuba.

- Videotapes and films air-shipped worldwide of President's speech and good deal of follow-up material - for placement in commercial theaters, on television stations and USIS showings.

- Radio-teletype provided fast-flowing copy in English, French, Spanish and Portuguese to 102 overseas posts for placement in local papers and distribution to government leaders. Result: many hundreds of overseas papers printed President's speech in full.

- Within first critical week, 50,000 prints of aerial reconnaissance and other photos air-shipped worldwide to document the US case against Soviet missiles in Cuba. Printed by papers in scores of countries; also shown as exhibits.

- Telstar was harnassed to carry President's message to millions of TV viewers throughout Europe.

- Communist propaganda machines distorted picture of developments. For days, Russian newspaper readers were not told that Soviet missiles were in Cuba; Havana Radio listeners were not told that Organization of American States unanimously supported US. USIA output corrected these distortions.

- On October 25, 52 VOA transmitters barraged Iron Curtain with full story for 8 hours in 10 languages, using power equal to 86 of the biggest US commercial stations. Barrage broke through despite furious and massive Communist jamming efforts.

* * * * * * * *

Future plans --

Radio expansion - Greenville, Monrovia, Bangkok.

Television - one new transmitter - daily

# # #

Budget increase 25% annually -- divide between Africa and Latin America.

# # #

Need for additional care selecting fellowship students -- technical training and manual training institutes.

# # #

Recruitment, training and travel during home leave.

3 year tour - Reduce Paper Work.

Persuade Congress potency of ideas, importance of information.

Effectiveness Urban industrial

ACTIVITIES - MISCELLANEOUS

NOTEWORTHY SPEECHES - With Text

December 2, 1941	"In Honor of a Man and an Ideal . . ." Three Talks on Freedom: Archibald MacLeish, William Paley, Edward Murrow	CBS Dinner in honor of Murrow
December 5, 1946	"Stars in the Afternoon"	
February 6, 1947	"World Wide Communication of Ideas"	4th National Conference Public Relations Executives
June 1947	"America as an Island"	Smith College Commencement
February 19, 1953	Inauguration Speech - President Gallagher	New York City College
April 25, 1954	"Role of Public Opinion on the National Security Policy"	U.S. Military Academy, West Point
June 28, 1954	Award Acceptance	Freedom House
December 19, 1955	Award Acceptance	Delta Phi Epsilon
Fall 1955		Detroit
April 13, 1957	50th Anniversary Observance - Commentary	American Jewish Committee
May 5, 1957	Albert Einstein Commemorative Award in the Humanities Acceptance	Albert Einstein College of Medicine, Yeshiva Un.
May 22, 1957	Award Acceptance	American Academy of Arts and Letters
June 8, 1958	Commencement Address - Honorary Degree	Grinnell College
October 1958	Award Acceptance	Freedom House
October 15, 1958	"Chicago Speech"	Radio & Television News Directors Convention
October 22, 1958	Human Rights Award Acceptance	Joint Defense Appeal of American Jewish Committee
June 4, 1959	Commencement Address	The Buckley School
October 19, 1959	"Television and Politics"	Granada Lecture, London
January 21, 1961	Murrow's Last Speech as a Broadcaster	Radio-Television Executives Society

December 2, 1941

IN LATE NOVEMBER, MURROW CAME HOME ON LEAVE. CBS ARRANGED A DINNER IN HIS HONOR IN NEW YORK. BESIDES MURROW, THERE WERE TWO AFTER-DINNER SPEAKERS -- ARCHIBALD MACLEISH, WHO AT THAT TIME WAS LIBRARIAN OF CONGRESS, AND WILLIAM S. PALEY, THEN PRESIDENT OF CBS. MACLEISH TOLD MURROW: "YOU BURNED THE CITY OF LONDON IN OUR HOUSES AND WE FELT THE FLAMES THAT BURNED IT. YOU LAID THE DEAD OF LONDON AT OUR DOORS AND WE KNEW THE DEAD WERE OUR DEAD, WERE ALL MEN'S DEAD -- WERE MANKIND'S DEAD -- AND OURS. WITHOUT RHETORIC, WITHOUT DRAMATICS, WITHOUT MORE EMOTION THAN NEEDED BE, YOU DESTROYED THE SUPERSTITION OF DISTANCE AND OF TIME -- OF DIFFERENCE AND OF TIME." PALEY INTRODUCED MURROW AS "A MAN FITTED TO HIS TIME AND TO HIS TASK, A STUDENT, A PHILOSOPHER, AT HEART A POET OF MANKIND AND, THEREFORE, A GREAT REPORTER."

"We have been trying to report a new kind of war, a war that is twisting and tearing the social, political, and economic fabric of the world. It's a war in which no leave is granted - at least not to the people who live on that island where I have been privileged to work for the last few years.

"In earlier wars I am told that reporters occasionally made visits to positions near the front where they caught a whiff of the smoke of battle and felt the attraction of courage which is almost irresistible. In those days, too, a reporter had the rare opportunity of entering such items as camels, pack mules, riding horses upon his

expense account. Those opportunities are largely denied to my contemporaries, although I must confess to having left my car sitting out in the open during heavy raids on Dover and Gravesend in the hope that a well directed bomb might destroy it and permit me to buy a newer and better one at Columbia's expense.

"We have attempted to give you the hard news of communiques and official statements as well as the climate in which the news has flourished, the humor, the criticism, the controversy and discussion which serves as a backdrop for the more dramatic news of the action of war. A night spent with firemen, while flames from tender old buildings paint the silver bellies of barrage balloons blood red - a morning with a demolition squad while it digs for bodies in a pile of rubble - dinner with half a dozen cab drivers in a little shelter - things like that may be more important than the morning communiqué announcing the destruction of a dozen aircraft. The problem was, until recently, one of assessing the morale, determination, yes, and even the sense of humor of the world's greatest civilian army.

"Evidence that the little people of Britain were losing their curious sense of humor, their fondness for grumbling at their government, their arrogant but well-mannered pride, would be much more important than news of a battle won or lost. Often there were things we didn't understand. For example, a taxi driver was leaving Liverpool Street Station one night when a couple of high explosive bombs came

whistling down. He hauled his ancient cab to the curb where it was rocked by the blast of the bombs. He slid back the window and said, 'He'll do that once too often, once,' - closed the window and drove on. I have never understood exactly what he meant by that.

"You will forgive me if I fail to talk at any length about bombs and bombing. One who is bomb proud can only be compared to one who is punch drunk, and it's quite possible that I shall have more than adequate opportunity to talk about bombs and bombing when I return to London. One thing should be said right now about the talking that has been done from London, and that is that Columbia in New York has never, at any time, given us editorial direction; we have never been instructed to weigh or color the news, have been told only to find it and report it. It was believed from the beginning that people at home would prefer information to emotion. Sometimes the information was both incomplete and contradictory, and on one occasion, at least, I overheard an individual whose happy duty it was to listen to all our broadcasts in London make the remark at the conclusion of one of my talks, 'That was Murrow's contribution to the confusion of his fellow countrymen'.

"Since returning home a week ago, many people have been asking about British censorship. All censorship is bad, from the correspondent's point of view, but that imposed by the British authorities is designed to protect British security and to prevent the dissemination of information that might be useful to the enemy. A measure of the freedom of writing and speaking from London may be found in the small

amount of important new material divulged by returning correspondents who are supposed to be full of suppressed information. I have often seen British censorship stupid, but seldom sinister. I cannot claim any undue personal popularity with British censors - observed none of them weeping when I departed - but I should be unwilling to broadcast from a nation at war without any censorship at all. The responsibility for human lives would be too great. It is impossible for the layman to know on all occasions just what piece of information, even a small detail, may cause the loss of a proud ship or a company of brave men. The very speed of modern communications - with the Germans listening to everything broadcast from London - tends to slow down the release of important news.

"But you will perhaps be more interested in a brief report on conditions in Britain at the beginning of the third winter of war, and please remember that it is the third winter. Those of you who have experienced an English winter will understand that that season is never kind. Add to the weather the blackout, a probable coal shortage in some sections, a monotonous, though adequate diet, severe rationing of clothes, an absence of an endless list of consumer goods, the constant possibility of epidemics, plus the weight of that gun-powder sky, and you will understand that the British are tired. They stand in need of a new ration of hope - hope in ultimate victory.

"Before leaving London I talked with many people whom, even here in New York where there is no censorship, I must refer to as 'official

quarters'. Here are a few conclusions drawn from these conversations.

"British opinion toward America has passed through three phases. In the opening months of the war, one often heard the comment, 'God protect us from a German victory and an American peace. Britain and her Allies propose to win this one alone'. Then came the period preceding our own Presidential election when the British attempted to foster the thesis that America was of more help as a non-belligerent than as a fighting ally. That was because they feared President Roosevelt's defeat. Now the position is quite simply that lease-lend is not enough, that unless the United States enters this war Britain may perish or at best secure a stalemate peace - a delayed action defeat. I have heard this British desire for an American declaration of war called pathological, but Britons are reasoning from their own experience. British production, which is still not at full throttle, did not really begin to move until the whole economy of the country was placed on a war-time footing. The British think the same thing is true here. Complacency has been Britain's worst enemy and there are in London those who fear that a continuation of this war into the fourth winter with only Britain, and the problematical support of Russia, facing a German-dominated continent would create a mentality in Britain which would say, 'They can't whip us, but how are we to defeat them?'

"In Britain today it is an offense to create alarm and despondence. It is an unhappy marriage of words. Had there been a fuller measure of alarm at an earlier date, the present position might not have arisen. One thing for which the British are fighting is an opportunity to avoid

repeating the mistakes of the last twenty years. There was a time when they believed that loans and economic concessions would bind allies to them - time when they, too, believed that there was such a thing as national prestige and influence based upon a high standard of living - much butter and few guns. If you were in London now, you would be surprised at the number of people who would say to you, 'Tell your fellow countrymen not to make the same mistakes we made. We didn't want anything of this world except to be let alone - until it was almost too late'. There isn't much criticism in Britain of America's reluctance to enter this war. Occasionally, we are accused of weak-kneed high-mindedness, but the question most often asked by thoughtful Englishmen is this: 'If America comes in, will she stay in? Does she have any appetite for the greatness that is being thrust upon her? Does she realize that this world or what is left of it will be run from either Berlin or Washington?' No one who has lived and worked in London for the last three years can doubt that the important decision, perhaps the final decision, that will determine the course of human affairs will be made not in front of Moscow, not on the sands of Libya, but along the banks of the Potomac. General Headquarters for the forces of decency is now on Pennsylvania Avenue. The British are holding their front-line island, but it is a defense action destined to remain that way for a long time to come. The official view when I left London was that the invasion of Britain is still a real and constant possibility, that the German armies in Russia have

been severely scratched but in no sense mortally wounded. The British always remember that nearly successful German offensive which followed almost four years of terrible battles in the Spring of 1918.

"In the course of the defense of Britain, many hard-won liberties have been lost - or perhaps it would be more accurate to say surrendered - but you would find few people willing to believe that the loss is more than temporary, provided Britain lives. It is important to remember that the controls imposed upon living and working have been freely voted by the House of Commons, that they had been fully discussed by the daily press, and that Mr. Churchill's government might, through democratic procedure, be thrown out of office tomorrow. Government control is being extended into all fields of individual and business activity but that control is administered by the most incorruptible, though perhaps not the most flexible or fast moving, civil service in the world. Certain visitors to England have expressed what they allege to be an American desire for a greater degree of democratization in Britain. If there are three greater equalizers than an income tax of 50 cents on everybody's dollar, severe rationing of food and clothing, and a fairly equal distribution of bombs, I have never seen them.

"Many of the changes in that island have been brought about by the pressure of public opinion, the demand for greater sacrifice rather than less. For example, the women of Britain are well on the way to winning economic equality as they won political equality in the last war. The class-conscious educational system, which has failed in its

principal task of providing leaders, will not survive this war. It has been admitted that a boy who is good enough to fly a Spitfire may after the war be fit to represent His Majesty's Government abroad, even though he didn't go to Eton or Harrow. There are no longer first-class compartments on railway trains within thirty miles of London. If Britain survives this war, it will be a simpler, more democratic place to live. The existence there is already more Spartan than you could appreciate. I didn't appreciate it until I saw the shop windows and the smiling faces of well-dressed New Yorkers. All Europe is on short rations - growing shorter with the passing of every day.

"Soon it will be Christmas in London. I suppose it will be much as it was last year - not many toys in the shops, no luxury foods, no new clothing unless you saved your coupons. There will be a few Christmas trees in the air-raid shelters for people who still sleep down there, even though there has been no bombing for three months. Some of them haven't anywhere else to live. And this year, as last, I suppose a few children will be asking how Santa Claus is to get down into the shelter, since there is no chimney.

"Many British boys will be at sea, fighting precious cargoes of gasoline, food and raw materials in through the western approaches. These are the heroes of Britain. The highest tribute I have ever heard paid them is by a man who drove up to a service station and said, 'Give me three gallons of sailors' blood'. Maybe that's the sort of thing the Prime Minister had in mind when he described the temper of the nation as grim and gay. There is more grimness than

gaiety in Britain now. The flame of courage is as high and clear as it was in the days after Dunkirk when cannon were being taken out of museums and dragged down to the beaches, when most men save Englishmen despaired of England's life. It was then a Scotsman said, 'If England is forced to give in, it will be a long war'. Courage, unity and determination still find a home in Britain. They will, indeed, go on to the end - whatever it is - but they are very tired. For them, for the average Englishman, there is no escape. Their mistakes have been numerous. I have sat often in the House of Commons, now blasted and gutted, watching that big clock tick away the minutes of indecision and lost opportunity, saw members rise in their seats waving their white order papers like raggedly hoisted flags of surrender when Mr. Chamberlain announced his departure for Munich. But these things must be left to the historians; only the present and future are ours.

"In reporting this new kind of warfare we have tried to prevent our own prejudices and loyalties from coming between you and the information which it was our duty to impart. We may not always have succeeded. An individual who can entirely avoid being influenced by the atmosphere in which he works might not even be a good reporter. I am an American who has spent much of the last ten years in Europe; most of the last five in Britain. You have been over here. We need not agree about British statesmanship or strategy, but we must all share an increasing concern for the preservation of democracy in the United States. It is no part of a reporter's function to advocate

policy. The most that I can do is to indicate certain questions facing America; you must supply the answers.

"If there is a difference between me and other Americans, it is simply that in these critical years I have been there and you have been here. It is for you to judge whether this gives me the advantage of perspective on problems at home or whether it makes me a less competent witness. Perhaps I can say to you that as an American in London, reasonably well informed as to what has been afoot in the world, it seems to me that Americans at home already have made some basic decisions and have some fairly simple further questions to answer - and mind you when I say that the questions are simple, I am not trying to tell you that the answers are necessarily either simple or easy.

"Certainly America has answered the most fundamental question of all - it wills democracy to survive. I am told that over here you no longer debate whether the destruction of Hitler and the isms that he trails in his train are essential to Democracy's survival. So, it seems to me that the debatable area narrows itself pretty much to these two questions -

"Must Britain survive in order that democracy may survive? If the answer is no, we have only the devices of insulation to consider. If the answer is yes, the question is - How far, and perhaps even to a greater degree than some over here are willing to admit, how fast shall America go?

"Almost I wish that I were so endowed that at this point I could stand before you as prophet rather than as reporter; but I shall stick to my role and tell you only that to some of the most thoughtful observers to whom I have talked in Britain - and I have talked to many men of many persuasions - it has seemed that if Britain should fall in spite of material aids, speeches, editorials and knitted garments, it will be necessary to consider a new Britain, driven by ruthless conquerors, into taking her place in the forefront of our enemies.

"These people - and they are lovers of war no more than you or I - have been heard to ask, 'If Britain goes down or becomes too exhausted to care, will America not become the most hated nation on earth?' It is not our ability to resist the hatred that troubles them; instead they ask insistently, 'Can America withstand the competition both economic and ideological?' Today there is a shuddering recognition that it is the strength of national socialism that it forces those who fear it to imitate it; and those who go down before it to embrace it.

"Too Little and Too Late was nearly the epitaph of Great Britain. That much we know. There is no decision that America can make that will be without a price, but for a wrong decision in the present, the future will take its inevitable revenge.

"Come as I do from the creeping blackout of liberty all over Europe, I am grateful that our decision will be taken in the full light of free and better informed debate and discussion than exists anywhere else in the world - for such is our heritage and may it always be our habit."

Stars in the afternoon 9/16/45

EDWARD R. MURROW - (piped December 5, 1946) 7-6-28

MURROW: I have been listening to the radio. Some of what I hear I don't like: Maybe you feel the same way. But there is something altogether unique about this American system of broadcasting. There is nothing quite like it anywhere else in the world and that's because this country isn't like any other country in the world. I believe that what comes out of the loudspeaker is the most honest and accurate reflection of what goes on in a nation.

Radio reflects the social, economic, and cultural climate in which it lives and grows. Compare American broadcasting with that of any other country and you end up with a comparison to this country and that other country. Our system is fast, experimental, technically slick. It is highly competitive and commercial. Often it is loud, occasionally vulgar; generally optimistic and not always right. But the man who is wrong has his chance to be heard. There is much controversy and debate and some special pleading, but frequently the phonies are found out. There is no conspiracy to keep the listener in ignorance and Government does not guide the listening or the thinking of the people. There is much talk and you may think that it only contributes to confusion. But the presence of a microphone does not guarantee objectivity. Often it endangers humility.

A loud voice, which reaches from coast to coast, is not necessarily uttering truths more profound than those that may be heard in the classroom, bar, or country store, but - there they are! You can listen or leave them alone. By just turning the dial you can be entertained, informed, or irritated. You have a broadcasting service which is more varied than any in the world, less subject to government control. It has reached out to the far corners of the world to bring you news of the greatest mass adventure in the history of this nation, and those of us, who have been engaged in that aspect of radio, are fully conscious of the inadequate job we have done for words are puny things and a poor substitute for personal experience.

But it is my opinion that the future will present even greater

problems. In vast areas of the world, liberty has become a luxury. Here, in this country, we have many luxuries and we have great power and our only hope of using that power with wisdom and tolerance is that the people shall be informed, informed of affairs here at home and abroad.

During the last nine years I saw something of what radio can do when it is used to tell the people what to think; when it is used to dull the critical faculties; when the right to listen is denied. If you doubt that radio is a powerful medium, you should see how it can warp men's minds when it becomes an instrument of national policy. I do not believe that American radio is perfect, but I am persuaded that the listener in this country is better served than is the listener in any other country with which I am familiar.

This begins to sound like an editorial ... which it probably is! ... so permit me to end it in this way.

I believe that radio in a democracy must be more than an industry, more than a medium of entertainment, more than a source of revenue for those who own the facilities. Radio, if it is to serve and survive, must hold a mirror behind the nation and the world. If the reflection shows racial intolerance, economic inequality, bigotry, unemployment, or anything else, let the people see it, or, rather, hear it. The mirror must have no curves and must be held with a steady hand. One of the oldest things about radio is its reputation of youthfulness. I have seen many very young men age rapidly during the last few years because they were engaged in a most serious and testing undertaking. I believe that the testing time for broadcasting and broadcasters is just beginning and youth was never acceptable as an excuse for those who flinched when the going was tough.

~~And, now, with Norman Corwin's permission, I shall go back to listening to the radio. So far, I find it interesting, entertaining, and at times encouraging.~~ good night + good luck —

(30)

Ed.trans.-Adele A. Cardiff

ıtative Draft)

FOURTH NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF PUBLIC RELATIONS EXECUTIVES
February 6, 1947

WORLD WIDE COMMUNICATION OF IDEAS

By

Edward R. Murrow

This ought to be easy, but it isn't. The title is sufficiently broad to permit an ex-reporter to engage in plenty of pseudo-intellectual gymnastics. It would be possible to deplore at length all artificial barriers to ideas and information. It would be equally convenient and perhaps boring to reminisce about personal experience with censorship and transmission difficulties. But not having reached the age where my reminiscences are interesting to me, I prefer to address myself to one particular aspect of the subject. If I appear to neglect the printed word, that is not because I regard it as unimportant, slightly archaic though it may be.

We must first decide whether ideas are important. I would like to suggest that they are more important than anything else; that an idea or rather a group of ideas were responsible for the creation of this country, and that the wars we have fought have been basically struggles against ideas that most of the nation found repulsive. And yet in peacetime in the past as well as the present, we have given no convincing demonstration that we believe as a nation that the world-wide communication of ideas is important and deserving of our best efforts and of massive financial support.

Many of us were persuaded that the last war was fought in large measure for the control of men's minds, and we knew that during the war truth was one of the first casualties. I am convinced that the end of the armed struggle did not end the competition for the control of men's minds. I am equally convinced

that any workable world order depends upon progress by persuasion. And I know from first-hand experience that this nation is doing a miserable and dangerously inadequate job of transmitting our ideas, beliefs, concepts to the rest of the world. Can it be that we do not believe that our concept of democracy is an item for export? And please remember that democracy is a word used more frequently in the Russian press and radio than it is anywhere else.

In order to understand the character and the complexities of the problem that confronts us, we must first of all appreciate the position we occupy in the eyes of the rest of the world. We are fat and they are lean. We emerged from the war with our political, social and economic institutions intact. Most of them ~~have~~ had their whole national fabric of living ripped apart. We lived the war years in this generous and ~~voracious~~ capacious land enjoying relative comfort and complete security. We are regarded in Europe at least with a mixture of admiration and fear. There is no necessity to persuade any European of our physical strength. They have seen it in terms of great air fleets, tanks, trucks and vitamin-filled soldiers. But many of them doubt our purpose and question our sincerity. All over Europe people are asking themselves an old question and the question is: What must we do to be saved? They are "shopping around" looking for new ideas and new allegiances. It is not impossible that they may return to those beliefs, to those ideas which made the last war inevitable. It is also possible that desperation, hunger, hopelessness and cynicism may cause them to sacrifice most of their civil liberties in the hope of finding some measure of economic security. The basic struggle in the world today is between liberty and control. You must remember that most of Europe is tired, tired almost to death, and as one statesman remarked after the last war, "When fatigue is present, malignant men have their opportunity."

It would be foolhardy to expect Europeans to accept our ideas out of gratitude. Gratitude occasionally affects the personal attitude but practically never determines political philosophy. The hard fact is that we are experts in the making and selling of goods but on the world level we are amateurs when it comes to selling ideas. We are not linguists. We are not trained to think in terms of international politics. We have been so busy demonstrating what an improvident people can do to improvident land.

There are millions, hundreds of millions of people in Europe and in Asia who do not believe that we have found a workable compromise between liberty and control. They regard us as a giant test tube in which the experiment is still underway. They will be more impressed by our example than by our short wave broadcasts or our printed pamphlets. Unless we can demonstrate that our system will produce greater equality of opportunity both in political and economic terms, they will not give welcome to our ideas.

I think it was Clausewitz who laid it down that the first duty of a nation at war is to recognise its enemies. It is equally true to say that our first duty in peace is to recognise our friends. It so happens that our friends in Europe occupy a political position considerably to the left of that in this country. For the time being, and in my opinion for some time to come, our definition of free enterprise capitalism is not acceptable to the vast majority of the world's people. I am not here to advocate that we change either the definition or the practice. I am merely pointing out that that fact makes the communication of ideas, the creation of images, more difficult. We must recognise that we must do business in both goods and ideas with nations whose political philosophies differ from our own. We must compete with them not only for markets but for minds.

I am reluctant to use political shorthand but would like to suggest to you that the dominant political fact of our time is that we are moving to the right while most of the rest of the world is moving to the left. If that process continues and is accelerated, we may within our lifetime discover that this continent is no more than a great, straggling island off the coast of Kamchatka with the rest of the world coalescing against us, and that is a prospect which must cause serious men to ponder the future of their nation.

Having spent most of the last decade looking at my country from the outside, I have, I think, developed an increased appreciation of the basic beliefs, the fundamental political philosophies, the respect for the individual upon which it is based. In the field of ideas we have a better product to sell than many of us realize, but there is precious little evidence that in the international field we believe ideas to be important. The Russians do. And believe me in this area we are in competition with the Russians, and if we don't know it, everybody in Europe does. Permit me to give you a few random examples. In Bucharest, the United States has 4 Americans and 11 Roumanians engaged in disseminating information about this country -- the British maintain 2 libraries and a staff of 20 people -- the French have a staff of 75 and the Russian-controlled propaganda organization numbers no less than 500 people. They also operate 2 Russian news agencies. Now let's look at Norway. Our chief public affairs officer stationed in Oslo has one American assistant and a staff of 9 Norwegian nationals. They are outnumbered by the Russians 10 to 1. In addition to that, there are 38,000 Norwegian members of the Friends of the Soviet Union, friendly enough to pay $2.00 a year membership fee. In France there are approximately 1400 places where Soviet books and pamphlets are distributed. That gives the Russians an advantage

of better than 100 to 1 over us.

This year, the British have a budget of $14,000,000 just for the exchange of students, professors and technicians with other nations. That is almost as much as we have for our whole program on both the informational and cultural side. In the field of cultural exchanges, we may have as much as $6,000,000 available. Now let's look briefly at what the Russians are doing in this field. In October of last year, Izvestia announced that some 300 graduate students from Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria and other Eastern European countries had arrived in Moscow. Our State Department is not in a position to bring any students from these areas. There are professors and graduate students all over Europe with a burning desire for first-hand knowledge of this country. But if they can't come here, they will go elsewhere — and the implications of that are enormous. Don't get the idea that this exchange of persons involves merely a lot of philosophers and academicians who may contribute something to the cross fertilization of culture. The economic implications are ~~enormous~~ great. For example: We had in this country during the war a Government-financed industrial training organization. It was designed to bring promising young industrial engineers to this country for a period of training or apprenticeship and when they return to their own lands, they will be salesmen both for American goods and American ideas. But the scheme is now collapsing — the reason, no more funds. The question must be asked again: Do we regard ideas as important?

Of course the quickest method of communicating ideas cross frontiers is by radio. I believe that radio will come into its full inheritance only when radio reporters are free to roam the world using the microphone as a mirror reflecting conditions as they are, not as some Government says they are. Of course, foreign radio reporters are free to do that in this country now.

That our reporters are not equally free to do so in many foreign countries is a source of real regret to everyone who believes in the free flow of ideas. Short wave radio represents our only method of reaching the people in those nations where both press and radio are Government controlled. It is not wholly effective but the war demonstrated that the impact is great. Freedom of information and the right to pursue and publish the truth invariably reduces the number of short wave listeners. The least amount of short wave listening occurs today in countries which have the greatest amount of freedom of expression. After all, you do not import a foreign article if you are able to secure a superior product at home. As of December 1946, the Soviet Union was broadcasting 276 hours of foreign language broadcasts each week. Add to that the 159 hours broadcast by Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Poland and you have 435 hours of short wave broadcast time devoted to the export of the Russian idea. The British Broadcasting Corporation during the same week devoted 705 hours to short wave output, while the United States broadcast a total of 395 hours and 15 minutes. The record speaks for itself.

I assume that we are all tired of phrases that have lost their cutting edge, so here briefly is the situation that confronts us. We are not the best loved nation on earth. Far from it. Our motives are widely suspect. Our actions deliberately distorted in a large section of the world's press and radio. In the field of ideas, we are in competition with the Russians, British, French and others. They have more people, are spending more money and are probably doing a better job than we are. If it be true that wars are made in men's minds, then this great nation is putting forth a puny effort and is putting our future in jeopardy. We have long been accustomed to argue vital issues at the municipal, state and national level. We must now undertake to defend our ideas and our beliefs on the international platform. You may ask why this task cannot be undertaken by the great wire services and by the private broadcasting

organizations. The answer is I think simple. They are commercial organizations operated for profit and primarily concerned to defend and safeguard the integrity of the news and information disseminated to the American public, and they have not the funds and the experience or the full flow of information required to argue the American case in the international arena. Moreover, they cannot operate effectively in areas where the press and radio are under Government control. They cannot organize the interchange of teachers and of professors and students (although there are existing organizations which can do that adequately if granted Government funds). I am as opposed as anyone in this room to Government interference or participation in the field of news and information. In fact I am probably more opposed than anyone here because I have had considerable opportunity to see how it works. But in this great international debate about the future of all of us, there appears to be no other method by which and through which the American voice can be heard. I believe it to be the duty of any freely elected Government to be vigilant in the protection of the long-range interests of those who elected it. We are not skilled in the art of propaganda. It is not a word that is pleasing to the American tongue. But we learned fast during the war and now we are in grave danger of letting the cause for which we fought go by default in the eyes and ears of hundreds of millions of people who are in the process of making up their minds which way they want to go. It is a serious state of affairs and merits urgent attention, and it will indeed be paradoxical if this country with its great traditions of free speech and open debate should fail for financial or political reasons to state its case through radio, books and people to those who may in due course have to decide again what if anything there is in this world that is worth getting shot for. If we fail, I t hink it no exaggeration to say that we may come to occupy the position of an island surrounded by a hostile world and that history will take its revenge for what we have failed to do.

Smith College 1947

5-B-16

AMERICA AS AN ISLAND

by

Edward R. Murrow

It would be easy enough to tell you the traditional stories—how I remember nothing of the Commencement address to which I listened seventeen years ago—and that would be true enough. I remember nothing at all about it, except that the speaker—like so many Commencement speakers I have heard since—informed us that the making of the future world was in our hands. Well, it wasn't. I remember, too, that we were addressed as a sort of collective corpse. No one talked to us. We were just there as a sounding board for oratory. Maybe there was some rhetoric in it too. But rhetoric, after all, is merely a means of conveying conviction without being impeded by logic. Therefore, I trust you will permit me to speak directly to you, the young women—who are leaving this institution with memories—memories in order that you may have roses in January. I wish that I might inflate myself in order to have merit in your eyes, and to do you credit. I wish that I might speak with the eloquence of the ancients; but that is denied me. So let me just talk to those of you who are leaving, those who are going out into what has traditionally been called the adventure of life. Permit me to tell you that the rules for that undertaking were set before you were out of the cradle. Your betters—old folks (and that includes me) do not give up easily. We are a stubborn lot. If you have read your history you will know that after every war the old men return and attempt to rebuild in the image that they knew. That's been happening in the last two years and history has taken its revenge, and retribution has not limped.

When I left college—that was shortly after the beginning of the depression, or, if you prefer, the great recession—we were all imbued with the idea that society owed us a high standard of living. After all, we were college graduates. We were entitled to expect a higher standard of living at the expense of the society which had made possible our education. You are leaving one of the best educational institutions in the world; but I beg you not to forget that no one of you paid your freight. No one of you paid more than

a fraction of the cost of your education. If you propose to make personal profit at the expense of the society which made possible your education, then good luck to you. If you do that, the society of which you are a part may soon be finished.

This nation is more than an economic plot. It is a place where personal liberty and state control are at war. Even though your elders have made the rules, you, in the end of the day, will have much to say about the outcome of that war. So, I beg you, also, not to be misled by phrases; not to reach conclusions simply because ready made slogans fall easily from men's lips. You are betting your lives, and those of your children, on your ability to remain sane. Try as best you can to divorce yourselves from the prejudice and the slogans which make up so much of our daily life. Either you are thinking persons capable of making decisions; or you are mere human animals due to be pushed around by events.

And now—enough of these generalities. Let's talk about the world as you will meet it. In the first place it is not a world governed by ethics or by men who know history. It is a world run by old men, accustomed to look over their shoulders. Most of their future is behind them. They are ill equipped by training or temperament to deal with the world in which they find themselves. Most of them fail to understand the world that is emerging from this war; but—make no mistake about it—they are running this show. Right now, they are trying to remake things in the image that they knew. And you can't do much about it, unless you are prepared to start in a small way. The best way to start is to realise and recognise what you can do—and what you can't do. This is not easy. Most of the answers elude me. Most of my friends who saw and met the problem ten years ago are now dead. They knew only that there was something in this world that was worth getting shot for. That happened in Spain, Austria and Germany, to the people of your age who decided to oppose the development of Totalitarianism. Many of my friends in Germany and in other countries of Middle Europe were dead before this war began. They had made their decision. And I tell you that you, too, may have to make that decision. We are now living in a time when it is fashionable—and indeed accurate—to discourse upon the possible destruction of this minor planet. But there

is still time for salvation. Through all the troubled history of mankind there has never been an invention which could not have been safely misused or abused. That was true of electricity, of steam, of the internal combustion engine. All of these might have been let loose without control, and civilization as we know it would have survived. But now we are confronted with a condition where humans, having discovered a method of destroying humanity, may use that power. What can you do about it? Die with dignity? Certainly, that's easy. Physical courage is a cheap commodity. But first of all you must decide what can be done short of dying. You must determine the ground upon which you stand. That is why I chose the altogether serious title, "America as an Island", for today's talk. This world is not a pretty place. It demands men and women who are both earnest and anxious. There was a time before the war when many of us suspected that the youth of this country was living on the reputation for hard work, industry and honesty created by our grandfathers. The events and deeds of those who dared and died during the last few years have dispelled any such illusions. After all, the men and women who built this country were made of stern stuff; and those who went from here to the wars were worthy of their heritage. But those who went out to the far corners of the world to fight that it might continue to exist, undertook a task that was simple when it is compared to the one that confronts you.

You are entitled to ask for the credentials of anyone with the temerity to take up thirty minutes of your time discussing America as an Island. I am--or at least I was--a reporter. Most of the last ten years have been spent in Europe. This is sufficient time to develop a full appreciation of one's native land--and not, I hope, long enough to become denationalized. I can claim a certain acquaintance with statesmen whose names make headlines, and I have not forgotten altogether the hisory learned from learned professors at American institutions. Study and observation combine to persuade me that we are entering an era wherein America will be tested as never before--and it will be a new kind of test. I suggest that it will cause us to dig deep into our history, and to re-examine familiar premises, for whether we like it or not we have finally come into our full inheritance. We have had leadership thrust upon us. We created a

continent. We wasted our natural resources. We were a people who turned our back upon Europe and its quarrels. Nearly thirty years ago we fought a war in Europe. It was primarily an effort to secure a Europe that wouldn't bother us. We failed. Now another bitter war has ended. Europe is exhausted. Its social, economic and political fabric is in tatters. The old guide posts are gone. This country has become the world's banker, and the principle source of food in a world that is hungry. In Europe today, as in the dark days of 'forty and 'forty-one, the question is being asked: "What will America do?" Europeans are asking, "Can we expect leadership as well as largesse?" We cannot lead with dollars alone; and we cannot lead with bulldozers or supersonic guided missiles. Our technological advance is demanding new answers. Let us first state the problem and then search for a few answers.

America is fat; and the rest of the world is lean. You and other classes like you are the best fed, best clothed graduates of any university in the world. Most of you do not doubt the fundamental basis of American democracy. But many of the youth of other lands doubt it—profoundly. There is real danger that we in America are moving in one direction and the rest of the world is moving in another. There is real and urgent danger that we shall be isolated. That is something which we cannot afford. It It would threaten our very lives. There is in Europe and in Asia a demand that <u>all</u> shall have bread before <u>any</u> has cake. There is a demand that the land shall be used to produce for the people. There is a demand for economic equality and for economic security. And the price is merely the sacrifice of personal liberty. Believe me, the phrase "personal liberty" is a hollow one to people with hollow bellies. There is a demand in Europe and Asia for racial equality and for a system which offers the individual something which is out, above and beyond personal gain and comfort. There was a time when religion was a stronger force than nationalism. Then came the time when nationalism overshadowed all else. Now the world has reached the state where loyalties cross national boundaries; where change is welcomed—any kind of change; where most of the world is in fact "four f"—suffering from fear, famine, fatigue and frustration. And in this chaos that follows conflict the United States is regarded

with a mixture of fear and admiration. In many nations the fear outweighs the admiration. We are regarded as a giant test tube. The world knows that we can produce the weapons of war and the men to use them. But it is less certain of our ability to create here in this continent a society which men of all races and creeds can admire and imitate. Can we--dare we--save our traditional liberties and still meet the challenge of those who, now as in the past, are prepared to live dangerously? Or is our brand of democracy merely a luxury to be afforded by a country that is fat, with its industries intact, its population untired, its strength increased--a country where war did not walk down our streets? Believe me, the rest of the world--which interprets democracy differently--doubts us.

In the years since the war ended, our leadership has been erratic. We have veered from firmness to complacent indifference in international affairs. There is an armament race in progress and we have allowed our army to disintegrate. We are unrationed, while the world starves. When the war ended, we shouted "Off with all controls! We must go back to pre-war practices." We failed to realise that there can be no going back. (Lot's wife). The nations that were near the fire just don't want to go back, for the heat opened up too many cracks in the old order. We continue to give advice, and seek to escape responsibility for implementing our advice. We are concerned about the hundres of thousands of Jews still living in concentration camps in Germany, and we say, "Send them to Palestine", while this generous and capacious land is unwilling to welcome them. Are we trying to bury our conscience in the sands of Palestine? It is true that we are a young nation, unaccustomed to dealing with foreign affairs. This reputation for youthfulness is one of the oldest things about us. If we are to live, we must grow up in a hurry. I know full well that this is not a bright picture I am painting, but believe me, the colors are sombre. It is a darkening scene. We are in some considerable danger of becoming the best hated nation on earth. We don't deserve to be. But remember that grievances are no less real because they are imagined. We are in danger of becoming a great straggling island off the coast of Kamchatka with most of the world united against us.

If that analysis is correct, what can we do about it? Or to put it more bluntly, what can you do about it--for I am verging upon the generation that will do all it can to prevent you doing anything about it. Above forty the familiar is the most attractive, even though the familiar may lead to a repetition of the last few terrible tragic years. I can offer--with all humility--only a few suggestions. And remember that I am of a generation which did little or nothing to prevent what has so recently happened. I hope that no one of you will stand here seventeen years from now and confess that your contemporaries have failed so miserably. If you fail, there may be no ground on which to stand. Yours maybe the last chance. And that is why I propose to say a few things which our elders will hardly like. After all, this is no time to use phrases that have lost their cutting edge.

Firstly, do not respect those elders too much. They have made a pretty thorough going mess of things. Learn from them, if you can, but remember always that they may be wrong--and that you may be, too.

Secondly, place not your faith in dollars. They are useful and pleasant to spend, but they will not buy friends either at home or abroad. Money will not buy greatness for a nation or for a man. American loans will not alter the course of the political tides that are running all over the world. We cannot buy our way out of responsibility, and if the world judges us to be bankrupt, it will be because we lack the essentials of leadership and have failed to understand that the nature of power has changed. The currency that counts today is courage. There is a form of indifference--of mental and moral stagnation, that is worse than war. I suspect that the end will have come for us when we flinch, and fail to be willing to resort to arms, no matter how new or terrible they may be.

Thirdly, have an opinion and don't be afraid of expressing it. I am no advocate of government by public opinion polls, but to me the most unworthy members of a democracy are those who when queried regarding matters of great moment to the health and well-being of the state, reply, "No opinion". But you may ask, "How am I to form an opinion upon matters that baffle statesmen and scholars?" "Why not leave it to the experts?" That

is what the Germans did. I was there and watched it happen. It is so terribly easy. You, if you are to succeed, and indeed survive, are going to have to work harder than did the men and women who built this great nation. You are going to have to make decisions that never confronted them. You require to know more than they did. If you stop learning and questioning, if your curiosity curdles, if you mistake slogans for logic, if you believe nothing and reverence nothing, then surely the pigs will inherit the earth--if there be any pigs left.

I remember standing in the ruins of my third office in London. The air was still heavy with cordite fumes. While attempting to salvage a few papers, I came across the charred page of a pamphlet. It was written by an old professor of mine. The final sentence read, "The most urgent problem in the world today is education." The sirens sounded for another raid. That sentence seemed to me to be utter nonsense, but it remained in my mind. And today I am convinced as never before that the professor was right.

You must examine anew such phrases as "free enterprise." How free is it, and how enterprising? "Socialism"--what does the individual give up and what does he gain? "Educational equality"--what kind are the students in your community receiving, and what can you do about it? "Racial and religious tolerance"--how much do we have in fact and practice?

Fourthly, in the field of international affairs do not look to the United Nations for salvation. Ultimate failure, in the form of the veto power, is written into the charter. If we want a world organization that will work we will have to pay a bigger price in terms of national sovereignty, and other nations will have to do likewise. There was a time in our nation's history when men who ran for office were questioned about their stand on slavery, statesrights and prohibition. Surely it would be fitting for graduates of this institution to insist that candidates who offer themselves for election should state where they stand on the matter of world government. You have the right and the duty to enquire whether they propose to pursue policies which will make America an Island. (Don't juggle continents)

Fifthly, be always conscious of your good fortune. Much of the world is wandering in the ashes of a civilization that was great. Many of their colleges and universities have been destroyed. There has been no education for seven or eight long years. Professors and students of promise have been slaughtered or starved. The red hot rake of battle has left behind it an intellectual desert. I am not trying to make phrases. For these things I have seen--in places like Belsen and Buchenwald--those institutions of infamy--I met men whom I had known in happier times in Prague and Warsaw and Vienna. Their minds had been better than mine--or yours. They had been the custodians of the culture of centuries, and when they came out of those concentration camps they were shuffling, stumbling wrecks, men who had fought each other for rotting potatoes. Most of those who survived--and they were not many--look to the west, to you and your elders. You have the strength. You are full of vitamins. And if you fail to defend decency and human dignity, then those who have already died in its defense will have done so in vain.

Sixthly, I would urge that you be not dismayed by the problems that press in upon us; that you "greet the unseen with a cheer"; that if you desire to reform the community or the country, you set about it with high resolve and vigor tempered with courtesy and humor. I remind you that your opportunity to serve your country in peace was purchased at a great price. You are citizens of a great nation. You are about to leave Smith College. I hope that you will return often, and that you will think to thank your professors for their efforts on your behalf. And to you of the class of nineteen hundred and forty seven, I offer congratulations, and an expression of confidence--confidence that the society which has made possible your education--up to this point, will, as the years unfold, receive from you steadiness, service and, if need be, sacrifice.

But I can't help wondering what, beside beauty and intelligence and a certain degree of intellectual discipline, you are taking with you as you leave this institution. You are the favored few--in this country and in this tired world. At worst, I suppose you will have memories to sustain you while you wash the dinner dishes. You have had four years of relative comfort and complete security. I presume that you have learned something, but this is not the place to inquire into that. Your formal education, your tiresom,

factual examinations are over. It is unlikely that anyone in the future will ask you the real meaning of Bismark's KULTUR KAMPF. You will hardly be expected to write a precise piece on the significance of Bretton Woods, but there are some things which you cannot escape--which any society automatically imposes upon an elite--obligations. You have been trained for leadership. You are part of the luxury fringe, for our society does not dispose of facilities adequate to provide such training for more than a very few.

All right, you have had the training, and you are all in debt--in debt to the society which made that training possible. Most of you will spend the rest of your lives paying off that debt, and much of it is likely to be neither pleasant nor easy. I am of a generation that had a rather easy time. After all, we faced only a disasterous depression, a general retreat from decency in international affiars, and finally a war which has left a desperate and disillusioned world behind it. That's a nice present for any graduating class. It isn't your fault and it's rather too bad, but it will probably get worse. And what can you do about it? After all, you've got to live in this world we have pretty well ruined for you.

Permit me to make a few more suggestions. You can defend the right to dissent and that is today in great danger. You can do your best, wherever you are, to see to it that children are better educated than you were. You may be able to do something about an interpretation of democracy which includes economic as well as political freedoms.

THE CITY COLLEGE
ALUMNUS

Empty Seat

April, 1953

How Can Our Colleges Stay Free ?

special articles by

Buell G. Gallagher • Senator William E. Jenner

Representative Harold Velde • Samuel Hendel '36

Fred Hechinger '42 • Arthur Garfield Hays '01 ex

***and* Edward R. Murrow**

Speech Feb 19, 53.

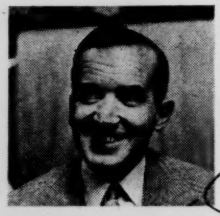
ganization operating in secret, along military lines directed by the Soviet Government.

Private citizens and local bodies cannot meet this threat alone. They often do not have the legal powers or the funds to make the investigations and get the facts. Certain states and cities have done excellent work but their efforts have been frustrated by forces entirely outside their control, as the efforts of the Rapp-Coudert Committee of the New York State Legislature were frustrated by mass propaganda in favor of the Soviet Union.

It is the function of Congress to deal with the national and international aspects of this conspiracy. It is our task to hear wtnesses, trace conspiratorial action across State lines or from and to foreign countries, to pool such information from local experience as may be useful to other communities, and to determine whether any existing laws are not being properly enforced, or new legislation is needed.

We are told that the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate is attacking academic freedom. Our purpose is to protect and safeguard academic freedom. Academic freedom is under attack by a monstrous growth no individual or community of scholars can fight alone. Traders cannot operate in a free market if armed highwaymen constantly harass them from secret hideouts on the public roads. The free market of ideas cannot function if hidden conspirators are waiting at every vantage point to attack and destroy the loyal people who are going quietly about the business of teaching our youth to the best of their ability.

Our committee is not concerned with telling the leaders of our schools and colleges what to teach, or how to teach. It is concerned with showing them where this alien conspiracy is hidden, that it is fully armed with every weapon, waiting to attack at every vantage point. It is concerned with helping our academic leaders to meet the threat. There can be no academic freedom until this Soviet conspiracy hidden in our schools and colleges is exposed to the light, and the rule of Moscow over its adherents in the educational world is broken.



'There Ought to be a Law'

by Edward R. Murrow

(Mr. Murrow is a leading news analyst. This article is based on his speech at Dr. Gallagher's inauguration on February 19th.)

WE NOW find ourselves in a time where our colleges and universities are about to be investigated by pompous, posturing practitioners of terror, who would ride down those who are searching for truth. It seems to me that reply must be made to the men who would inquire what we believe. It is the function, as I understand, of a university to instruct and to investigate. It is in no sense the function of the university to indoctri-

nate. I believe the right of dissent is in danger, that there is a wide-spread tendency to confuse dissent wth disloyalty.

What should our response be to these people who demand conformity, who are unable to consider the possibility that they may be wrong? I suggest that it might be wise to reply, in part at least, with an old American slogan: "There ought to be a law." There is no law that permits any agent or any agency to inquire of you or me what we believe in the spiritual or temporal field. We have laws having to do with treason and espionage. If those laws are not adequate then let them be improved and at the same time leave the individual citizen his right to agitate for amendment or for repeal.

There is, I think, a peculiar obligation resting upon our colleges and universities in the defense of freedom. There is some danger that too many of us may turn out to be 4-F, worried about fear, famine, fatigue and frustration. We may fail to realize that there are millions of people in the world shopping about for new allegiances. The old way was not good enough. They are looking at us, our whole social, economic and political system, as though we were operating in a giant test tube.

Many of us are inclined to think that we have found the ideal answer to the relationship between the individual and the state, both the social and economic relationship. Many of our friends have doubts. They will view this experiment with a mixture of fear and admiration.

The thing we need to convince them of is that freedom is safe here, that we practice it, that we expand it, that there is not going to be a repetition of what has happened in other countries. I would remind you of one little-known quotation from a man named Hitler. He uttered it in 1933 before he came to power and he said the great strength of the totalitarian state is that it will force those who fear it to imitate it. I think that is a quotation well worth remembering.

I would suggest that this is a time when everyone fortunate enough to attend a university faces the most exciting prospect of any university of a generation. No one can be sure that humans, having devised a method of destroying humanity, will not proceed to use it.

But when has there been a time where the action of each individual is more likely to influence and affect the outcome of the entire world? I doubt that many of us would choose to live in security, in comfort. We would not willingly abdicate this responsibility that has been thrust upon us.

We find ourselves in a position where within measurable time we shall discover whether this path passes through barbarism to decadence without passing through a phase of civilization. We shall determine whether we have been living on the reputation for hard work, integrity, love of freedom, regard for the Bill of Rights, of our ancestors, or whether we haven't.

INAUGURATION SPEECH AT NEW YORK CITY COLLEGE

EDWARD R. MURROW

February 19, 1953

Mr. Chairman, sir, President Gallagher, Fellow Students: I'm sure that you will all share my disappointment that my wise and ancient friend, Mr. Bernard Baruch, is unable to address us. It has been my experience that you always get wisdom and truth from men past 70, and those who have given up hope of achieving public office. I do not know what you can expect from me. I would like to suggest that your president is apparently determined to live dangerously, because he is responsible for my being here. Merely a radio and television commentator; one of that tribe that has been described with some accuracy as "men who think with their tonsils and never know what they believe until they hear themselves say it.

I am also in a position of having discovered last night that I have an association with this institution. An able colleague of mine, well practiced in the arts of journalism, informed me only last night that many years ago, he had been denied admission to this institution because he could not meet the qualifications. I told him that I was to perpetrate a small discourse here today, and he laughed and said, "Finally, after all these years, I secure my revenge against the City College."

You'll appreciate that this is a difficult assignment for one who is accustomed to sit in his shirt sleeves in an air conditioned studio and pontificate at a distance. A live audience presents a difficulty; the absence of any opening commercial makes the procedure seem rather unnatural. I'm rather in the position of a German friend of mine who rose to address an international conference, and he spoke nothing but German and everyone knew it. But in his opening remarks, he began by saying, "Mesdames - Messieurs" and everyone was startled that he knew that much French. He said: "Mesdames, Messieurs, Delegates, und" and then he paused searching for the feminine for delegates. So he backed off and took another run at the sentence and said: "Mesdames, Messieurs, Delegates und Delicatessens."

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But there comes a time, when one must address one's self to the subject, which today is - freedom.

A few weeks ago, I sat in a rather uncomfortable hole in Korea, on the main line of resistance, talking with a young soldier. At my age, it seems that all soldiers are young. This one seemed particularly young, and he said: "You know, I guess this is a sort of installment plan war." And a reporter learns that on rare occasions when front-line soldiers talk, it is advisable just to sit and listen. So I said, "Yeah, I guess so." He said, "Yeah, my Dad fought in one war. They told him that was for freedom. Then he fought in another one. Now I'm fighting in this one." He said, "I guess you don't buy freedom permanently; you have to do it on the installment plan. And no one can be sure that you can pass it on from one generation, or one agi, to another."

I would like to suggest that what happened after the last war was that we failed to recognize, or to realize, the extent to which the political, social and economic fabric of a large section of the world had been ripped apart. We failed to realize that nations had been so sorely wounded that they could not quickly recover.

In this position, we, in this country, have carried out - in six years - what can only be described as a major revolution. At no time, in the history of states, has one state altered its basic policy, cast aside its mythology, its traditions and its folklore, at such a speed. We have, in fact, reversed our ship of state in mid-stream. For the first time, in peacetime, we have allies; and we're finding them, upon occasion, rather defficult to deal with. For the first time, in peace time, we have maintained a substantial military establishment. No other nation in history has ever come into its full inheritance at such a tender age. Nor, has any nation ever assumed such responsibilities with so few people equipped, trained and experienced to carry out the worldwide commitments of the nation and the state.

We shall have to learn, I think, if we are to defend our freedom, that

allies are difficult to deal with. We shall have to learn that there are many things that cannot be done with money. We shall have to learn some of the arts of international persuasion. And I think above everything else, we shall have to learn that our example is quite as important as our money.

I believe that the colleges and universities carry a very special responsibility in this area, and I would remind you that no student, in this institution or any other, pays all of his own freight - no matter how hard he may work at part-time jobs. Part of his superior intellectual training is made possible by society as a whole. And as a result of that, each one is somehow beholden to that society that has made possible his superior intellectual training.

We now find ourselves in a time where our colleges and universities are about to be investigated by these pompous, posturing practitioners of terror; by these night riders, who would drive down the people who are searching for truth. It seems to me that reply must be made to the men who would inquire what we believe. It is the function, as I understand it, of a university to instruct and to investigate. It is in no sense the function of the university to indoctrinate. I believe that the role of dissent is in danger; that there is a widespread tendency to confuse dissent with disloyalty. I would take a brief moment of your time to read what I regard as the most eloquent statement on this subject to appear in many months.

It was written by that great jurist, Learned Hand. And he reflects upon how "often the deepest convictions of one generation are the rejects of the next. And he says that does not indeed deny the possibility that as time goes on, we shall accumulate some body of valid conclusions. But it does mean that these we can achieve only by accumulation; that wisdom is to be gained only as we stand upon the shoulders of those who have gone before. Just as in science we cannot advance except as we take over what we inherit. So in statecraft, no generations can safely start at scratch."

Judge Hand went on to say: "Our nation is embarked upon a venture as yet improved. We have set our hopes upon a community in which men shall be given un-

checked control of their own lives. That community is in peril; it is invaded from within; it is threatened from without. It faces a test which it may fail to pass. The choice is ours - whether, when we hear the pipes of Pan we shall stampede like a frightened flock, forgetting all those professions on which we have claimed to rest our policies. God knows there is risk in refusing to act until the facts are in, but is there not greater risk in abandoning the conditions of all rational inquiry; risk for risk. For myself, I had rather take my chance that some traitors will escape detection than spread abroad a spirit of general suspicion and distrust, which accepts rumor and gossip in place of undismayed and unintimidated inquiry."

"I believe," Judge Hand continues, "I believe that that community is already in process of dissolution, where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy; where non-conformity with the accepted crede - political as well as religious - is a mark of disaffection; where denunciation without specification or backing takes the place of evidence; where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent; where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open list, to win or lose.

Such fears as these are a solvent, which can eat out the cement that binds the stones together. They may, in the end, subject us to a despotism as evil as any that we dread. And they can be allayed only in so far as we refuse to proceed on suspicion and trust one another, until we have tangible ground for misgiving. The mutual confidence on which all else depends can be maintained only by an open mind, and a brave reliance upon free discussion. I do not say that these will suffice. Who knows, but we may be on a slope, which leads down to aboriginal savagery." But of this, Judge Hand is sure: "If we are to escape, we must not yield a foot upon demanding a fair field and an honest race for all ideas. 'Blame not before thou has examined. Understand first and then rebuke. Answer not before thou has heard. Interrupt not in the midst of a speech!' Those words were written nearly 2,000 years ago. They came out of an experience already long and refined in the fires of passion and conflict. They're the product of a

wisdom brought by ages of bitter trial; and by that wisdom along shall we be saved. We who boast ourselves to be the apostles of a faith in the eventual triumph of wisdom." That's the end of the quotation from Judge Learned Hand. If it was badly read it's because it was rather better written than the copy I'm accustomed to.

What then should our response be to these people who demand conformity, who are unable to consider the possibility that they may be wrong. I suggest it might be wise to reply, in part at least, with an old American slogan: 'There ought to be a law.' There is no law that permits any agency that directs any agency to inquire of you or of me what we believe in the spiritual or temporal field. We have laws having to do with treason and espionage. If those laws are not adequate, then let them be approved, and at the same time, leave the individual citizen his right to agitate for amendment or for repeal.

There is, I think, a peculiar obligation resting upon our colleges and universities in the defense of freedom. There is some danger that too many of us may turn out to be 4-F worried about fear, famine, fatigue and frustration. We may fail to realize that there are millions of people, in the world, shopping about for new allegiances; the old way was not good enough. They're looking at us - our whole social, economic and political system as though we were operating in a giant test tube. Many of us are inclined to think that we have found the ideal answer to the relationship between the individual and the state, both the social and economic relationship. Many of our friends have doubts. They will view this experiment with a mixture of fear and admiration. The thing we need to convince them of is that freedom is safe here; that we practice it; that we expand it. That there is not going to be a repetition of what has happened in other countries.

I would remind you of one little known quotation from a man named Adolf Hitler. He uttered it in 1933, before he came to power, and he said "the great strength of the totalitarian state is that it will force those who fear it to imitate it." I think that is a quotation that is well worth remembering.

I would suggest that this is a time when everyone fortunate enough to

attend a university faces the most exciting prospect of any university generation. No one can be sure that humans having devised the method of destroying humanity will not proceed to use it. But when has there been a time where the action of the individual is more likely to influence and affect the outcome of the entire world.

I doubt that many of us would choose to live in security, in comfort; we would not willingly abdicate this responsibility that has been thrust upon us. This is a duty and a debt that comes to very few generations. We find ourselves in a position where within measurable time, we shall discover whether this nation passed from barbarism into decadence without going through a phase of civilization. We shall determine whether we have been living upon the reputation for hard work, integrity, love of freedom, regard for the Bill of Rights of our ancestors, or whether we haven't. I do not believe that great nations are killed by outside attack. I think the whole history of the rise and fall of civilizations demonstrates that they are not killed; they commit suicide. I think our task as viewed from the outside, is one of awesome proportions. We are so much bigger than we realize. Our potential - both for good and for evil - is so much greater than those of us who live all of the time in this generous and capacious land can possibly appreciate.

I would suggest that in matters of politics and public affairs, we put our trust - not in Mr. Eisenhower or in Mr. Stevenson - but, rather, in the essential of the Bill of Rights. Because if that goes, all goes.

I think our position of search - a search for a definition of freedom determining its limits, reminds me of a man I worked with once in the woods in Western Washington. We called him "Charlie, the horse." He was a man of enormous strength; could lift and carry as much as two men. And when he got in a difficult position he was one to say "I can lift anything if only I could get a place to stood." What we need is a place to 'stood' - and I think we have it in the tradition, in the things that we have inherited, if we are prepared to be diligent in their defense.

Lecture given on April 25, 54 at U.S. Military Acad. at West Pt.

Our copy

25 April 1954

ROLE OF PUBLIC OPINION ON THE NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

EDWARD R. MURROW

Mr. Chairman: I am grateful for such a generous and gracious introduction. You will appreciate that this is a very difficult task for one who is accustomed to confront only a microphone or a camera because there is no case upon the record where a camera or a microphone has gone to sleep, has demonstrated contempt, indifference, or has actually walked out.

It is a relatively simple matter to be profound and persuasive, even an expert if you be sufficiently far from home, but when you face the prospect of questions after a discourse such as this, the view is rather more frightening.

I find myself rather in the position of a medieval knight who was riding his gallant steed through a dark and fearsome forest and there came up a great thunder storm and the gallant steed was well above the fetlock in mud. The lightening was knocking the tops off the trees and finally the noble steed being burdened with the noble knight, accoutered as he was in full armor, fell down and expired. Here, far from home and unhorsed was the gallant knight in the dark and fearsome forest. In a flash of lightening he saw approaching him a huge shaggy dog. The dog said, "What is thy trouble, fair knight?"

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The knight replied, "As thou seest, I am unhorsed and far from home."

The dog said, "If you will be good enough to get upon my back, I will transport thee to the nearest village."

After a certain amount of medieval discussion in the course of which the knight maintained that the dog could not support his weight, he did, in fact, get upon the dog's back. They proceeded through the dark and fearsome forest until they reached the first village. The noble knight beat lustily with the hilt of his sword first upon one door and then the other until finally he came to the local pub. The publican put his head out of the second story window and said, "What wouldst thou, fair knight?"

The knight said, "Bed and breakfast."

The publican replied with the medieval equivalent of "there ain't no room for you here," whereupon illumined again by a flash of lightening, the noble knight pointed to the dog and said, "Would you leave a knight out on a dog like this?"

I am unable to promise you any unusual degree of clarity tonight, but I can promise you brevity, and if I have had experience of men in our armed forces, any formation that ends early is not altogether disagreeable.

I am constantly mindful of a bishop who delivered a sermon at Yale University. He took for his text the four letters, "y," "a," "l," and "e." He held forth for 15 minutes on "y" for "youth" and the audience was not obviously impressed. But nothing daunted, he carried on for an additional 9 minutes and 30 seconds on "a" for "ambition" at which time there were obvious signs of nervousness in the audience. But he went on for 8 minutes on "l" for "loyalty" by which time he had lost the audience completely. But nothing daunted, he devoted 5 minutes and 20 seconds to "e" for "energy." At the end of his discourse the choir filed down the center aisle, the congregation filed down, and the bishop went down the center aisle. In the rear-most pew he encountered a student still on bended knee. He stopped until the young man rose and he said, "Young man, perhaps you would be good enough to tell me what it was I said that moved you so deeply?"

The young man looked up at him and said, "Sir, I was just giving small thanks to God that I go to Yale rather than to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

I am further somewhat inconvenienced and embarrassed here this evening because I have read what has here been said before me by my predecessors in this series and it seems to me that they have said everything that I would have said and said it rather better.

Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to come here tonight and listen to a profound and learned discourse on the state of our national defenses and to hear those words coming from my own lips. I had thought to write out this discourse and read it to you, but it seemed to me that you did not ask me here in order to test my ability to read. I felt rather that at one point you may have issued this flattering invitation as a result of unusual candor on a radio-news program that I perpetrate each evening. But it seems that this is not so. The candor occurs when the announcer, in tones of considerable unction says at the end, "Listen ~~tomorrow,~~ to Murrow tomorrow," and then just as the red light goes off, he is wont to say, "He wasn't so damn good tonight."

As I say, at one point I planned to write all this out because I was sure that in so doing, I would save myself and you certain split infinitives and misplaced prepositions. But I thought rather, since this is a mopping up operation, just to talk a little about the things that seem to me a little important. If the language is misused upon occasion, I would remind you that Mr. Winston Churchill, who has considerable ability in the proper deployment of the English language, once produced a sentence in an official document which ended with a preposition. He sent this document round to the foreign office and when it came back, the offending preposition had been neatly circled and moved up to its

proper position. Mr. Churchill sent this document back to the foreign office with a marginal note which said, "This is the type of pedantry up with which I will not put."

I have, I confess, made a few notes on the back of an old envelope, and I would like to begin by suggesting to you that we consider the nature and character of the threat that confronts us. I would suggest that it is not just military, that we must always remember that more than half the world lives under conditions and terms of reference that have nothing whatever to do with the due process of law, with the dignity of the human being, with personal freedom or liberty. They live under conditions where the dominant and primary and unvarying question is "when do we eat?" We must learn to live and lead in a world where those conditions obtain because if we do not, we will then find ourselves within measurable time a great continental straggling island off the coast of Kamchatka with the rest of the world either united against us or indifferent to our fate.

We must at all costs remember that the rest of the world, much of it, is not created in our image. We must remember that we face perhaps three primary questions not directly related to military power. The first is the creation of a greater degree of social justice and equality amongst those who live in freedom in the Western World. The second question is that there must be created a greater degree

of unity between those nations of the Western World. The third is that we must learn to deal with the nations and the peoples of Asia and Africa on a basis of greater equality, greater mutual respect, and greater freedom for the other man's opinion.

We face the problem as had been stated here before of dealing with our Allies. Allies are very difficult. You gentlemen, I think, should remember that it is only 5 years since we acquired our first peace-time Allies. We had none before in our entire history. Now there has been thrust upon us not only the military leadership of what is left of the free world, but the moral leadership, the demonstration of steadiness which above everything else we require to present to our Allies. I think it was Clausewitz who laid it down that the first duty of a nation was to recognize its enemies. I would suggest an additional or secondary duty which is that we must recognize our friends. We must cherish them and nourish them. They'e difficult. They have a history, a cultural tradition that goes back far beyond ours. They have already demonstrated that they will not always do what we say, that they have minds of their own, but we are operating here a coalition of free nations, not a group of satellites.

Mr. McCloy when he spoke to you mentioned what was carried in addition to fire-power by the Roman Legions and by British cruisers. We must constantly examine in our missions abroad what we carry in addition to the reflection of a nation that is fat in a world that is lean

or hungry; what we carry in addition to great technological achievements and abilities. We must, I suggest, remember always that as a result of the convulsions of the last war, of the freeing of people from colonial bondage, that there are hundreds of millions of people who are looking about, shopping about, for new alliances, new beliefs, new ideas. We may feel that we in this country have achieved the ideal in the relationship between the individual and the state, but we must remember also that we are viewed from the outside as a giant-test tube in which a continuing experiment is being conducted, and whatever we do, whatever posture we take up, will be considered by our Allies as well as by our enemies. There has occurred, I suggest, in this country, since you gentlemen finished the eighth grade, the most considerable revolution by consent that has ever occurred in a free country. We decided to reverse the ship of state in midstream. We cast off isolationism willingly or unwillingly. We now have commitments that run round the world; solemn commitments which 15 or 20 years ago would have been unthinkable to the people of this country and those commitments have been taken freely, fully and after considered debate, as they should always be taken.

No nation in history has achieved a revolution of this magnitude in comparable time. This means that we require servants of the nation not only in the military establishment, but in diplomacy, in economics, in education--in the sum total of what is required to reflect the character, the purposes and intent of this country to the rest of the free world.

This means, I suggest, that there is occurring a gradual but visual shift in the position occupied by military men in our nation and our society. This change began occurring immediately after the end of the late war. I do not need to detail to you the number of military men who have served in political, diplomatic and economic positions--duties that they were not basically trained to discharge. I apprehend that this trend will continue--that more and more in the future military men will be called to serve their nations in capacities that are not strictly military--because we have now reached the point where there are no longer in the area of new, for example, stories that are primarily or exclusively domestic; they are all international. In one way or another they impinge upon our relationships with our Allies, with the neutrals and with our enemies.

I would like to tell you very briefly of a conversation I had with General Dean just after he came back from 2 1/2 years in a PW camp in Korea. I began by suggesting to him that he had had more time to think than any other general office in our army. He had been there for almost 2 1/2 years, much of it in solitary confinement. I asked him what he had thought about and he said, "I thought mainly about two things. I thought about the mistakes that I had made around Taejon. I had underestimated the enemy's strength. I had made some mistakes in the disposition of my own troops. I expected when I returned to receive a general court or be dismissed from the army."

I said, "What was the second thing you thought about?"

He said, "The second thing and perhaps I thought about this more than the first, was that during my period in command, I had spent too little time seeing to it that the troops under my command were informed and instructed as to why they were there, why it was necessary for them to be there, and why their presence there was an essential service to their country. In North Korea my guards, officers and men alike, spent at least two hours each day in political indoctrination. Sometimes it was merely copying slogans, words and phrases out of a book. It was a distorted and perverted type of education."

But in all the time this great soldier had to think, he thought to a large extent about the fact that he had not devoted enough time and attention to training and instructing his troops as to the reasons, the necessity, the causes for their being where they were.

I would suggest that one of our greatest difficulties in this present time of tension and turmoil is that we as a nation have throughtout our entire history with one single exception, sought and found easy and quick solutions-that one exception being the war between the states. We are an impatient at times rather arrogant people. We want answers; we want action. We find ourselves now in a position where there are no easy or quick solutions. Indeed, there may be no solutions at all that are plannable and foreseeable. This means that we are now,

as I see it, in a testing time that may measure the calibre of this country more accurately than it has ever been measured in war. This is a time that requires steadiness, restraint, tolerance and the belief that however long this may last, we will outlast the enemy and at the end of it, we will be upright with the basic rights of American citizens, fully intact, that we will not have given up our liberties in the process of preparing to defend them. This is not a matter, as I see it, which is going to be settled with big bombs or big words. This is a contest which may well last longer than any of us.

There may be temptations from time to time to reach for that easy and quick solution and the fear that we may yield to those temptations is one thing that disturbs and at times appalls our Allies. They fear that we may in a moment of recklessness or impatience provoke or produce a war which we in this country may survive but which they know they cannot. They know, too, that they will not survive another liberation regardless of the final outcome of the war.

I think we made a certain mistake at the end of the last war in not appreciating fully the degree and the depth of the destruction of the political, social and economic fabric of Western Europe. The first evidence of that mistake came when the British had to give up their burden in Greece. We took it over. Next came Turkey, then came the

absorption of Czechoslovakia, then came the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. Most of these events involved the business of the Soviet's acting and our reacting. The history of the last six years shows that each time they have eased the pressure a little, the unity of the Western powers has eased off just a little because as the pressure is reduced, the temptation to bicker and to disagree and to go our separate ways is increased.

One thing that is involved so far as we are concerned in this continuing and deepening crisis, is the preservation here at home of the things for which we are prepared to fight. This involves, as I see it, due process of law, the dignity of the individual, the refusal to believe that dissent and disloyalty are the same thing. The insistence that the individual in this society has the right to be wrong, has the right to contend in support of what may today be minority views and which, as history teaches us, may tomorrow or the next day be the majority.

There is another thing which should concern us, that is, the conduct and attitude of American garrisons overseas. We must remember that in Europe on a 4,000 mile front, we have got Norwegians standing guard for our safety and our security. Down in the southeast end of Turkey, 4,000 miles away, there are Turks standing guard. They're acting certainly in the light of their own self-interest, but they are, nevertheless, part of the sentinels on our expanding outpost.

There would, I hope, develop over the course of the next few years a greater interest on the part of American forces abroad in the culture, society, history and language of the countries where they happen to be stationed. There are things in those countries to be understood, appreciated and savored. But in our youth, in our impatience, we have to a considerable extent in the post-war years been inclined to continue to act as forces of occupation in territories surrounded by people in whom we have no interest, no community of faith, belief or understanding. I would suggest, too, since I am invading the province of the educators, that the knowledge of language can scarcely be overstressed for anyone who is going to represent his country abroad whether it be in military or allied fields.

I would end this dreary discourse by recounting to you briefly what I regard as the most important peace-time story of the last 20 years. It occurred in Moscow in October of 1952 at the all party congress of the Communist Party. We at that time were preoccupied with the presidential campaign. The story that made the headlines was that Mr. Stalin had said that war between the Western Powers was more likely than between the Western Powers and the Soviet Union. This was not the real burden of the roughly 130,000 words spoken at that conference. The real burden was this and we will ignore it at our peril, the blueprint of the way the Russians purpose to encompass our destruction was spelled

out in great detail, in greater detail than ever Hitler did in Mein Kampf. What they said in substance was that their principal weapon would be trade, that gradually the British, the French, the Japanese, all the rest of our Allies and friends, would come to resent our economic domination and tutelage, that they would then trade where they could, and that this would set up frictions so severe against our own economy, against our own political philosophy, that the Western alliances would in the end of the day fall to quarrelling amongst themselves. This is a warning not to be lightly disregarded. Our Allies will trade where they can because in many cases, particularly the British and the Japanese, they must trade in order to live. I regarded these long proceedings in 1952 and I still do, as being the keystone to Russian policy. They will maneuver and threaten with the Red Army. They may through accident or recklessness, use it. But basically the evidence indicates that they are playing this for the long grinding process in the belief that their policed state will be more cohesive and more lasting than ours.

It seems to me that we in this country must always do three things: we must always be strong; we must always be prepared to negotiate; and we must always be vigilant that we do not in the course of acquiring strength lose those values and those qualities which we are prepared and indeed willing to defend.

A few years ago in Korea I went out to fly a B-26 mission and I had not felt in the last war that I was particularly older than the young men who were flying and fighting,and as I climbed into this B-26, the sergeant gunner said, "Hey, who do you work for?"

I said, "CBS."

He said, "Do you have to do this?"

I said, "No."

He said, "You get flying pay for it?"

I said, "No."

He said, "How old are you?"

I said, "About 45."

He said, "Youre getting a little old for this kind of nonsense, ain't you?"

I felt then the difference in age.

After spending one day here not having an opportunity to meet very many of you, I feel that you have somehow shortened the age differential and I'm very grateful.

I'm told that I am now to be subjected to questions. On some I shall probably take evasive action as best as I can. I would make only one suggestion and that is that I'm a reporter and editor, not a politician. I'm not seeking office and I would suggest that this is not the appropriate place to engage in discussion or controversy concerning a rather

important domestic political controversy.

Before the first question, I am reminded of a letter which was a rather unkind cut from a woman in Iowa who said: "Dear Mr. Murrow: You not only don't tell me anything, you ask me questions."

This must have been a massive contribution to intelligence if there are no questions.

Q. We are told that popular opinion in the United States these days is against the Army, I mean the officers of the Army. As a man who has never been connected with popular opinion what do you feel the Army, particularly the career officers of the Army, can do to decrease the ill feeling against Army officers?

A. I have very little faith in polls of public opinion. I have seen no evidence that there is an increase in the unfavorable opinion in which the armed forces are held. I would think that the best way to create a favorable climate of opinion is in the area of personal conversation and explanation. I would guess that part of what I regard minor critical attitude is a reflection of the fact that the armed forces are now spending about 75% of the total national expenditure, but as one who has at least some communication with those who deal with the forces of public opinion, I have not found that there has been any increase in a critical attitude toward the armed forces.

Q. Do you suppose this about face from isolationism of Europe of participation in international affairs, a very rapid revolution has taken place? Do you think that public opinion has made this change at the same rate that actionsby our government leaders have taken place, or do you feel that probably it is being dragged along?

A. I think leaders should lead and I think in this case they led, but I do not feel that public opinion has lagged very far behind This to me is the most remarkable aspect of what I call "revolution by consent", that the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the ANZUS Pact, these were debated fully, thoroughly, at length, sometimes to boring length, it seemed to me, but the action was taken It was congressional action. To me the remarkable fact is not so much that the leaders saw the obligation combined with the opportunity, but that the people not only supported the political action but had paid taxes in order to support it. This is a change in public opinion which, I think, is unparalleled unless it be the change that occurred in England between the time of Munich and the outbreak of war because there can be little question at the time of Munich, Mr. Chamberlain acted in accordance with the wishes of the dominant majority of British people In a little less than a year the whole attitude had changed and when war actually came, it was welcomed almost with a sense of relief.

Q. We hear a great deal about the necessity of making friends with peoples of Asia and our Allies and it seems that sometimes we haven't done this to the best of our ability. Now the Communists have a very effective means of disseminating their propaganda in these countries, especially in Asia. We seem to have no such ability. Could you suggest any means that aren't being taken to influence public opinion favorably toward us in some of these areas?

A. There is no question that the Communists are very skillful in their propaganda in the backward areas because they work at the village and the working level and their propaganda is aimed through a combination of threat and glorious promise of the future to create a support for their philosophy. One of our difficulties has been that we have concentrated too much on government officials and on newspapers that have very small circulation in the sum total of the population. Some of the most effective things we have done have been in these areas: (1) The exchange of students between this and foreign countries, (2) the whole Point Four and Technical Aid Program which gets down to the level of the village where it has been possible to stamp out malaria, cholera, leprosy and where the people doing these jobs have been skillful enough to be able to explain to the native inhabitants that we were doing this not for purposes of economic imperialism or colonialism or anything else. I think it is a combination of the long-range educational processes, plus the demonstration that our technical skills are available and are not going to be used exclusively or primarily for destructive purposes. This is going to take generations to do.

Q. How effective do you believe the Voice of America has been in our behalf?

A. This is very difficult to measure. It has a very substantial listening audience, particularly in the satellite countries in Western Europe. It receives a very considerable amount of mail. It is constantly in an editorial struggle with itself because the objective is to maintain hope, particularly in the satellite countries without simultaneously creating the false hope that liberation through our action is in any sense imminent. I think the most effective things that have been done by the Voice of America have perhaps been done with our Allies and not through the short-wave broadcasting so much as arranging for time on the local domestic medium wave transmitters for the presentation of news and views from this country, but even the people who operate the Voice find so many intangibles in their replies that it is very difficult to mention. It is, however, true that there is immediate and wide-spread word of mouth in circulation even inside the Soviet Union of what is broadcast by the Voice.

Q. You mention that our nation may be faced today with general problems to which there are no solutions. Do you see a solution to the problem of Indo-China and if so, what is it?

A. Now at the last meeting of the National Security Council, which I did not attend, they couldn't answer that question. Seriously, we are, as I see it, now committed to prevent the fall of Indo-China to communism.

The future of Indo-China is not going to be settled at Diembienphu although the outcome there may do a great deal to damage the will to resist of the French people. The French, having fought that war for almost 8 years, having lost more than the equivalent of the graduating class at St. Cyr every year, the whole cream of their young officer corps, are determined one way or another to get out, not to get out physically, but to get out of the war. They have been slow and reluctant to grant to the people of Indo-China the complete freedom and independence they have demanded. The people demand not only that, but they want some relief from the almost feudalistic control of Bao Dai. I think there is a possibility at the Geneva Conference of getting a cease-fire. This may not end except momentarily the war. The decision in Indo-China, I think, the basic decision, is going to be made by the people who live there. So far the French have not succeeded in persuading the villagers that they have an opportunity to fight for real freedom. There will probably be announced tomorrow or the next day a new treaty between the associated states and France which will go much farther than any previous treaty or agreement has. If we are obliged or decide to enter action in Indo-China, it will, I think, from a purely strategic point of view be better ground on which to fight than was Korea because the enemy supply lines will be so long and so open to air attack as contrasted to those in Korea. But the ultimate answer not only do I not know, but I don't know anyone who does.

Q. In international relations in order to get you have to give. What can the French give for a cease fire?

A. They can offer trade to China. See, the problem here, as I see it, is to try to persuade or force the Chinese to stop their supply to Ho Chi Minh and, as you suggest, this requires something other than persuasive language. The French can attempt to persuade us to give diplomatic recognition to China; they can attempt to assure the Chinese that we will collaborate with them in increasing trade between Japan and Communist China; they can, as you suggest, trade off a piece in Indo-China for the refusal to ratify EDC. This was their primary tactic at Berlin at the Foreign Ministers Conference where everything that was said was aimed not so much at the Germans or us, but the French, but beyond that, I do not know what they can offer.

Q. Do you believe the American public whole heartedly supported our actions in the last conflict we were engaged in?

A. In Korea. Will Rogers used to have a phrase. He said, "The big majority--we don't really know how they make up their minds. It is a mystery, but somehow they make them up." I had the feeling that the big normal majority did support the last action in Korea. I think gradually in spite of all the criticism of our Allies and indeed criticism of our own administration, I had the feeling that there came

to be a very wide-spread acceptance and agreement on the obvious fact which is that this was the first time in the history of free nations where so many have banded together to stop aggression, where only one of them was immediately and physically threatened by that aggression, namely South Korea. My own feeling is that there was here established with all of the bickerings and difficulties, etc., a pattern which may yet be the pattern that will save the free world. I don't think there is anything unanimous in this country, not even the 18th Amendment, I am told--although I was rather young at the time--but I had the feeling that the big normal majority did support it.

Q. Referring to Indo-China, General Clay spoke here yesterday, speaking about Dienbienphu, stated that in the minds of young people and in the minds of Western people in general, the fall of Dienbienphu has equationed the fall of Indo-China. General Clay stated and you have already reiterated this particular is not correct. General Clay went on to state that t his is an unfortunate misconception. As we all read the headlines and papers in the past 2 or 3 days--are the newspapers and the radio--how much of this responsibility or your responsibility are they to blame for this apparent misconception?

A. The question was on the matter of the importance of Dienbienphu. I happened without prior knowledge to be in agreement with General Clay and it's always agreeable when a reporter is in agreement with a general,

but it seems that we are both in agreement that the fall of Dienbienphu is not to be equated with the fall of Indo-China. The question was the newspapers and the radio in general playing it as the great crisis, etc., whether this is responsible, irresponsible, or just carelessness. There are about three elements here involved. The first is that the French, who in war and peace are inclined to operate a very severe censorship, have not permitted a great deal of hard news to come out of Dienbienphu. When there is an absence of hard news, there is a tendency on the part of reporters and editors to speculate. The second element is that in vast areas of this country the people writing and broadcasting have not frankly studied their maps sufficiently, are inclined to focus on the small and recognizable point. I would, I think, agree with you that the strategic, if not the psychological importance of Dienbienphu, has been grossly exaggerated. I think it is a combination of (1) of not enough factual news coming out of there, (2) a tendency to dramatize the single incident. We had many of those in the last war where a single action was blown up out of all proportions and if you will go back and read the history of the Battle of the Bulge, you will find there that responsible but relatively inexperienced reporters and editors can blow up out of real proportion a single story or a single incident.

Q. There is a good deal of comment today from a number of reporters that the "new look" was brought about as a political measure to get

public opinion along the lines of present political interest. I wonder if you think that indicates and if such does exist, how public opinion can be re-educated and re-oriented to see a larger defense picture, a larger national security picture in all?

A. The "new look"--in the first place, I think there are very few actions having to do with the national defense establishment in this or any other country that do not have a certain element of political consideration in them. As you gentlemen will discover when you deal with the civilian forces of politics, you will ask for what you want and then you will do your best with what you get. This has been the whole history of the relations of military commanders to civilian political authority. That's the way it is; that's the way it should be; that's what the constitution prescribes. The "new look" so far as I can discover was not designed as a political maneuver designed to catch votes in the autumn election or in any other. I am told that there was more prolonged, serious and informed discussion and debate on this issue than on any major post-war decision. I think one thing that has created a degree of confusion about the so-called "new look" is this desire apparently unquenchable on the part of so many individuals in the Defense Department to utter on this subject and the confusion in the public mind is quite understandable, I mean as a reporter who gets paid for studying and attempting to understand the "new look" among other things.

The sum of the public statements by public figures have left me in some doubt as to where I was looking much less what the look was. I think, to refer to the second part of your question, the only thing that can be done to either illuminate or alter the public mind in this area, is to continue to report such fact, such statement, and such opinion as come from responsible and informed sources. I know no other way to do it. There are those in my profession who are much more sure than the Chief of Staff, or the Secretary of Defense, or the President as to what the "New Look" is and what it should be. I have not that perspicacity, but I know of no way to do it other than to do one's best to continue to report.

Q. Would the American public opinion support commitment of armed troops of the United States in Indo-China?

A. I believe that if the reasons were cogently and coherently explained, if, as the President has promised, they will not be committed without action of Congress, my guess would be that the public would support such action, but my guess in that is, I suggest, no better than any one of yours.

Q. Mr. Murrow, this question comes from a member of the press. [Some parts are inaudible]. In your speech you gave views of Europe, Asia, Korea and Indo-China - - - [again partially inaudible] - - - in our national security here at home. You made one statement; you said that Russian leaders hope that theirs will outlast our police state. Do you consider ours a police state?

A. No. I am sorry you misunderstood me. No. What I said was that they apparently believe that their controlled police state will outlast our system of continuing freedom. I can't quote you this exactly, but certainly I think there would have been a howl from the audience had I said that ours was a police state.

Q. [Again from the press representative] What do you consider that investigating bodies of Congress are doing for national security--the senatorial investigating bodies? I realize fully that you have touched only on the periphery of the subject, but the senatorial bodies of this country you say are doing a good job. If so, what should be the particular job of the press and radio of this country--to either support or defend them or else give both sides of the issue?

A. This is a highly hypothetical question when you say "senate bodies." There are a great many senate investigating committees.

Q. [from a cadet] Would you please repeat the question.

A. The question had several parts. The first part suggested that I had said that we, like the Russians, had a police state in this country, which I did not say. We got ourselves straight on that. The second was that I had discussed largely the periphery of our defense system and the meat of the question was what I thought about senatorial investigating committees in this country; whether they were doing a good job or not. I suggested that there are a great many senatorial investigating committees. The function of congressional investigating

committees has on the record been useful in this country in the past. I also suggested at the outset of the question period that I did not regard this as a proper forum to discuss my opinion regarding highly controversial domestic issues and that includes the row between Senator McCarthy and the Army. ~~Their~~ My reluctance to discuss this ~~as~~ from this particular platform is my own decision and no one else's.

6/28/54 Awards

FREEDOM HOUSE:

You have done this reporter a very considerable honor; and as Shakespeare said: "Beggar that I am, I am even poor in thanks. Appropriate response to this generous and gracious citation would appear to require the eloquence of the ancients on some aspect of freedom. But there is little new to be said; the words have been better said by others; the challenge we face today has been faced before. Freedom is not to be bought in the bargain basement - nor for a lump sum - it must be paid for and argued about by each succeeding generation. Weapons may change, maps may be altered, alliances falter; but freedom remains the continuing concern of men and women who are conscious of their heritage and who would remain free. Freedom may be hammered to death on the anvil of war; or it may be nibbled away, or wither from neglect; or come to be regarded as a luxury we can't

(all Corresp. in Awards Folder)

afford. With your permission I shall talk briefly about how much freedom we can afford, in the context of the fearsome frightened time in which we live.

One of the pitfalls into which freedom can fall is in our thinking that any national or world emergency justifies putting curbs on freedom. We all recognize that in war time, when national survival is at stake, it could be dangerous to take chances with extreme activities in the opposition. We do not know how great a peril the dissenters may prove to be. They could weaken the war effort, they might by themselves destroy security. It would take time to give them the benefit of the doubt, or search their motives in lengthy legal procedures. Time is short in a war, and it is the general feeling that it is better to suspend some individual rights for a while than to endanger the whole community. But it is

generally understood that this can only be tolerated while survival is at stake. When the emergency is over, a democracy expects to return to its normal practices and to the full protection of minorities and individuals. That is, when danger is sufficiently acute, when victory means survival - a democracy can decide not to be completely democratic, but does so in the assurance that when the emergency ends it will promptly return to its true character.

It doesn't always turn out that way. After the First World War the drive for conformity persisted in this country and some time was needed for the advocates of democracy to take over from impatient and headstrong enemies of dissent. There was an ugly time when individual rights were being cut down <u>without</u> national survival serving as a justification.

The test of the validity of reducing freedom in a democracy is not simply danger, it is the immediacy of the danger. It takes time to practice democracy, and in an acute danger there just may not be time for slow democratic ways. So the question we need to answer today is whether the danger we now face is so near that we no longer have time to be democratic. During the hot war we felt we did not have it. Do we have it in a cold war?

You will recognize that all the curbs on freedom advocated or imposed today are justified or excused on the ground that we are in a cold war, and that our survival is just as much at stake as in a hot war. That may well be so. But it isn't so that we have no time in the cold war. We have plenty of it. The cold war isn't being decided soon, it may not be for a lifetime.

Just let your mind run over the recent instances when individual freedom has been curtailed or overriden, and

ask yourselves whether there has not been plenty of time to enforce the laws in normal democratic ways, without in any way threatening national survival. There has been no pressing need for self-appointed crusaders to replace the courts and to prosecute and condemn dissenters in committees, or in the newspapers, or on television, or radio. Many individuals have been cruelly punished. I am thinking of those who have not been placed behind prison bars after a trial, but of those who have been stigmatized as though branded for life with a hot iron. More than a few have been rendered permanently unemployable and have been relegated to a condition of social inferiority like India's untouchables. I am not saying that none of these was guilty. How should I know? I only say it was not democratic to punish them without a fair trial.

In a hot war it may be unsafe to try to maintain the military effort and all the democratic principles at the

same time. In a cold war it not only is safe, it seems to me imperative to do so. For one of the elements of our power in the cold war is our democracy and the sincerity with which we live it. For our democracy is the chief remaining guarantee of the safety of freedom anywhere. I say it actually endangers our national security and reduces our chances of survival as a democracy if we throw this asset away or impair it.

If an atmosphere is created in which dissent and independent individual thinking are penalized, the tendency of the citizen will be to avoid trouble. He can be safe on his job, enjoy the approval of his neighbors and be immune from misinterpretation and persecution simply by saying nothing. And if enough citizens say nothing the result is nation-wide conformity. That may be pleasing to those who don't understand democracy or value it, but nation-wide conformity means a static society, one that

has lost the initiative to change itself. The only way such a static society changes is by the examples set or by the pronouncements made by those who have become the self-appointed fear-breeding arbiters of what is right and what is wrong.

If we become a static society we lose one of the basic functions of democracy, the freedom to change. It is a truism that democracy is a means of dealing with the human imperfections of society. It recognizes that no form of government is perfect, no administration can be faultless, no legal system beyond improvement, no economic order as good as it might be. Where there is imperfection there must be change. And to produce change, unless it is imposed by tyranny, there must be difference of opinion, there must be opposition, there must be pioneer thinking, there must be freedom to criticize, there must be the unremitting conflict and testing of ideas. This

undoubtedly involves a great deal of confusion. But the liveliness of a democracy can be measured by the activity of the minds of its citizens. Security and serenity in a democracy are not at all the same thing. They may even be opposites. Those who think that since we are in a cold war we are committed to conformity may not realize that they are asking to make democracy dormant, and that a dormant democracy is really on the way to becoming a tyranny. If our democracy is kept dormant for as long as the cold war continues, the end will be a world in which two tyrannies confront each other. The test of military power between them may not have been risked, but the ideological struggle will be over, the free world will have ceased to be free.

So one of our troubles is knowing how to appraise and measure the emergency. I yield to no one in my desire to root out subversion. But I insist on a broad definition

for subversion. I call subversion anything that subverts our political order, whether it be giving active aid to an enemy or curtailing the freedom of the democracy to deal with its own imperfections. We must know that democracy cannot be kept alive by putting it to sleep. We have to be just as much engrossed with promoting its vigor and liveliness as its military security. One freedom that does not make sense, even in a cold war, is the freedom to reduce freedom. And I am not thinking of the inherent necessity for restraints if freedom is to thrive. Obviously, freedom that is not responsible is mere wilfulness, and it is not what I am talking about. But when freedom takes it upon itself to reduce itself permanently, or for as long as a cold war lasts, it is in the initial stages of self-destruction.

There is a false formula for personal security being peddled in our market place. It is this, although not

so labelled: Don't join anything; don't associate; don't write; don't take a chance on being wrong; don't espouse unpopular causes; button your lip and drift with the tide; seek the ease and luxury of complete equanimity by refusing to make up your minds about issues that wiser heads will one day decide. This product if it be bought by enough people leads to paralysis.

We must, I think, for our very lives remember that freedom will reside and flourish here in this generous and capacious land, or it will survive nowhere on this minor planet. Our strength in this continuing conflict with the forces of evil, lies not alone in bombs and planes and physical courage. We must have stable ground upon which to stand and fight, if fight we must. Nations have been known to destroy their freedom while preparing to defend it. We are the head of a grand alliance of freedom-loving people. They have joined with us because they believe

it to be in their own self-interest, and because we are strong. But there is another reason for their joining their fate with ours. We are free, and whatever we do to limit or foreshorten that freedom will reduce by that much our reservoir of good will abroad. There is no such thing as a Voice of America. That voice is made up of Senators, and Admirals, and Clergymen, the Supreme Court, the price of wheat on the big board in Chicago, trade policies, race relations. There is no longer such a thing as a purely domestic news story; each is part of the voice of this country abroad. And if that collective voice tells the story of reduced freedom, of a tyranny of silence, of a fear of change, then within measurable time we shall find ourselves a great powerful continental island off the coast of Kamchatka, with the rest of the world either united against us or indifferent to our fate. Our example, our demonstration of freedom in action may be more powerful

than our dollars, more persuasive than the threat of our bombs. We must continue to provide ourselves and our allies with that most dangerous and explosive force known to mankind - knowledge. And no man and no group may be permitted to chart in advance the course or the books to be followed in pursuit of that knowledge.

We live in a time of fear and prejudice and freedom is hard-pressed both at home and abroad. But freedom will survive and flourish unless it be destroyed by the consent of the free.

I say consent, for acquiescence or silence is a form of consent. I believe there has been more acquiescence than is healthy, because too many people have mistakenly thought it was necessary to be undemocratic to deal with the emergency. They have thought there wasn't time to be both safe and free. No more fateful mistake can be made. For in the cold war there is no safety whatever

unless we remain free. Democracy is our one chance of survival. For if we emerge from the long crisis undevastated by total war but no longer free, we have but chosen the cheapest and least heroic way to give tyranny the victory.

DELTA PHI EPSILON: 12-19-55 Put on list Awards

I trust that you will forgive me for employing this unsatisfactory mechanical medium in acceptance of your award. The language employed by your representatives is calculated to warm the heart and inflate the ego of any reporter. I have the plaque here beside me, and the inscription reads: "In greatful recognition of impartial, honest presentation of the current issues to the thinking public." I am greatful for the whole of the inscription, and particularly gratified for that final phrase: "the thinking public". The public is more discerning, discriminating and thoughtful than most reporters and editors believe. If this were not so, the continuing experiment with democracy with which we are engaged would be foredoomed to failure.

How should I respond to the gracious and generous language of this citation? Most of us know the meaning of the words "impartial" and "honest". Most of us know, too, that they represent objectives which no one ever fully or completely attains; and this reporter is no exception.

I am inclined to respond by talking to you briefly about a word some of you may remember from your youth. It was part of the common currency of our language during the war. The word is "priority". We must, if we are to survive, get our priorities straight. Those of you who have finished or

(All Corres in Awards' Folder)

are about to finish your university education, must remember that no one of you paid your own freight. Whatever the institution that you attended, whatever you or your parents paid in the way of tuition, part of your superior intellectual training was made possible by the society of which you are a part. You are in a real sense beholden to that society; you owe it a debt. You may choose to concern yourself exclusively with personal profit or personal pleasure, at the expense of the society which made possible your superior intellectual training. But if you do, then your debt will have to be paid by others - perhaps by your children.

Priorities must be kept straight in the matter of the relationship between the individual and the state. The sovereignty of the individual is not something to be exercised or demonstrated occasionally in the voting booth. It applies equally to religion, to conversation, to the whole area of ideas where honest men and women may differ. ~~on it.~~ It is, in fact, the essence of the Bill of Rights, which unfortunately is largely unexplored territory even for those who have had the benefit of higher education.

We must get our priorities right on the matter of evidence - not evidence as submitted in a court of law, but evidence or innuendo as dispensed by press and radio. The admonition "Judge not that ye be not judged" does not

mean that judgments should not be reached and then stoutly defended. It means, rather, that evidence must be weighed, measured and examined as though you were judging yourself instead of your neighbor.

This business of priorities applies equally to relations between nations. We as a nation are fat and comfortable, on a planet most of which is peopled by those who are lean, or hungry. We must constantly and consciously decide what sacrifices if any we are prepared to make, to assist those who ask our help and who aspire to our freedom and individual dignity.

As a nation we find ourselves in an unprecedented situation. We are beset by problems for which there appears to be no solution, certainly no easy or quick solution. We are an impatient and at times improvident people, accustomed to demand action, solutions and change. We must accustom ourselves to gradualness, to patience and to fortitude. I am well aware that all this sounds platitudinous. It has all been said before, and generally rather better said. But at the same time one of our top priorities should be to distrust and discount those who come before us with easy, ready-made, painless solutions. We must face the fact that there remain vast social, racial and economic inequities in our society - face too the fact that as a nation we must devise a method of dealing in

equality and dignity with the peoples of Asia and Africa.

If this nation continues to be the magnet that attracts the hopes of men and women who seek freedom, it will not be because of our wealth, or our military power alone. It will be because of the example of tolerance and freedom, and willingness to sacrifice, that we present to the rest of the world. This example will not be set by people who talk on radio or television or write in the newspapers. They can report what happens, both the good and the bad - the brave and the cowardly, the true and the false. But the stature of this country is not determined by such people with loud voices. Our course is set by what happens on the school board - in the local elections, in the churches and community centers.

We live in an era of bigness - everything is getting bigger: labor unions, industry, government. This is perhaps inevitable. But this experiment of ours, which has given us a more broadly based wealth and freedom than any other nation, can fail only if the individual comes to believe or suspect that he or she is unimportant - cannot be a decisive factor - must surrender to some remote, faceless force which he will permit to determine his destiny.

It would give me great pleasure to hear a brief and believable

solution to our national and international problems, and to hear it coming from my lips. I am incapable of such utterance, and if I heard it coming from another, no matter how eminent, I would doubt and question, and argue.

If you find these brief remarks barren of information or solution, I am sorry; but at the same time remind you that your sorority's citation did not say that I was omniscient, or a provider of ready-made ermine-trimmed solutions. It merely said that I was impartial and honest. I cannot but believe that you praised me unduly. However, if the language was perhaps slightly exaggerated, I shall do my best to deserve it in the future.

Fall 56

DETROIT

Eng Post 1 Fall 1956
attached to previous Corr.

PERFUME AND PRAISE - M.I.T. - DELICATESSEN - PROSPECT OF QUESTIONS

SINCE 1945 OUR FOREIGN POLICY UNDERGONE UNPRECEDENTED REVOLUTION

CONSENT CREATED BY EVENTS -- WE UNDERESTIMATED EXTENT MATERIAL

MORAL DAMAGE DURING WAR -- WE HAD EXPANDING ECONOMY, MINOR HARDSHIPS,

COMPLETE SECURITY, VICARIOUS EXCITEMENT.

WE TREATED FORMER ENEMIES AND ALLIES WITH UNPRECEDENTED CONSIDERATION

AND GENEROSITY -- IN FEBRUARY 1947 PRESIDENT INFORMED US UNABLE

CONTINUE MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID TO GREECE AND TURKEY --

TRUMAN DOCTRINE PROCLAIMED MARCH 12 --

JUNE 5 MARSHALL PLAN ANNOUNCED AT HARVARD --

UNDOUBTEDLY SAVED WESTERN EUROPE FROM COLLAPSE AND COMMUNISM.

IN FEBURARY 1948 COMMUNIST COUP IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA --

MAY 1948 INDEPENDENT STATE OF ISRAEL PROCLAIMED --

JUNE 1948 VANDENBURG RESOLUTION DECLARED INTENTION TO BREAK WITH TRADITION OF NO FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS.

BERLIN AIRLIFT BEGAN IN JULY --

APRIL 1949 NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY SIGNED IN WASHINGTON WHICH COMPLETED COMMITMENT TO FREE WORLD --

JUNE 1950 NORTH KOREAN COMMUNISTS INVADED KOREA --

TRUMAN IMPLIED A-BOMB MIGHT BE USED IN KOREA --

ATLEE RUSHED OVER TO DISSUADE HIM --

MARCH 1952 STALIN DIED -- CHURCHILL PROPOSED SUMMIT CONFERENCE - GENEVA

THAT SUMMER RUSSIANS EXPLODED FIRST H-BOMB --

BEGINNING OF 1954 DULLES ANNOUNCED POLICY MASSIVE RETALIATION --

WE EXPLODED FIRST H-BOMB IN THE MARSHALLS --

WAR IN INDO-CHINA. NIXON ADVOCATES SENDING U.S. TROOPS THERE.

WE DECIDE AID TITO --

EGYPT ANNOUNCED ACCEPTANCE SOVIET ARMS --

WE PROPOSED AERIAL INSPECTION - THE RUSSIANS REJECTED --

WE DECLINED PROVIDE ARMS FOR ISRAEL--

DULLES SAID TANKS CANNOT CROSS DESERTS - ALSO CLAIMED NEUTRALITY

"EXCEPTION UNDER EXCEPTIONAL CIRCUMSTANCES" IS AN IMMORAL AND

SHORT-SIGHTED CONCEPTION...

WE REFUSED TO NEGOTIATE WITH RED CHINA --

IN JULY 1956 WE WITHDREW OFFER TO HELP EGYPT BUILD ASWAN DAM.

NASSER SEIZED THE CANAL.

OCTOBER 22 - HUNGARIAN REVOLT BEGAN --

OCTOBER 29 - ISRAEL MOVED FOR SUEZ --

DISARMAMENT TALKS - INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILES.

SPUTNIK

WHAT WE HAVE DONE:

SAVED WESTERN EUROPE - KOREA --

STRAINED RELATIONS WITH ALLIES OVER SUEZ --

FAILED TO APPRECIATE IMPORTANCE NEUTRALITY - PARTICULARLY INDIA --

FAILED TO RECOGNIZE RED CHINA OR PERMIT REPORTERS --

STARTED TO DUPLICATE BRITISH MISTAKES IN MIDDLE EAST --

FALLEN BEHIND IN SCIENTIFIC RACE --

DEMONSTRATED THAT WEST HAS NO POLICY FOR REVOLT IN SATELLITES --

AND WE HAVE BEEN COMFORTABLE --

WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE:

RECOGNIZE DIFFICULTIES OF RUNNING A COALITION --

APPRECIATE IMPORTANCE AFRICA - ASIA --

UNDERSTAND COMPETITION BETWEEN CHINA AND INDIA --

DISPEL ILLUSION ABOUT RUSSIAN ACCOMPLISHMENTS --

ACHIEVE A POLICY FOR THE MIDDLE EAST --

FIND A CURE FOR OUR SCHIZOPHRENIA THAT OUR ALLIES AND DEPENDENT TERRITORIES --

RECOGNIZE IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION --

NO NATION EVER DEMANDED ANYTHING GREAT THAT DID NOT CLAIM DEFENSE OF IT.

DETROIT

One line: PERFUME AND PRAISE -- MIT -- DELICATESSEN -- PROSPECT OF ~~MX~~ QUESTIONS MIDDLE BREAK

Since 1945 our foreign policy undergone unprecedented revolution but consent created by events -- we underestimated extent material moral damage during war -- we had expanding economy,minor hardships, complete security, vicarious excitement MIDDLE BREAK

We treated former enemies and allies with unprecedented consideration and generosity -- in February 1947 President informed us unable continue military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey -- Turman doctrine promlaimed March 12 --

June 5 MSarshall Plan announced at Harvard -- undoubtedly saved Western Europe from collapse and Communism. MIDDLE BREAK

In February 1948 Communist coup in Czechoslovakia --

May of 1948 Independent State of Israel proclaimed June 1948

Vandenburg Resolution declared intention to break with tradition of no foreign entanglements. Berlin Airlift ~~begxxxxxx~~ began in July -- April ~~x~~ 1949

North Atlantic Treaty signed in Washington which completed commitment to Free World

June 1950 North Korean Communits invaded Korea --

Truman implied A-Bomb might be used in Korea.

Atlee rushed over to dissuade him.

March 1952 Stalin died -- XChurchill proposed summit conference -- ~~Geneva~~ Geneva

That summer Russians exploded first H-bomb --

Beginning of 1954 Dulles announced policy ~~MRx~~ Massive Retaliation.--

We exploded first H-bomb in the ~~Mx~~ Marshalls --

War in Indo-China. Nixon advocates sending U.S. troops there.

We decide aid Tito -- Egypt announced acceptance Soviet arms.

We proposed ~~xxxxxx~~ aerial inspection ~~xf~~ - the Russians rejected.

We declined provide arms for Israel.

Dulles said tanks cannot cross deserts...also claimed neutrality "Exception under exceptional circumstances_ is an immoral and short-sighted conception. We refused to negotiation with Red China --

In July 1956 we withdrew offer to help Egypt built Aswan Damm. Nasser seized the Canal.

October 22 - Hungarian revolt began.

October 29 - Israel moved for Suez --

Disarmament talks -- Intercontinental Ballistic missiles.

Sputnik MIDDLE BREAK

WHAT WE HAVE DONE:

Saved Western Europe -- Korea --

Strained relations with Allies over Suez --

Failed to appreciate importance neutrality - particularly India

F iled to recognize Red China or permit reporters -- started to duplicate

British mistakes in Middle East --

Fallen behind in scientific race -- demonstrated that West has no policy

for revolt in Satellites -- and we have been comfortable -- MIDDLE BREAK

W WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE

Recognize difficulties of running a coalition

Appreicate importance Africa - Asia

Understand competition between China and India

Dispelx issusion about Russian accomplishments

Achieve a policy for the Middle East --

Find a cure for our schizophrenia that our allies and dependent territories --

Recognize importance of education -- No nation ever demanded anything great that did not claim defense of it.

American Jewish Committee
4/13/57

Speeches

April 13, 1957.

IT HAS BEEN TRULY SAID FIRST CASUALTY OF WAR IS TRUTH. IN THE PRESENT STATE OF NO WAR AND NO PEACE BOTH TRUTH AND LIBERTY MUST BE CLOTHED IN HISTORY, WELL WRAPPED IN RESOLUTION AND DETERMINATION, OR THEY WILL FREEZE. INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND FREEDOM DO NOT TRAVEL WITH EASE DURING A COLD WAR OR A PERIOD OF PERPETUAL CRISIS. HISTORICALLY CIVIL LIBERTIES ARE WOUNDED DURING A WAR OR THREAT OF WAR. BUT HISTORICALLY THEY RECOVER. WE NOW FIND OURSELVES IN A CONTINUING AND DEEPENING CRISIS. WE MAY REASSURE OURSELVES BY REMEMBERING THAT THERE WERE ONLY TEN CONVICTIONS UNDER THE ALIEN AND SEDITION ACT OF 1797 - THE BIGOTRY OF THE MITCHELL PALMER PERIOD AFTER WORLD WAR ONE SOON MELLOWED. IT IS LIKEWISE TRUE THAT THERE HAS BEEN SOME EASEMENT - SOME REDUCTION OF TERROR AND FEAR DURING RECENT YEARS. CERTAINLY GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES ARE BREATHING EASIER. THERE IS LESS TENDENCY TO CONFUSE DISSENT WITH DISLOYALTY. THE DANGER OF COMMUNIST

not an award

OVERTHROW FROM WITHIN HAS COME INTO BETTER PERSPECTIVE. BUT IN THIS PROCESS THE PUBLIC CONSCIENCE HAS BECOME SOMEWHAT CALLOUSED, AND THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THOUGHT AND ACTION CONFUSED. THERE STILL APPEARS TO BE NO WAY FOR CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY TO BE SAVED ALTOGETHER FROM BECOMING A KIND OF PUBLIC TRIAL WITHOUT REGARD TO THE RULES OF EVIDENCE, THE PROTECTION OF THE INNOCENT, THE DANGER OF BEING FOUND GUILTY IN THE PUBLIC MIND WITHOUT A JURY, THE RIGHT OF APPEAL, OR THE POSSIBILITY OF DEFENSE. NO ONE FAMILIAR WITH OUR HISTORY CAN DOUBT THE VALUE OF CONGRESSIONAL INQUIRY. AND NO ONE FAMILIAR WITH RECENT EVENTS CAN QUESTION THE HUMAN WRECKAGE LEFT BEHIND WHEN THAT RIGHT OF INQUIRY IS ABUSED, OR USED FOR PERSONAL POLITICAL PURPOSES. THE CLIMATE OF OPINION EXISTING TODAY IN CANADA CANNOT BE ATTRIBUTED TO THE CANADIANS BEING A PEOPLE FAR REMOVED FROM US, UNFAMILIAR WITH OUR CONSTITUTION AND LEGISLATIVE PRACTICES. THEY ARE ALTOGETHER TOO FAMILIAR WITH THEM. THAT IS THE REASON FOR THEIR SENSE OF OUTRAGE.

WE HAVE TO AN ALARMING EXTENT LOST OUR POWER OF RIGHTEOUS INDIGNATION WHEN A CITIZEN'S GOOD NAME OR LIVELIHOOD IS DESTROYED WITHOUT DUE PROCESS. WE ARE A RICH COUNTRY. WE ARE COMFORTABLE. WE ARE FAT, WHILE MOST OF THE REST OF THE WORLD IS EITHER LEAN OR HUNGRY. WE ARE SO CONCERNED WITH THE URGENT THAT WE NEGLECT THE IMPORTANT. WE ARE LIVING IN THE MILLTOWN ERA, SEEKING TRANQUILIZERS. SOMEONE SHOULD INVENT A "GIVE-A-DAMN" PILL.

I DO NOT OVERLOOK THE GAINS THAT HAVE BEEN MADE IN CIVIL LIBERTIES. THE SUPREME COURT SEGREGATION RULINGS HAVE BEEN A LANDMARK. THE LIGHTS OF LABOR HAVE BEEN BUTTRESSED. ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SECURITY IN THIS COUNTRY HAVE BEEN STRENGTHENED. BUT THESE ARE NOT THE DISTINGUISHING HALLMARKS OF THE WESTERN WORLD. THE TOTALITARIANS ALSO ASPIRE TO ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SECURITY. WHAT DOES DISTINGUISH THE FREE WORLD FROM THE TOTALITARIANS IS OUR FAITH IN THE FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, AND OUR PROTECTION OF IT. IF THE INDIVIDUAL IS NOT

INDEPENDENT IN HIS OPINIONS, AND DOES NOT HAVE THE PROTECTION OF THE LAW AND THE COURTS IN THAT INDEPENDENCE, HE IS NOT FREE AS WESTERN CIVILIZATION USES THE WORD; AND OUR CIVILIZATION IS IN DIRE PERIL.

WE HAVE TODAY A SITUATION WHERE HUMANS HAVE DEVISED A METHOD OF DESTROYING HUMANITY, AND THERE IS NO GUARANTEE, INDEED NO INDICATION IN HISTORY THAT THESE WEAPONS WILL NOT BE USED. WE DAILY FACE THE POSSIBILITY OF RESORTING TO THE TERRIBLE ARBITRAMENT OF WAR. THIS MEANS THAT WE MUST CONDUCT OURSELVES AT HOME AND ABROAD IN SUCH FASHION THAT IF WAR COMES WE WILL HAVE SOLID MORAL GROUND ON WHICH TO STAND. SURELY BY NOW WE HAVE LEARNED THAT IN A WORLD WHERE THERE IS NO SECURITY FOR SMALL NATIONS, THERE IS NO SECURITY FOR BIG ONES. JUSTICE HAS NOTHING TO DO WITH SIZE OR NUMBERS. HAVE REGARD FOR A MOMENT TO THE POSTURE OF THE UNITED STATES, BRITAIN AND FRANCE HAD THEY DEMONSTRATED EQUAL CONCERN OVER THE CLOSING OF THE SUEZ CANAL TO ISRAELI SHIPPING YEARS AGO

AS THEY DID WHEN THE CLOSURE OF THAT WATERWAY TO THEIR OWN SHIPPING APPEARED POSSIBLE. ISRAEL, TO PARAPHRASE MR. CHAMBERLAIN, WAS A SMALL COUNTRY OF WHICH WE KNEW NOTHING.

AS WE FACE THIS CONTINUING CRISIS, NOT ONLY IN THE MIDDLE EAST BUT ELSEWHERE, WE MUST I THINK REMEMBER THAT OUR EXAMPLE MAY BE AS IMPORTANT AS OUR DOLLARS; THAT WORDS ARE NO SUBSTITUTE FOR EITHER; AND THAT LIBERTY MUST BE PAID FOR BY EACH SUCCEEDING GENERATION.

MOST NATIONS IN TIME OF WAR DIG DEEP INTO THEIR HISTORY, THEIR MYTHOLOGY AND THEIR FOLKLORE FOR SUPPORT AND SUSTENANCE. EVEN THE RUSSIANS DID IT DURING THE LATE WAR. SO DID THE BRITISH AND SO DID WE. WE DEVOTE FAR TOO LITTLE ATTENTION IN THIS TIME OF CRISIS TO THE MEN, THE METHODS, THE MINORITIES THAT CREATED THIS COUNTRY. WE MAKE TOO LITTLE USE OF THE INSPIRATION AND THE IRON TO BE FOUND IN OUR OWN HISTORY. IN THIS AREA THE MASS MEDIA, PARTICULARLY RADIO AND TELEVISION, MUST BEAR THEIR FULL RESPONSIBILITY. I AM DISINCLINED TO

BELIEVE THAT WE ARE WILLING TO AWAIT OUR DESTINY, EYES GLUED TO A TELEVISION RECEIVER, TRYING TO FIND OUT NOT WHAT THE FUTURE HOLDS OR WHAT THE PAST MAY TEACH, BUT WHETHER SOMEONE CAN WIN A FEW THOUSAND DOLLARS BY REMEMBERING BABE RUTH'S FIRST NAME. I DOUBT TOO, THAT IT IS ONLY ON SUNDAY AFTERNOONS THAT WE'RE PREPARED TO RISK A COLD IN THE HEAD BY SITTING IN THE DRAUGHT OF AN OPEN MIND AND ACQUIRING A LITTLE INFORMATION. IF AMERICAN FREE ENTERPRISE IS TO SURVIVE, IT MUST BE BOTH FREE AND ENTERPRISING, AND IT COULD WELL AFFORD TO CONCERN ITSELF MORE ACTIVELY WITH THE FREEDOM OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO THINK FOR HIMSELF, THE RIGHT TO BE WRONG, THE RIGHT TO DISSENT.

THERE EXISTS AT LEAST THE POSSIBILITY THAT WE IN THIS COUNTRY WILL BE ISOLATED, THAT WE SHALL BECOME A GREAT ISLAND OFF THE COAST OF CHAMKATKA, WITH THE REST OF THE WORLD EITHER UNITED AGAINST US OR INDIFFERENT TO OUR FATE. IF THAT SHOULD HAPPEN, WE WOULD THEN PROBABLY TURN OURSELVES INTO A GARRISON STATE, PREPARE TO DEFEND OURSELVES, AND FACE THE REAL POSSIBILITY

OF LOSING OUR LIBERTIES WHILE PREPARING TO DEFEND THEM.

IF WE BECOME LESS FREE IN OUR THINKING - THAT IS, IN OUR RIGHT TO DISAGREE WITH EACH OTHER - WE BECOME MORE LIKE THE TOTALITARIANS, AND LESS CAPABLE OF WITHSTANDING THEM. IN THIS AREA THERE IS NO MIDDLE GROUND WHERE THE TIMID MAY SEEK REFUGE.

IF WE DO NOT REMEMBER OUR PAST - OUR ROOT HOLES - THE MEN AND THE IDEAS TO WHICH WE ARE BEHOLDEN - THEN WE SURELY ENDANGER OUR FUTURE. IT IS IN THIS AREA - OUR HERITAGE WHICH MUST REMAIN OUR HABIT IF WE ARE TO SURVIVE - THAT THE MASS MEDIA HAVE FAILED TO REALIZE THEIR POTENTIAL.

MOST OF YOU WILL REMEMBER THE BISHOP OF BEAUVAY IN BERNARD SHAW'S SAINT JOAN. HE THUS ANSWERS THE TRUCULENT LITTLE ENGLISH PRIEST WHO ASKS HIM: "WHAT IS A MIRACLE?" "A MIRACLE", SAYS THE BISHOP, "IS ANY EVENT THAT CREATES FAITH." IN THIS SENSE TELEVISION, TO PUT IT MILDLY, IS NOT MIRACULOUS. THIS MAY WELL BE A MINORITY VIEW, BUT IT SHOULD EVER BE THE PURPOSE OF THE MAJORITY TO DEFEND THE RIGHTS OF THE MINORITY,

FOR WHO KNOWS WHAT TOMORROW WILL BRING, EITHER IN THE WORLD OR IN TELEVISION.

Speech before the American Jewish Committee

Dpril 13, 1957

We have to an alarming extent lost our power of righteous indignation when a citizen's good name or livelihood is destroyed without due process. We are a rich country; we are comfortable. We are fat, while most of the rest of the world is either lean or hungry. We are so concerned with the urgent that we neglect the important. We are living in the Milltown era, seeking tranquilizers. Someone should invent a "give a damn" pill.

I do not overlook the gains that have been made in civil ~~rights~~ liberties. The Supreme Court desegregation rulings have been a landmark. The rights of labor have been buttressed. Economic and social security in this country have been strengthened. But these are not the distinguishing hallmarks of the Western World. The totitarians also aspire to economic and social security. What does distinguish the free world from the totalitarians is our faith in the freedom of thought -- and our protection of it. If the individual is not independent in his opinions, and does not have the protection of the law and the courts in that independence, he is not free as ~~wxxx~~ western civilization uses the word, and our civilization is in dire peril.

We make too little use of the inspiration and iron to be found in our own history. In this area, the mass media -- particularly radio and television -- must bear their full responsibility. I am disinclined to believe that we are willing to await our destiny, eyes glued to a television receiver, trying to find out, not what the future holds or what the past may teach, but whether

someone can win a few thousand dollars by remembering Babe Ruth's first name. I doubt, too, that it is only on Sunday afternoons that we're prepared to risk a cold in the head by sitting in the draft of an open mind and acquiring a little information. If American free enterprise is to survive, it must be both free and enterprising. And it could well afford to concern itself more actively with the freedom of the individual to think for himself -- the right to be wrong, the right to dissent.

--Speech before American Jewish Committee

Einstein Speech.

You have done me great honor, and as Shakespeare said: "Beggar that I am, I am even poor in thanks."

To have his name linked, however remotely, with that of Professor Einstein is honor enough for any reporter. "A hundred times every day I remind myself that my inner and outer life are based on the labors of other men, living and dead. And that I must exert myself in order to give in the same measure as I have received and am still receiving." Those words were Albert Einstein's, but he spoke, I think, for every worthy man and woman who deals with information in the mass media. To him a disinterested love for facts was not enough. He had to care about the bearing of those facts on hopes, fears and destiny. He realized that fear, bigotry and intolerance will not command the land unless most of us are silent accomplices.

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By freedom he understood, "Social conditions of such a kind that the expression of opinions and assertions about general and particular matters of knowledge, will not involve dangers or serious disadvantages for him who expresses them. He believed in what might be called "a reign of reason" which most of us have carelessly enjoyed without buttressing its foundations.

Professor Einstein would, I think, have agreed with Milton who said:

"If the waters of truth flow not in a perpetual progression they sicken into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition." He was conscious of the truth of what Lord Acton wrote in 1877: "There are in our day many educated men who think it right to persecute." There are indeed many men in our day who so believe.

Perhaps you will permit me a personal digression in order to apologize for my lack of formal attire. It is not due to persecution, or lack of a dinner jacket but rather to the fact that I have but just come from a television program where such clothing would have been inappropriate. I am without embarrassment, and seek refuge in another quotation from Professor Einstein: "It would be a sad situation if the bag was better than the meat wrapped in it." Now that we have disposed of the bag we may examine whether the "meat" can find words to say that he feels rather deeply.

You will not expect me to discourse upon Professor Einstein's scientific accomplishments; nor yet to expound upon the brilliant prospects that lie in the future for the Albert Einstein College of Medicine of Yeshiva University. It is the first medical school under Jewish auspices established in the United States. It was established to meet a need, and we are all aware of the desperate and urgent nature of that need.

Even at my advanced age, I have applied for admission to the Albert Einstein College of Medicine. That is only a slight exaggeration, for I did not actually try the patience of the Admissions Officer - merely asked for the application form for admission. It is a most revealing and, I suggest, important and unprecedented document. I am not asked to state my race; no questions are asked about my religion or nationality; no photograph is requested; the College is not curious as to my parents' birthplace; I am not required to give my mother's maiden name. You will have difficulty in finding a similar application form from any other institution of higher learning in this land. They are interested in what academic trails I have followed, and where I propose to go; interested in my qualifications rather than my ancestors. This, I suggest, is the essence of that overworked and often distorted phrase, "academic freedom". We have rather come to believe that it applies only to professors. In fact it means the right of scholars to pursue the truth wherever it may lead them; to search out the great teachers and to sit at their feet at any institution in the whole academic community. That is the real history and meaning of the migration of scholars from the Middle Ages to the present time. Not all such migrations have been voluntary. There was a movement

from Germany to this country that began in 1934. I should like to tell you a little about it, because I know the details - they have not heretofore been published, and even a brief recital of the facts will suffice to illustrate that the Albert Einstein College of Medicine is in the main stream of a noble tradition.

When Hitler and his henchmen chopped off the highest branches of the German academic tree, those scholars sought exile in many countries. There was established in this country a small committee to aid in the placement of these scholars in American universities. It included such names as Alfred Cohn, Ben Flexner, Fred Styne, Stephen Duggan, Alvin Johnson, Livingstone Farand, and others. It was my privilege to prepare lists of the displaced German scholars, to circulate them to American universities, and then to go before the committee with applications for considerable sums of money to finance the first few years of their residence in this country. Several scores of professors came, and became part of our academic communities from Seattle to Boston. All but an insignificant portion of the money we raised, from individuals, came from Jewish sources. The majority of the active members of the committee were Jews. In presenting applications to the committee I was never once asked: "Is this man a Jew?"

The only questions were: "Is he a competent scholar of standing or promise? And, are his services sought by an American college or university?" And finally, almost half of those we financed were pure Aryans even under Hitler's definition. They were men who like their Jewish colleagues refused to bend.

In those days - more than twenty years ago - we used to talk of the cross-fertilization of cultures that might result from this migration, and hope that American students would be stimulated. These men and women represented every academic discipline, and I have been fortunate enough to see the human dividends that have been produced by their labors. In North Africa, in Normandy and in Korea I have talked with young Americans in uniform, asked them whether they had been to college, if so where? And had they happened to have a course under Professor X? Many times I have seen tired, tense faces come alive with memories of the classroom or seminar, and heard the remark: "He's the one who really started me reading", or, "He taught me to doubt", or "That's the one who really stretched my horizon". I can only add that my own small part in this operation has given me more satisfaction than anything I have ever done.

As I understand it, this Award that I am to receive is in the

general area of the Humanities. In radio and television circles that's a pretty highbrow term. And yet the mass media must be concerned with it. It was Joseph Wood Krutch who said: "The humanities, as opposed to the sciences, are concerned with whatever is important to man but cannot be measured and is not susceptible to valid experiment." So radio and television must concern themselves with the Humanities, unless they chose to limit themselves to the function of entertainment. Television is growing so fast that those in charge of it have hardly time to administer it well, let alone to think of its place in civilization. If these instruments are to survive, they must strengthen and affirm the values that are the essence of our civilization. This being true, it is not enough to entertain the greatest numbers; there also must be full appreciation of our historic heritage, wise understanding of our institutions and traditions, familiarity with our classics in literature and the arts, and persistent attention to our ethical principles. I am well aware that the bulk of the money that pays for television and radio comes from a relatively small number of corporations. Hence the thinking of the executives in these corporations will have a profound influence on what happens in television and radio. And that is saying that they will greatly influence and could possibly decide the course of our civilization. And it is insisting that they cannot abdicate this responsibility by assigning it to an advertising agency.

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We now know that our civilization can be snuffed out overnight. We know that while we ourselves did not create it, we ourselves can lose it. It is committed to us. We also know that we can save ourselves from nuclear destruction by buying a different civilization, one that does not include our values of freedom, or cherish like ours the dignity of the individual. We know we are not making this bargain. We value our civilization. So we begin to know that we must value it, if we are not to lose it. But if we are going to survive as a nation and a civilization we must do so consciously. This means that the mass media must pay more attention to the humanities. The Humanist is one who cares, and is preoccupied with what is worth caring about. Another characteristic of the humanist is that he is preoccupied with the mystery of personality. People for him are always persons, and in these days that often makes him lonely. Preoccupation with science turns persons into people - a statistic on a chart. - tendencies and "characteristics symbolized by curves neatly drawn on graphs". The humanist is concerned not with manipulation but with understanding. He is interested

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All too often in radio and television audiences are conceived and treated as people, not as persons. Quantitative response is consequently made the measure of quality. There is a willingness, and indeed eagerness to answer the questions, What? and How? But not enough attention is paid to the Why?

T. S. Eliot said: "Teach us to care and not to care. Teach us to sit still". It might be helpful if those who control television and radio would sit still for a bit and attempt to discover what it is they care about. They have great belief in the power and future of their instruments. But all true belief is rooted in doubt, and there is not enough doubt in to take us for <u>what</u> we are, and that in turn is likely to keep us <u>where</u> we are. If these devices are to be used in an effort to entertain all of the people all of the time, then we have come perilously close to discovering the real opiate of the people. If in dealing with events we concentrate on what and how, and ignore the why, then we are not really searching for anything.

Our commercial television and radio systems appear to be the alternative

to state-operated and financed communications. By and large we have freer speech, more information than any state-operated system. We have vastly more money to spend. The system is practically universal. It is, for the individual, both a privilege and a peril. And it is, for those who finance the system, and those who select the programs, a responsibility in the field of communications never before borne by such a small group of men and corporations. I think it was Bernard Shaw who said: "You must get what you want, or you will come to want what you get."

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I am sending this check for one thousand dollars to Mr. Alan Paton in South Africa. As most of you probably know, one hundred and fifty men and women were arrested in South Africa on December 5th, 1956, and charged with treason for their outspoken, complete but non-violent opposition to their government's apartheit program. Among those arrested are clergymen, teachers and professors. The defendants are of all races, and of many religious and political beliefs.

Mr. Paton himself is currently a defendant in the Magistrate's Court in Durban, on a charge that he took part in a public meeting at which native Africans were present, without obtaining the prior consent of the city's Mayor. In other words, the "crime" with which Mr. Paton is charged is that he attended and spoke at a meeting not unlike the meeting at which we are gathered tonight.

Funds are needed for the legal defense, and I venture to think that Professor Einstein would have approved the use of this fund for that purpose.

Albert Einstein Award
May 5, 1957

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To have his name linked, however remotely, with that of Professor Einstein is honor enough for any reporter. "A hundred times every day I remind myself that my inner and outer life are based on the labors of other men, living and dead. And that I must exert myself in order to give in the same measure as I have received and am still receiving." Those words were Albert Einstein's, but he spoke, I think, for every worthy man and woman who deals with information in the mass media. To him a disinterested love for facts was not enough. He had to care about the bearing of those facts on hopes, fears and destiny. He realized that fear, bigotry and intolerance will not command the land unless most of us are silent accomplices.

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values of freedom, or cherish like ours the dignity of the individual. We know we are not making this bargain. We value our civilization. So we begin to know that we must value it if we are not to lose it. But if we are going to survive as a nation and a civilization we must do so consciously. This means that the mass media must pay more attention to the humanities. The Humanist is one who cares, and is preoccupied with what is worth caring about. Another characteristic of the humanist is that he is preoccupied with the mystery of personality. People for him are always persons, and in these days that often makes him lonely. Preoccupation with science turns persons into people - a statistic on a chart - tendencies and "characteristics symbolized by curves neatly drawn on graphs." The Humanist is concerned not with manipulation but with understanding. He is interested not only in events but in character.

All too often in radio and television audiences are conceived and treated as people, not as persons. Quantitative response is consequently made the measure of quality. There is a willingness, and indeed eagerness to answer the questions, What? and How? But not enough attention is paid to the Why?

T.S. Eliot said: "Teach us to care and not to care. Teach us to sit still." It might be helpful if those who control television and radio would sit still for a bit and attempt to discover what it is they care about. They have great belief in the power and future of their instruments. But all true belief is rooted in doubt, and there is not enough doubt in high places in the field of mass communications. There is a disposition to take us for <u>what</u> we are, and that in turn is likely to keep us <u>where</u> we are. If these devices are to be used in an effort to entertain all of the people all of the time, then we have come perilously close to discovering the real opiate of the people. If in dealing with events we concentrate on what and how, and ignore the why, then we are not really searching for anything.

Our commercial television and radio systems appear to be the alternative to state-operated and financed communications. By and large we have freer

speech, more information than any state-operated system. We have vastly more money to spend. The system is practically universal. It is, for the individual, both a privilege and a peril. And it is, for those who finance the system, and those who select the programs, a responsibility in the field of communications never before borne by such a small group of men and corporations. I think it was Bernard Shaw who said: "You must get what you want, or you will come to want what you get."

EDWARD R. MURROW: AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND LETTERS: Speeches

MAY 22, 1957. Awards.

I AM OBLIGED TO ASSUME THAT YOUR COMMITTEE, IN A MOST TOLERANT MOOD, DETERMINED TO CONFER THIS HONOR UPON ME BECAUSE OF MY RESEMBLANCE TO SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL. HE ONCE REMARKED: "THE ART OF SPEAKING IN PUBLIC IS ONE THAT I HAVE NEVER COMPLETELY MASTERED."

NOT ALL EXPERTS OF THE SPOKEN WORD HAVE SHARED YOUR COMMITTEE'S ESTIMATE OF MY CAPABILITIES. THERE IS A MOST DISTINGUISHED PROFESSOR OF SPEECH WHO HAS STATED THAT THIS REPORTER'S VOICE SOUNDS LIKE AN UNFROCKED BISHOP, WITH AN ABILITY TO MISPRONOUNCE FOREIGN NAMES WITH GREATER CONVICTION THAN ANY OTHER PERSON IN RADIO OR TELEVISION. THEN, TOO, THERE IS THE PERCEPTIVE AND PERSISTENT LADY LISTENER, IN IOWA, WHO RECENTLY PENNED WHAT MIGHT BE CALLED "THE COMPLEAT CRITIQUE". SHE WROTE: "NOT ONLY DO YOU NOT TELL ME ANYTHING IMPORTANT - YOU DO NOT EVEN ASK INTERESTING QUESTIONS." IT MAY WELL BE THAT THE COMBINATION OF AGE AND CIGARETTES WILL EVENTUALLY ELEVATE ME TO THAT LEVEL OF CRITICAL

(All Corres. in Awards' Folder)

ACCLAIM ENJOYED BY MY FRIEND LOUIS "SATCHMO" ARMSTRONG, WHO WAS AFFECTIONATELY DESCRIBED BY AN AUSTRALIAN JOURNALIST AS "SOUNDING LIKE A TIRED PIECE OF SANDPAPER CALLING TO ITS MATE." IF SUCH ACCLAIM IS NOT FORTHCOMING I SHALL HAVE TO BE CONTENT WITH THE MINOR ACCOLADE OF BEING TOLD THAT UPON OCCASION I SOUND LIKE A FROG WITH A MAN IN HIS THROAT. IT WILL NOT, I AM SURE, BE REGARDED AS HERESY TO SUGGEST THAT IN THE FIELD OF NEWS AT LEAST, WHAT IS SAID IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN HOW IT IS SAID. THE BEST ADVICE IN THIS AREA IS TO BE FOUND ON THE WALL OF AN OFFICE IN DETROIT. IT IS APPROPRIATELY ENOUGH COUCHED IN AUTOMOTIVE TERMS, AND IT READS: "BE SURE BRAIN IS ENGAGED BEFORE MOUTH IS STARTED." BREVITY IS GOOD, BOTH WHEN WE ARE AND ARE NOT UNDERSTOOD.

BEING UNDER INSTRUCTION TO TRY YOUR PATIENCE FOR NO MORE THAN TWO MINUTES, I SHALL NOT QUESTION THE WISDOM, OR INDEED THE AUDITORY PERCEPTION OF YOUR COMMITTEE. AFTER ALL, COMMITTEES CAN BE REPLACED AND MISTAKES RECTIFIED.

PERMIT ME TO SAY MY THANKS FOR THIS VERY CONSIDERABLE HONOR, AND TO REMIND YOU - AND MYSELF - THAT AMBROSE BIERCE ONCE SAID: "SILENCE IS A HARD ARGUMENT TO BEAT." SO I SHALL NOW KEEP GRATEFULLY SILENT, A STATE OF AFFAIRS WHICH MAY CAUSE YOU DISTINGUISHED LADIES AND GENTLEMEN TO BE SILENTLY GRATEFUL.

Commencement Address, Grinnell College: 8-6-58

The title of this discourse - "View from the Moon" must have been produced by one of those mental midgets who inhabit Madison Avenue, and are accustomed to produce slogans and phrases which are comprehensive but meaningless. Madison Avenue, as you are aware, is located in that city of steam, scurry and scamper, where the citizenry acquire ulcers in the process of going somewhere at great haste, to do something that is wholly unimportant. A strange land, where people are so much concerned with the urgent that they never get around to the important.

We may possibly agree at the outset that if we on this minor planet are being observed from the moon, the observer must be all-seeing, old, filled with wisdom and discernment; which means that he must agree with my prejudices.

When he views the earth people he must note one obvious fact - the overwhelming majority of them are either black or brown. But the white people do not seem to be aware of this fact; do not realize that they are outnumbered; fail

to comprehend that unless they find a method of living and dealing with the colored people in justice, equality and dignity, they are doomed. When the moon watcher sees stones thrown at a colored man in the southern part of our small bit of the planet, he might reflect that the man should have gone to Latin America, because there the throwing of stones at an American citizen would have resulted in the movement of troops and warships.

Being ageless, the man in the moon will of course remember the time when nations fought their wars over the nature of the Deity; then over pieces of real estate. He would of course remember the carnage of two World Wars - the two efforts at international organization that followed them, and failed. He would recall that tiny pinpoint of light he saw over Hiroshima in 1945, and he would be aware that humans have now devised a method of destroying humanity, and that great nations are feverishly preparing for another war. He might well ask: Do these people learn nothing? Does no wisdom result from suffering? Is mutual

suicide inevitable? He would remember the time when the individual had only a musket, a plough and a hoe. It didn't very much matter what he did with them. It might affect the well-being of his immediate family, or his neighbors, but it wouldn't influence society as a whole. Now there is sufficient power in a few hands to terminate our brief history, and the choice may well be between co-existence and no existence at all.

When the man in the moon looks at the United States he will see great wealth, comfort, a generous and capacious land, rich in material things but worried - a country which in the last ten years has pursued a policy toward friend and former foe thathas been unprecedented and unsordid. And yet that nation is in the process of being isolated. It is losing the leadership of the free world. No nation in history has ever been great unless greatness has been demanded of it by its leaders. We are reluctant, indeed often refuse, to face unpleasant facts. The Russian advances in education have been no secret, were indeed fully reported over the

last six years, but were not accepted nor appreciated until illuminated by the Sputniks. We are now refusing to admit, or to be properly concerned about Russian economic penetration throughout the world. We will spend billions on super-highways, but not on schools. The man in the moon may look forward to the time when this country will be a spider web of super-highways with fuel injection, chromium-plated automobiles bumper-to-bumper, driven by half-educated people. And when they reach home they can turn on the television set, which during the peak viewing hours carefully protects them from the world of ideas and the conflicts that surround them. If these instruments of mass communication are to be anything other than an opiate they must strengthen and affirm the values that are the essence of our civilization. It is not enough to sell goods, to entertain the greatest numbers. There also must be full appreciation of our historic heritage, wise understanding of our institutions and traditions, familiarity with our classics and literature and the arts, and persistent attention

to our ethical principles. We have great wealth, but this nation is more than an economic plot. As Professor Einstein once said: "It would be a sad situation if the bag was better than the meat wrapped in it."

I think the man in the moon might have concluded that we are in danger of becoming a nation of conformists. There is a tendency to confuse dissent with disloyalty. And certainly, being an educated man, he would be familiar with the words of Milton, who said: "If the waters of truth flow not in a perpetual progression, they sicken into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition." And he would know the truth that Lord Acton wrote in 1877: "There are in our day many educated men who think it right to persecute." There are indeed many men in our day who so believe.

We are unlikely to be a sane and civilized society until "opinions and assertions about general and particular matters of knowledge will not involve dangers or serious disadvantages for him who expresses them."

Now if we may step out of the view of the man in the moon for a moment, I should like to observe that President Bowen must have unusual security of tenure here at Grinnell; otherwise he would scarcely have risked inviting a reporter whom he has not seen for twenty-five years to talk to you on this occasion. I cannot repay his courtesy and yours with brilliance, but rather with brevity. I am determined at all costs not to harangue you on the theme that you are emerging from the cloistered academic halls into a world beset with doubt, uncertainty and perplexing problems. That is, of course, true, and probably always will be; but if you haven't been taught that already, then you should ask for the return of your tuition fees and make a bonfire of your diplomas.

It is always a mistake to give advice, and it's a major error to give good advice. I have suffered through a number of Commencement speeches, even as you are doing now. The speaker's advice was always too general for my

taste. With the help of a number of writers who produce better copy than I can, I shall try to be more specific. To you trim, hard-muscled athletes who are going to sit in an office (I hope not on Madison Avenue), the words of Margaret Halsey (for they will be applicable ten or fifteen years from now:) "He must have had a magnificent build before his stomach went in for a career of its own." When you are tempted to long for "the good old days", remember Mr. Dooley: "The past always looks better than it was; it's only pleasant because it isn't here." If you are inclined to be argumentative, a word from William Hazlitt: "We are not satisfied to be right unless we can prove others to be quite wrong." And if you barely squeaked by in Latin, take a little consolation from Heinrich Heine: "If the Romans had been obliged to learn Latin, they would never have found time to conquer the world." If you're worried about the possibility of having to work too hard, remember that Don Harold said: "Work is a form of nervousness."

And someone else remarked: "My father taught me to work but not to love it."

In the unlikely event that any of you has been reprimanded for a momentary lapse in manners, remember that in the future you should always "be kind and considerate to others, depending somewhat upon whom they are."

Do you by any chance regret any of your youthful indiscretions (I hope not), but if you should, Katherine Mansfield counsels you: "Regret is an appalling waste of energy, you can't build on it; it's only good for wallowing in."

If you don't like the books you read, sit down and write one yourself; but don't forget what Don Marquis said: "If you want to get rich from writing, write the sort of thing that's read by persons who move their lips when they are reading to themselves."

It was no part of the undertaking with President Bowen that this reporter should offer any matrimonial counsel on this solemn and important occasion. Somerset Maugham was

in the vernacular "on the beam" when he contended that "American women expect to find in their husbands a perfection that Englishwomen only hope to find in their butlers."

If you just want to be a gentleman, and probably be liked in the bargain, then the final test will be your respect for those who can be of no possible service to you.

There is something to be said for Samuel Butler's thesis that "Life is the art of drawing sufficient conclusions from insufficient premises." Sydney Smith, on the other hand, took what might be called the clinical approach to this question when he said: "The great secret of life is digestion." And a somewhat more cynical approach to the question was stated by Susan Ertz: "Millions who long for immortality do not know what to do with themselves on a rainy Sunday afternoon."

I would be derelict in my duty - violate all academic traditions - were I to fail to adjure you in the most solemn fashion, to have courage. So I shall do so, in the words

of Channing Pollack: "No man in the world has more courage than the man who can stop after eating one peanut."

It requires at least a little courage to contend that a complete Commencement speech could be written in half-a-dozen lines. I couldn't do it, although I am conscious of your goodwill in wishing that I had been able to do so. This remarkable feat was accomplished by the German poet and philosopher, Goethe. And, like more Commencement speeches, will be forgotten. But unlike the rest of this speech, there isn't so much to forget. Here are the lines: "There are nine requisites for contented living: health enough to make work a pleasure; wealth enough to support your needs; strength to battle with difficulties and overcome them; grace enough to confess your sins and forsake them; patience enough to toil until some good is accomplished; charity enough to see some good in your neighbor; love enough to move you to be useful and helpful to others; faith enough to make real the things of God;

hope enough to remove all anxious fears concerning the future." All those things are possible, and the lucky and the diligent may accomplish two or three of them.

Now to return to the man in the moon, and less lofty language. And please remember, he has been watching this planet for a long-long time. He might conclude that if you stop learning and questioning, if your curiosity curdles, if you mistake slogans for logic, if you believe nothing and reverence nothing, then surely the pigs will inherit the earth - if there be any pigs left.

But I feel that the man in the moon, with all the doubt, the tensions, the evils and uncertainties that he must observe - I feel that he may be tempted for the first time to pay us a visit. He would want to observe at first hand these curious creatures in the process of hammering out decisions which may create a way of life that approaches the sublime, or may destroy all that man has created on this planet.

You of the class of 1958 are of course to be

congratulated; you are the favored few; you have received superior intellectual training, and you are beholden to the society that made possible that training. You owe it a debt.

Perhaps you will not regard as presumptious the suggestion that you return often to Grinnell; that you will think to thank your professors for their efforts on your behalf; and certainly it is not presumption but confidence to state that the society which has made possible your education up to this point, will as the years unfold receive from you steadiness, service and, if need be, sacrifice. I can think of no reason why you should not "greet the unknown with a cheer."

At several points in the course of preparing this uninspiring discourse my communications with the moon were interrupted, but I am confident that the view of this class from the moon is not considerably different from the view that Will Rogers took of the graduating classes about twenty-five years ago: "It's not a bright future that we ask the college graduates to enter into. They feel they

are the ones to right it; we feel we are the ones that lost it, and will find it. We can't help but look back; they can't help but look forward. But we are both standing on the same ground, and their feet is there as firmly as ours."

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Speeches

10-58

FREEDOM HOUSE AWARD

I cannot presume to speak for the previous recipients of this Award, but I am sure that they will all feel their stature somewhat increased by the addition of the Arkansas Gazette and Harry Ashmore to the list. We are all in good company. He and his colleagues have pricked a public conscience that has become somewhat calloused. What really distinguishes the free world from the totalitarian's is our faith in the freedom of thought and our protection of it. And that faith has been badly mauled in recent years. We have made too little use of the inspiration and the iron to be found in our own history. The mass media, and I specifically include radio and television, have tended to ignore the unpleasant, the uncomfortable, and to forget that the most glorious chapters of our history have been written by the uncompromising.

I would suggest in all seriousness that Harry Ashmore and his colleagues have wrought a miracle, and I choose my definition of a miracle from the Bishop of Beauvais in Bernard Shaw's ST. JOAN - the place where he answers the truculent little English priest who asks him, "What is a miracle?" "A miracle" answers the Bishop, "is any event that

creates faith." The Arkansas Gazette has, for those of us who attempt to disseminate news and information, fortified our faith, made us feel a little more respectable. Even those of us who lack courage are able to recognize and respect it, even at a distance.

This Award is to be presented by one of our nation's most distinguished jurists, who knows both faith and courage as old friends. Few men of our time, on or off the bench, have demonstrated such a combination of patience and fortitude. None has been more deeply aware that it is only the law that protects the citizen from the tyranny of the state. And yet I suspect that Judge Harold R. Medina has derived his greatest satisfaction from teaching.

EDWARD R. MURROW: RADIO AND TELEVISION NEWS DIRECTORS CONVENTION
CHICAGO, OCTOBER 15, 1958.

This just might do nobody any good. At the end of this discourse a few people may accuse this reporter of fouling his own comfortable nest; and your organization may be accused of having given hospitality to heretical and even dangerous thoughts.

But the elaborate structure of networks, advertising agencies and sponsors will not be shaken or altered. It is my desire if not my duty to try to talk to you journeymen with some candor about what is happening to radio and television in this generous and capacious land.

I have no technical advice or counsel to offer those of you who labor in this vineyard that produces words and pictures. You will forgive me for not telling you that the instruments with which you work are miraculous; that your responsibility is unprecedented; or that your aspirations are frequently frustrated. It is not necessary to remind you of the fact that your voice is amplified to the degree where it reaches from one end of the country to the other does not confer upon you greater wisdom or understanding than you possessed when your voice reached only from one end of the bar to the other. All of these things you know.

You should also know at the outset that, in the manner of witnesses before Congressional Committees, I appear here voluntarily - by invitation - that I am an employee of the Columbia Broadcasting System - that I am neither an officer nor a director of that Corporation - and that these remarks are of a "do-it-yourself" nature. If what I have to say is responsible, then I alone am responsible for the saying of it. Seeking neither approbation from my employers, nor new sponsors, nor acclaim from the critics of radio and television, I cannot well be disappointed. Believing that potentially the commercial system of broadcasting as practised in this country is the best and freest yet devised, I have decided to express my concern about what I believe to be happening to radio and

television. These instruments have been good to me beyond my due. There exists in my mind no reasonable grounds for personal complaint. I have no feud, either with my employers, any sponsors, or with the professional critics of radio and television. But I am seized with an abiding fear regarding what these two instruments are doing to our society, our culture and our heritage.

Our history will be what we make it. And if there are any historians about fifty or a hundred years from now, and there should be preserved the kinescopes for one week of all three networks, they will find recorded in black and white, or color, evidence of decadence, escapism and insulation from the realities of the world in which we live. I invite your attention to the television schedules of all networks between the hours of eight and eleven p. m. Eastern Time. Here you will find only fleeting and spasmodic reference to the fact that this nation is in mortal danger. There are, it is true, occasional informative programs presented in that intellectual ghetto on Sunday afternoons. But during the daily peak viewing periods, television in the main insulates us from the realities of the world in which we live. If this state of affairs continues, we may alter an advertising slogan to read: "Look Now, Pay Later". For surely we shall pay for using the most powerful instrument of communication to insulate the citizenry from the hard and demanding realities which must be faced if we are to survive. I mean the word - survive, literally. If there were to be a competition in indifference, or perhaps in insulation from reality, then Nero and his fiddle, Chamberlain and his umbrella, could not find a place on an early-afternoon sustaining show. If Hollywood were to run out of Indians, the program schedules would be mangled beyond all recognition. Then, some courageous soul with a small budget might be able to do a documentary telling what, in fact, we have done - and are still doing - to the Indians in this country. But that would be unpleasant. And we must at all costs shield the sensitive citizens from anything that is unpleasant.

I am entirely persuaded that the American public is more reasonable, restrained and more mature than most of our industry's program planners believe. Their fear of controversy is not warranted by the evidence. I have reason to know, as do many of you, that when the evidence on a controversial subject is fairly and calmly presented, the public recognizes it for what it is - an effort to illuminate rather than to agitate.

Several years ago, when we undertook to do a program on Egypt and Israel, well-meaning, experienced and intelligent friends shook their heads and said: "This you cannot do - you will be handed your head - it is an emotion-packed controversy, and there is no room for reason in it." We did the program. Zionists, anti-Zionists, the friends of the Middle East, Egyptian and Israeli officials said, with a faint note of surprise: "It was a fair count. The information was there. We have no complaints."

Our experience was similar with two half-hour programs dealing with cigarette smoking and lung cancer. Both the medical profession and the tobacco industry co-operated in a rather wary fashion. But in the end of the day they were both reasonably content. The subject of radio-active fall-out and the banning of nuclear tests was and is highly controversial. But according to what little evidence there is, viewers were prepared to listen to both sides with reason and restraint. This is not said to claim any special or unusual competence in the presentation of controversial subjects, but rather to indicate that timidity in these areas is not warranted - by the evidence.

Recently, network spokesmen have been disposed to complain that the professional critics of television have been "rather beastly". There have been hints that somehow competition for the advertising dollar has caused the critics of print to gang up on television and radio. This reporter has no desire to defend the critics. They have space in which to do that on their own behalf. But it remains a fact that the newspapers and magazines are the only instruments of mass communication which remain free from sustained and regular critical comment.

If the network spokesmen are so anguished about what appears in print, let them come forth and engage in a little sustained and regular comment regarding newspapers and magazines. It is an ancient and sad fact that most people in network television, and radio, have an exaggerated regard for what appears in print. And there has been cases where executives have refused to make even private comment on a program for which they were responsible, until they had read the reviews in print. This is hardly an exhibition of confidence.

The oldest excuse of the networks for their timidity is their youth. Their spokesmen say: "We are young; we have not developed the traditions, nor acquired the experience of the older media." If they but knew it, they are building those traditions, creating those precedents every day. Each time they yield to a voice from Washington or any political pressure, each time they eliminate something that might offend some section of the community, they are creating their own body of precedent and tradition. They are, in fact, not content to be "half safe".

Nowhere is this better illustrated than by the fact that the Chairman of the Federal Communications Commission publicly prods broadcasters to engage in their legal right to editorialize. Of course, to undertake an editorial policy, overt and clearly labelled, and obviously unsponsored, requires a station or a network to be responsible. M ost stations today probably do not have the manpower to assume this responsibility, but the manpower could be recruited. Editorials would not be profitable; if they had a cutting edge, they might even offend. It is much easier, much less troublesome, to use the money-making machine of television and radio merely as a conduit through which to channel anything that is not libelous, obscene or defamatory. In that way one has the illusion of power without responsibility.

So far as radio - that most satisfying and rewarding instrument - is concerned, the diagnosis of its difficulties is rather easy. And obviously I speak only of news and information. In order to progress it need only go backward.

To the time when singing commercials were not allowed on news reports, when there was no middle commercial in a fifteen-minute news report; when radio was rather proud, alert and fast. I recently asked a network official; Why this great rash of five-minute news reports (including three commercials) on week ends? He replied: "Because that seems to be the only thing we can sell."

In this kind of complex and confusing world, you can't tell very much about the why of the news in broadcasts where only three minutes is available for news. The only man who could do that was Elmer Davis, and his kind aren't about any more. If radio news is to be regarded as a commodity, only acceptable when saleable, then I don't care what you call it - I say it isn't news.

My memory also goes back to the time when the fear of a slight reduction in business did not result in an immediate cutback in bodies in the News and Public Affairs Department, at a time when network profits had just reached an all time high. We would allagree, I think, that whether on a station or a network, the stapling machine is a poor substitute for a newsroom tyepewriter.

One of the minor tragedies of television news and information is that the networks will not even defend their vital interests. When my employer, C.B.S., through a combination of enterprise and good luck, did an interview with Nikita Khrushchev, the President uttered a few ill-chosen, uninformed words on the subject, and the network practically apologized. This produced a rarity. Many newspapers defended the C.B. S. right to produce the program and commended it for initiative. But the other networks remained silent.

Likewise, when John Foster Dulles, by personal decree, banned American journalists from going to Communist China, and subsequently offered contradictory explanations. For his fiat the networks entered only a mild protest. Then they apparently forgot the unpleasantness. Can it be that this national industry is content to serve the public interest only with the trickle of news that comes out of Hong Kong?

to leave its viewers in ignorance of the cataclysmic changes that are occuring in a nation of six hundred million people? I have no illusions about the difficulties of reporting from a dictatorship; but our British and French allies have been better served - in their public interest - with some very useful information from their reporters in Communist China.

One of the basic troubles with radio and television news is that both instruments have grown up as an incompatible combination of show business, advertising and news. Each of the three is a rather bizarre and demanding profession. And when you get all three under one roof, the dust never settles. The top management of the networks, with a few notable exceptions, has been trained in advertising, research, sales or show business. But by the nature of the corporate structure, they also make the final and crucial decisions having to do with news and public affairs. Frequently they have neither the time nor the competence to do this. It is not easy for the same small group of men to decide whether to buy a new station for millions of dollars,build a new building, alter the rate card, buy a new Western, sell a soap opera, decide what defensive line to take in connection with the flatest Congressional inquiry, how much money to spend on promoting a new program, what additions or deletions should be made in the existing covey or clutch of vice presidents, and at the same time - frequently on the same long day, to give mature, thoughtful consideration to the manifold problems that confront those who are charged with the responsibility for news and public affairs.

Sometimes there is a clash between the public interest and the corporate interest. A telephone call, or a letter from the proper quarter in Washington is treated rather more seriously than a communication from an irate but not politically potent viewer. It is tempting enough to give away a little air time for frequently irresponsible and unwarranted utterances, in an effort to temper the wind of criticism.

Upon occasion, economics and editorial judgement are in conflict. And there is no law which says that dollars will be defeated by duty. Not so long ago the President of the United States delivered a television address to the nation. He was discoursing on the possibility or probability of war between this nation and the Soviet Union and Communist China - a reasonably compelling subject. Two networks - CBS and NBC - delayed that broadcast for an hour and fifteen minutes. If this decision was dictated by anything other than financial reasons, the networks didn't deign to explain those reasons. That hour-and fifteen-minute delay, by the way, is about twice the time required for an ICBM to travel from the Soviet Union to major targets in the United States. It is difficult to believe that this decision was made by men who love, respect and understand news.

So far I have been dealing largely with the deficit side of the ledger, and the items could be expanded. But I have said, and I believe, that potentially, we have in this country a free enterprise system of radio and television which is superior to any other. But to achieve its promise, it must be both free and enterprising. There is no suggestion here that networks or individual stations should operate as philanthropies. But I can find nothing in the Bill of Rights or the Communications Act which says that they must increase their net profits each year, lest the republic collapse. I do not suggest that news and information should be subsidized by foundations or private subscriptions. I am aware that the networks have expanded, and are expanding, very considerable sums of money on public affairs programs from which they cannot hope to receive any financial reward. I have had the privilege at CBS of presiding over a considerable number of such programs. I testify, and am able to stand here and say that I have never had a program turned down by my superiors because of the money it would cost.

But we all know that you cannot reach the potential maximum audience in marginal time, with a sustaining program. This is so because so many stations on the network - any network - will decline to carry it. Every licensee who applies for a grant to operate in the public interest, convenience and necessity, makes certain promises as to what he will do in terms of program content. Many recipients of licenses have, in blunt language, welshed on those promises. The money-making machine somehow blunts their memories. The only remedy for this is closer inspection and punitive action by the F.C.C. But in the view of many this would come perilously close to supervision of program content by a Federal agency.

So it seems that we cannot rely on philanthropic support or Foundation subsidies, we cannot follow the "sustaining route," the networks cannot pay all the freight, and the F.C.C. cannot or will not discipline those who abuse the facilities that belong to the public.

What, then, is the answer? Do we merely stay in our comfortable nests, concluding that the obligation of these instruments has been discharged when we work at the job of informing the public for a minimum of time? Or do we believe that the preservation of the republic is a seven-day-a-week job, demanding more awareness, better skills, and more perseverance than we have yet contemplated.

I am frightened by the imbalance, the constant striving to reach the largest possible audience for everything; by the absence of a sustained study of the state of the nation. Heywood Broun once said; "No body politic is healthy until it begins to itch." I would like television to produce some itching pills rather than this endless outpouring of tranquilizers. It can be done. Maybe it won't be, but it could. Let us not shoot the wrong piano player. Do not be deluded into believing that the titular heads of the networks control what appears on their networks. They all have better taste. All are responsible to stockholders, and in my experience all are honorable men. But they must schedule what they can sell in the public market. And this brings us to the nub of the question.

In one sense it rather revolves around the phrase heard frequently along Madison Avenue: "The Corporate Image." I am not precisely sure what this phrase means, but I would imagine that it reflects a desire on the part of the corporations who pay the advertising bills, to have the public imagine, or believe, that they are not merely bodies with no souls, panting in pursuit of elusive dollars. They would like us to believe that they can distinguish between the public good and the private or corporate gain. So the question is this: Are the big corporations who pay the freight for radio and television programs wise to use that time exclusively for the sale of goods and services? Is it in their own interest and that of the stockholders so to do? The sponsor of an hour's television program is not buying merely the six minutes devoted to his commercial message. He is determining, within broad limits, the sum total of the impact of the entire hour. If he always, invariably, reaches for the largest possible audience, then this process of insulation, of escape from reality, will continue to be massively financed, and its apologists will continue to make winsome speeches about giving the public what it wants, or "letting the public decide."

I refuse to believe that the presidents and chairmen of the boards of these big corporations want their "corporate image" to consist exclusively of a solemn voice in an echo chamber, or a pretty girl opening the door of a refrigerator, or a horse that talks. They want something better, and on occasion some of them have demonstrated it. But most of the men whose legal and moral responsibility it is to spend the stockholders' money for advertising, are removed from the realities of the mass media by five, six, or a dozen contraceptive layers of vice presidents, public relations counsel and advertising agencies. Their business is to sell goods, and the competition is pretty tough.

But this nation is now in competition with malignant forces of evil who are using every instrument at their command to empty the minds of their subjects, and fill those minds with slogans, determination, and faith in the future. If we

go on as we are, we are protecting the mind of the American public from any real contact with the menacing world that squeezes in upon us. We are engaged in a great experiment to discover whether a free public opinion can devise and direct methods of managing the affairs of the nation. We may fail. But we are handicapping ourselves needlessly.

Let us have a little competition. Not only in selling soap, cigarettes and automobiles, but in informing a troubled, apprehensive but receptive public. Why should not each of the twenty or thirty big corporations which dominate radio and television, decide that they will give up one or two of their regularly scheduled programs each year, turn the time over to the networks, and say in effect: "This is a tiny tithe, just a little bit of our profits. On this particular night we aren't going to try to sell cigarettes or automobiles; this is merely a gesture to indicate our belief in the importance of ideas." The networks should, and I think would, pay for the cost of producing the program. The advertiser, the sponsor, would get name credit, but would have nothing to do with the content of the program. Would this blemish the corporate image? Would the stockholders object? I think not. For if the premise upon which our pluralistic society rests - which as I understand it is, that if the people are given sufficient undiluted information, they will then somehow, even after long, sober second-thoughts reach the right decision. If that premise is wrong, then not only the corporate image but the corporations are done for.

There used to be an old phrase in this country, employed when someone talked too much. It was: "Go hire a hall." Under this proposal the sponsor would have hired the hall; he has bought the time; the local station operator, no matter how indifferent, is going to carry the program - he has to. Then it's up to the netowrks to fill the hall. I am not here talking about editorializing, but about straightaway exposition as direct, unadorned and impartial, as fallible

human beings can make it. Just once in a while let us exalt the importance of ideas and information. Let us dream to the extent of saying that on a given Sunday night the time normally occupied by Ed Sullivan is given over to a clinical survey of the state of American education, and a week or two later the time normally used by Steve Allen is devoted to a thorough-going study of American policy in the Middle East. Would the corporate image of their respective sponsors be damaged? Would the stockholders rise up in their wrath and complain? Would anything happen other than that a few million people would have received a little illumination on subjects that may well determine the future of this country, and therefore the future of the corporations? This method would also provide real competition between the networks as to which could outdo the others in the palatable presentation of information. It would provide an outlet for the young men of skill, and there are some even of dedication, who would like to do something other than devise methods of insulating while selling.

There may be other and simpler methods of utilizing these instruments of radio and television in the interests of a free society. But I know of none that could be so easily accomplished inside the framework of the existing commercial system. I don't know how you would measure the success or failure of a given program. And it would be hard to prove the magnitude of the benefit accruing to the corporation which gave up one night of a variety or quiz show in order that the network might marshal its skills to do a thorough-going job on the present status of NATO, or plans for controlling nuclear tests. But I would reckon that the president, and indeed the majority of shareholders of the corporation who sponsored such a venture would feel just a little bit better about the corporation and the country.

It may be that the present system, with no modifications and no experiments can survive. Perhaps the money-making machine has some kind of built-in perpetual

motion, but I do not think so. To a very considerable extent the media of mass communications in a given country reflects the political, economic and social climate in which it flourishes. That is the reason ours differs from the British and French, or the Russian and Chinese. We are currently wealthy, fat, comfortable and complacent. We have currently a built-in allergy to unpleasant or disturbing information. Our mass media reflect this. But unless we get up off our fat surpluses and recognize that television in the main is being used to distract, delude, amuse and insulate us, then television and those who finance it, those who look at it and those who work at it, may see a totally different picture too late.

I do not advocate that we turn television into a twenty-seven-inch wailing wall, where long-hairs constantly moan about the state of our culture and our defense. But I would just like to see it reflect occasionally - the hard, unyielding realities of the world in which we live. I would like to see it done inside the existing framework, and I would like to see the doing of it redound to the credit of those who finance and program it. Measure the results by Neilsen, Trendex or Silex - it doesn't matter, the main thing is to try. The responsibility can be easily placed, in spite of all the mouthings about giving the public what it wants. It rests on big business, and on big television, and it rests at the top. Responsibility is not something that can be assigned or delegated. And it promises its own reward: good business and good television.

Perhaps no one will do anything about it. I have ventured to outline it against a background of criticism that may have been too harsh, only because I could think of nothing better.

Someone once said,- I think it was Max Eastman - that: "That publisher serves his advertiser best who best serves his readers." I cannot believe that radio and television, or the corporations that finance the programs, are serving well or truly their viewers or listeners, or themselves.

I began by saying that our history will be what we make it. If we go on as we are, then history will take its revenge, and retribution will not limp in catching up with us.

We are to a large extent an imitative society. If one or two or three corporations would undertake to devote just a small fraction of their advertising appropriation along the lines that I have suggested, the procedure would grow by contagion, the economic burden would be bearable, and there might ensue a most exciting adventure - exposure to ideas, and the bringing of reality into the homes of the nation.

To those who say: People wouldn't look, they wouldn't be interested, they're too complacent, indifferent and insulated - I can only reply: There is, in one reporter's opinion, considerable evidence against that contention. But even if they are right, what have they got to lose? Because if they are right, and this instrument is good for nothing but to entertain, amuse and insulate, then the tube is flickering now and we will soon see that the whole struggle is lost.

This instrument can teach, it can illuminate; yes, and it can even inspire. But it can do so only to the extent that humans are determined to use it to those ends. Otherwise it is merely wires and lights in a box. There is a great and perhaps decisive battle to be fought against ignorance, intolerance and indifference. This weapon of television could be useful.

Stonewall Jackson, who knew something about the use of weapons, is reported to have said: "When war comes, you must draw the sword and throw away the scabbard." The trouble with television is that it is rusting in the scabbard - during a battle for survival.

HUMAN RIGHTS AWARD: JOINT DEFENSE APPEAL: OCTOBER 22, 1958.

speech

Madison Avenue, as you are aware, is located in ~~that~~ this city of steam, scurry and scamper, where the citizenry acquire ulcers, in the process of going somewhere at great haste, to do something that is wholly unimportant. A strange land, where people are so much concerned with the urgent, that they ~~never~~ seldom get around to the important.

We may possibly agree at the outset that if we on this minor planet are being observed from the moon, the observer must be all-seeing, old, filled with wisdom and discernment; which means that he must agree with my prejudices.

When he views the earth people he must note one obvious fact - the overwhelming majority of them are either black or brown. But the white people do not seem to be aware of this fact; do not realise that they are outnumbered; fail to comprehend that unless they find a method of living and dealing with the colored people in justice, equality and dignity, they are doomed. When the moon watcher sees stones thrown at a colored man in the southern part of our small bit of the planet, he might reflect that the man should have gone to Latin America, because there the throwing of stones at an American citizen would have resulted in the movement of troops and

warships.

Being ageless, the man in the moon will of course remember the time when nations fought their wars over the nature of the Deity; then over pieces of real estate. He would of course remember the carnage of two World Wars - the two efforts at international organization that followed them, and failed. He would recall that tiny pinpoint of light he saw over Hiroshima in 1945, and he would be aware that humans have now devised a method of destroying humanity, and that great nations are feverishly preparing for another war. He might well ask: Do these people learn nothing? Does no wisdom result from suffering? Is mutual suicide inevitable? He would remember the time when the individual had only a musket, a plough and a hoe. It didn't very much matter what he did with them. It might affect the well-being of his immediate family, or his neighbors, but it wouldn't influence society as a whole. Now there is sufficient power in a few hands to terminate our brief history, and the choice may well be between co-existence and no existence at all.

When the man in the moon looks at the United States he will see great wealth, comfort, a generous and capacious land, rich in material things, but worried - a country which in the last ten years has pursued a policy toward

friend and former foe that has been unprecedented and unsordid. And yet that nation is in the process of being isolated. It is losing the leadership of the free world. No nation in history has ever been great unless greatness has been demanded of it by its leaders. We are reluctant, indeed often refuse, to face unpleasant facts. The Russian advances in education have been no secret, were indeed fully reported over the last six years, but were not accepted nor appreciated until illuminated by the Sputniks. We are now refusing to admit, or to be properly concerned about Russian economic penetration throughout the world. We will spend billions on super-highways, but not on schools. The man in the moon may look forward to the time when this country will be a spider web of super-highways with fuel injection, chromium-plated automobiles bumper-to-bumper, driven by half-educated people. And when they reach home they can turn on the television set, which during the peak viewing hours carefully protects them from the world of ideas and the conflicts that surround them. If these instruments of mass communication are to be anything other than an opiate they must strengthen and affirm the values that are the essence of our civilization. It is not enough to sell goods, to entertain the greatest numbers. There also must be full appreciation of our historic heritage,

wise understanding of our institutions and traditions, familiarity with our classics and literature and the arts, and persistent attention to our ethical principles. We have great wealth, but this nation is more than an economic plot. As Professor Einstein once said: "It would be a sad situation if the bag was better than the meat wrapped in it."

I think the man in the moon might have concluded that we are in danger of becoming a nation of conformists. There is a tendency to confuse dissent with disloyalty. And certainly, being an educated man, he would be familiar with the words of Milton, who said: "If the waters of truth flow not in a perpetual progression, they sicken into a muddy pool of conformity and tradition." And he would know the truth that Lord Acton wrote in 1877: "There are in our day many educated men who think it right to persecute." There are indeed many men in our day who so believe.

We are unlikely to be a sane and civilized society until "opinions and assertions about general and particular matters of knowledge will not involve dangers or serious disadvantages for him who expresses them."

If we become a static society we lose one of the basic functions of democracy, the freedom to change. It is a truism that democracy is a means of dealing with the human imperfections of society. It recognizes

that no form of government is perfect, no administration can be faultless, no legal system beyond improvement, no economic order as good as it might be. Where there is imperfection there must be change. And to produce change, unless it is imposed by tyranny, there must be difference of opinion, there must be opposition, there must be pioneer thinking, there must be freedom to criticize, there must be the unremitting conflict and testing of ideas. This undoubtedly involves a great deal of confusion. But the liveliness of a democracy can be measured by the activity of the minds of its citizens. Security and serenity in a democracy are not at all the same thing. They may even be opposites. Those who think that since we are in a cold war we are committed to conformity may not realize that they are asking to make democracy dormant, and that a dormant democracy is really on the way to becoming a tyranny. If our democracy is kept dormant for as long as the cold war continues, the end will be a world in which two tyrannies confront each other. The test of military power between them may not have been risked, but the ideological struggle will be over, the free world will have ceased to be free.

So one of our troubles is knowing how to appraise and measure the emergency. I yield to no one in my desire to root out subversion. But

I insist on a broad definition for subversion. I call subversion anything that subverts our political order, whether it be giving active aid to an enemy or curtailing the freedom of the democracy to deal with its own imperfections. We must know that democracy cannot be kept alive by putting it to sleep. We have to be just as much engrossed with promoting its vigor and liveliness as its military security. One freedom that does not make sense, even in a cold war, is the freedom to reduce freedom. And I am not thinking of the inherent necessity for restraints if freedom is to thrive. Obviously, freedom that is not responsible is mere wilfulness, and it is not what I am talking about. But when freedom takes it upon itself to reduce itself permanently, or for as long as a cold war lasts, it is in the initial stages of self-destruction.

There is a false formula for personal security being peddled in our market place. It is this, although not so labelled: Don't join anything; don't associate: don't write; don't take a chance on being wrong; don't espouse unpopular causes; button your lip and drift with the tide; seek the ease and luxury of complete equanimity by refusing to make up your minds about issues that wiser heads will one day decide. This product if it be bought by enough people leads to paralysis.

We must, I think, for our very lives remember that freedom will reside and flourish here in this generous and capacious land, or it will survive nowhere on this minor planet. Our strength in this continuing conflict with the forces of evil, lies not alone in bombs and planes and physical courage. We must have stable ground upon which to stand and fight, if fight we must. Nations have been known to destroy their freedom while preparing to defend it. We are the head of a grand alliance of freedom-loving people. They have joined with us because they believe it to be in their own self-interest, and because we are strong.

But there is another reason for their joining their fate with ours. We are free, and whatever we do to limit or foreshorten that freedom will reduce by that much our reservoir of good will abroad. There is no such thing as a Voice of America. That voice is made up of Senators, and Admirals, and Clergymen, the Supreme Court, the price of wheat on the big board in Chicago, trade policies, race relations. There is no longer such a thing as a purely domestic news story; each is part of the voice of this country abroad. And if that collective voice tells the story of reduced freedom, of a tyranny of silence, of a fear of change, then within measurable time we shall find ourselves a great powerful continental island off the

coast of Kamchatka, with the rest of the world either united against us or indifferent to our fate. Our example, our demonstration of freedom in action may be more powerful than our dollars, more persuasive than the threat of our bombs. We must continue to provide ourselves and our allies with that most dangerous and explosive force known to mankind -- knowledge. And no man and no group may be permitted to chart in advance the course or the books to be followed in pursuit of that knowledge.

We live in a time of fear and prejudice and freedom is hard-pressed, both at home and abroad. But freedom will survive and flourish unless it be destroyed by the consent of the free.

I say consent, for acquiescence or silence is a form of consent. I believe there has been more acquiescence than is healthy, because too many people have mistakenly thought it was necessary to be undemocratic to deal with the emergency. They have thought there wasn't time to be both safe and free. No more fateful mistake can be made. For in the cold war there is no safety whatever unless we remain free. Democracy is our one chance of survival. For if we emerge from the long crisis undevastated by total war but no longer free, we have but chosen the cheapest and least heroic way to

(Speech File)

B.R.M. BUCKLEY GRADUATION: June 4, 1959.

Mr. Hubbell, members of the faculty, parents and young gentlemen of the graduating class. I address you as gentlemen hopefully - hoping that you know the definition of the word - for a gentleman is distinguished by how he treats those who can be of no possible service to him.

So here you are, eight years, and several thousand dollars of your parents' money, after entering Buckley. You are about to depart, and I am to send you on your way with words of wisdom and inspiration, which you will promptly forget.

Sought counsel of Hubbell as to length and subject matter - no help. Asked son to undertake research - his report was: "The fellows would like you to keep it short, because they want to get out of there". Shall keep it short, so you won't have so much to forget.

Feel like father of New England farm boy - load of hay.

Been wondering what you'll take with you from Buckley - mostly travelling light - cannot use record here as crutch or shield - no one will ask to see your record - can't lean on past performances or shield yourself from future mistakes - your physical fitness and mental alertness is all your teachers have to show for eight years of work - hope you have grace and courtesy come back and say your thanks occasionally.

Have prepared brief but eloquent advice on subject of girls, but decided.....No! - you might forget.

Hope you'll ask questions - everything but religion - "vibration"

Watch your language and your weight.

Read around your text books.

Now for concentrated advice: "There are nine requisites for contented living: health enough to make work a pleasure; wealth enough to support your needs; strength to battle with difficulties and overcome them; grace enough to confess your sins and forsake them; patience enough to toil until some good is accomplished; charity enough to see some good in your neighbor; love enough to move you to be useful and helpful to others; faith enough to make real the things of God; hope enough to remove all anxious fears concerning the future." All those things are possible, and the lucky and the diligent may accomplish two or three of them.

Was poet knew how to build a climax - final phrase most important - "Hope enough to remove all anxious fears concerning the future" - See no fear in your faces, but detect certain signs of impatience. May you remain without fear and retain your impatience with long speeches.

Speeches

ROCHESTER UNIVERSITY: October 14, 1960.

This country was founded with faith, hope and fortitude, a country that was hope and promise and dreams. Ours is the only country in the world with a birth certificate. We have the form of government given us by our founders. The governments of Britain, France, Russia, China and the rest are outgrowths, either by evolution or revolution, of the governments that went before. The structure of our government has changed less than that of any other country. We were born free. We remain free and in pursuit of a dream. Jefferson identified the meaning of the dream when he swore eternal enmity to any tyranny over the mind of man.

Today we live in a world we didn't make, in a world we tried to reject. Our leadership was thrust upon us. Twice in less than 30 years the new world has come to the rescue of the old. After the late World War we followed a policy of generosity to former friend and foe alike that is without precedent. We sought no territory, no commercial concessions. We sought to ensure the peace, and we gave of our treasure

without stint. There was nothing sordid about our policy. But has it worked?

Vast areas of the world, including much of western Europe, would like to contract out of the current power struggle between the United States and the Soviet Union. They reason this way: If these two great giants decide to destroy each other at extreme range we too may perish, but not earlier than if we tie ourselves to the tail of this rather erratic American kite. Western Europe is relatively prosperous and would like to remain that way, and is unwilling to make major sacrifice in preparing its own defense. For the time being, the West Europeans have no alternative but to maintain solidarity with the United States. Official statements of agreement and common purpose abound and will continue, but there is discernable and not far beneath the surface the desire to become a spectator. Bellicose statements by American generals and admirals may impress the Russians. They certainly depress and at times frighten our allies. We should talk more quietly about our big stick

which doesn't appear to be as big as it did a few years ago. In the so-called backward or emerging countries we encounter a special problem. We appear to expect them either to imitate us or to obey. They are going to do neither, and no amount of economic aid will change that.

They can't imitate us because ours is to a large extent a society built upon business, and they don't have any businessmen. Moreover, they're not terribly attracted by consumer goods which rapidly become obsolete. There is here not a competition for men's minds, but for their bellies, or, if you prefer a more elegant word, the competition is in the area of expectancy. Below a certain caloric intake the words we cherish - freedom, independence, human dignity, the right of dissent, are quite simply without meaning. We ought to draw the obvious conclusion from the fact that nations to which we acted as midwife and fairy godmother have decided that our way is not their way. We cannot expect gratitude for our generosity. We should give over the idea that anyone who criticizes our country or its policies is automatically a Communist.

As viewed from the outside we are running a luxury establishment. True, we have given money, but it has come from our fat, not our muscle. There is a widespread suspicion that in our country things are in the saddle and ride mankind, and that we have lost our appetite for change. We in this country can't be deposed and we are unlikely to resign from the position of leadership that has been thrust upon us. Since the late war we have saved Western Europe from going Communist. We have learned for the first time the irritation that comes from having allies. We have learned that although we are the paymaster for new nations, they will not imitate us. But we have forgotten that we, and not the Russians, hold the patent rights on revolution, forgotten that those who strive to be free deserve our aid and assistance, even though they may not be public or proclaimed friends of ours. Our power, our wisdom, our generosity cannot be limited to those who agree in advance that they will slavishly imitate us.

Right now, I would doubt that the American dream or the

American economy is in a seller's market. We are increasingly being examined by those newly come to freedom and by those who will arrive there tomorrow. They're disposed to measure us and our system, not by what we have done, but by what they may do under the pressure of exploding population and limited resources. They do not have a continent to despoil and lay waste as we did. They cannot expect labor and dreams and hopes to come from the outside. They have not the time for national allegiance to grow.

After a year of wandering about the world I would suggest that we remember that we are only 184 years old. In the saga of nations, that brings us to the edge of maturity. We are young, but we are not bold. We are troubled about our neighbors on this shrinking planet. We can no longer give the old excuse of our youth for our indecision. My own feeling is that what we do in this country in the field of human freedom, expanding educational opportunities, the right to dissent without being accused of disloyalty, the right of the citizen

to question the rightness of his rulers, is now being conducted in full light of the mass media. Our best hope of survival, to say nothing of leadership, is that we in this country can demonstrate in action and in terms of our friends and those who are searching for new allegiances, that righteousness exalteth a nation. Our example may be more important than our dollars.

Oct. 19, 1959

TELEVISION AND POLITICS

by Edward R. Murrow

You have done me much honor by inviting me here tonight, and "Beggar that I am, I am even poor in thanks." The wounded walls of this venerable building retain the echoes of words that have lifted men's hearts and inspired them to a sense of duty, and to deeds which will live in men's minds so long as the English language endures.

To stand here is a frightening experience for one who is accustomed to face only a camera or a microphone, for there is no case upon the record of either of those instruments yawning, falling asleep, or discoursing with its neighbor. You are a captive audience. We are met in a city where this reporter left all of his youth and much of his heart.

I am to try to talk to you about television and politics. Both professions involve curious contradictions, and when combined represent a dangerous mixture. Being without substantial credentials in either area, being without political affiliation or technical skill - knowing only that the long waves are short and the short waves are long - I take refuge in a remark of my fellow-countryman who said: "It is better to know less than to know so much that ain't so". So much that we think we know about both television and politics ain't so. My own attitude towards politicians has ranged from sympathy to affection, although as a political reporter I have found the late Vice President Barkley's advice to be sound. He counselled: "A political reporter must be agin everybody, some".

Your political storm has passed - ours is approaching; no doubt the results will not be as bad as they seem. For we both believe in progress by persuasion,

and we both believe with Dean Inge that even though counting heads is not an ideal way to govern, at least it is better than breaking them.

I must speak primarily of politics and television in terms of my own country, hoping that I am sufficiently far from home to pose as an expert.

But duty demands that I first deliver a message from my grandfather. He was an officer on Stonewall Jackson's staff during our Civil War. In my youth, he was a venerable, bearded old gentleman, many times wounded and entirely unreconstructed. It may be that he was not as venerable as he appeared to me, but as you will know from our recent history, we are more inclined to venerate, to attribute special qualities to old soldiers, than are you. My grandfather once said: "If you ever get to that England country, look carefully; they must be right stout people. Why, they tell me that during the war there was a place called Manchester where they wove cotton, and their young 'uns were hungry. And yet when we managed to get a smidgeon of cotton out through the northern blockade, they wouldn't weave it. Now," he said, "as I understand it, they weren't against us, they were just against slavery, and they let their young 'uns go hungry for a principle. They helped to whip us, no doubt about that. But they must be real stout folks." The old man's grandson had the high honor of seeing their grandchildren demonstrate that they were as stout and steady, as grim and gay as their ancestors. No one who lived among you during those days, when most men save Britons despaired of Britain's life, will ever be quite the same.

I remember driving in the country behind Dover in the late autumn of 1940, with Gerald Barry. All road signs had been removed. The Germans were expected on the beaches the first foggy morning. We were lost. Mr. Barry asked a farmer in a field for directions. The farmer asked, as he had been instructed to do by

the wireless, for our identity cards. We presented them, received clear and concise directions, and then thinking to have a little fun with the farmer, Mr. Barry said: "And where is your identity card?" The farmer laughed and said: "No fear, I know who I be." You all knew who you were, where you came from, and whither you were going. You didn't talk much about it, but to me it seemed you were engaged in the business of being worthy of your ancestors and digging new root-holds in freedom for your descendants.

Tonight we are to examine politics and television, and it must be done in the light of perpetual crisis. Having undertaken massive research on this subject, you will excuse me for not saying that the television camera has revolutionized politics, and that it is an all-seeing X-ray eye which will make it inevitable that the voter will sort out the charlatan from the statesman. Nor shall I remind you that in my country we have more television sets than bathtubs. For candor compels me to confess that I do not know what this fascinating statistic proves. Television has been variously described as the opiate of the people, a group of midgets in a black box, and the most powerful instrument of communication yet devised. It was to "revolutionize politics" but it hasn't. I do know of one Senator who was badly beaten in the last election who is entirely convinced that the major reason for his defeat was that he so far forgot himself as to correct his wife's pronunciation during a television program. He was inundated with furious letters from female viewers, and is persuaded that they voted him out of office. The moral of this story probably is that a penalty must be paid for correcting one's wife in front of a television camera or anywhere else.

There is also the case of a politician who ran for public office four times, always assisted by his wife. Three times he won; once he was defeated. In all

three victorious campaigns his wife was pregnant; the occasion when he went down to defeat, she wasn't. It would seem that no general law regarding television and politics can be formulated as a result of this experience.

Probably the single most effective use of television in politics occurred in my own country during the 1952 presidential campaign. General Eisenhower was the Republican nominee, having been selected after a bitter Convention battle over Senator Taft - not because he was better qualified but because leaders of the Republican Party thought he had a better chance of winning. Richard Nixon, a relatively obscure Senator from California, was the Vice Presidential candidate. The two men were campaigning in different parts of the country when it was disclosed that a group of California citizens had raised a special fund for Senator Nixon, and it amounted to approximately eighteen thousand dollars. This disclosure created a political storm equal to that produced in your country by the Zinoviev Letter. What came to be known as the "Nixon Fund" was to be used to pay for transportation, hotel expenses, telephone tolls, Christmas cards, advertising and general publicity. When the storm broke, excited politicians of both Parties took counsel. The Democrats demanded that the Republicans jettison Nixon as their candidate. Many Republican newspapers echoed the demand. Candidate Eisenhower echoed uncertainty. Many professional Republican politicans said privately that Nixon must go or the Party would be lost. Many personal friends and political cronies urged Nixon to resign for the good of the Party. Nixon and his advisors finally decided that he should make a nation-wide television explanation. The necessary arrangements were made, and the tension and suspense mounted. Would the Senator quit or try to ride out the storm? He hadn't made up his own mind until a few hours before air time. When he faced the cameras he talked from notes, made an explanation of the fund which probably would not entirely have satisfied a

Royal Commission, said he didn't think he ought to quit because he wasn't a quitter, and "incidentally" said Nixon, "Pat is not a quitter." At this point the camera panned around to show Mrs. Nixon's profile. "After all", said the Senator, "her name was Patricia Ryan and she was born on St. Patrick's Day, and you know the Irish never quit." Nixon admitted that he had received one gift after his election to the Senate. He spoke as follows: "It was a little cocker spaniel dog - black and white spotted - and our little girl Tricia, the six-year-old, named it Checkers. And you know, the kids love that dog, and I just want to say this right now, that regardless of what they say about it we're going to keep it." Checkers was not present in the studio.

As the clock ran out,the candidate for Vice President, with tears in his eyes and voice, was saying: "Wire and write to the Republican National Committee on whether you think I should stay or get off, and whatever their decision is, I will abide."

The result was sensational - telegrams, telephone calls, came pouring in; Eisenhower and Nixon staged a reunion, posed for pictures with arms around each other; and said Eisenhower to Nixon: "You're my boy!" No Hollywood writer would have dared write such a script, but it worked. Without question, Nixon was saved by television, although any fair-minded observer would probably have to give some of the credit to his wife, the Irish and to Checkers. Still the fact remains that the climate of opinion could not have been changed so quickly had television not been available to transmit throughout the country this amazing performance, which caused many to weep, and only a few to laugh.

Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, of Wisconsin, could not play upon the human emotions with the same skill as his friend, Richard Nixon. The trail that he left

on the face of my country will not soon fade, and there may be others who will try to follow in his footsteps. His weapon was fear. He was a politically unsophisticated man with a flair for publicity; and he was powerfully aided by the silence of timid men who feared to be the subject of his unfounded accusations. He polluted the channels of communication, and every radio and television network, every newspaper and magazine publisher who did not speak out against him, contributed to his evil work and must share part of the responsibility for what he did, not only to our fellow citizens but to our self-respect. He was in a real sense the creature of the mass media. They made him. They gave nation-wide circulation to his mouthings. They defended their actions on the grounds that what he said was news, when they knew he lied. His initial appearances on television were in the role of a man whose sole desire was to oust communists from government and all responsible positions. That was his announced objective. The overwhelming majority of people undoubtedly sympathized with him. It has been said repeatedly that television caused his downfall. This is not precisely true. His prolonged exposure during the so-called Army-McCarthy Hearings, certainly did something to diminish his stature. He became something of a bore. But his downfall really stemmed from the fact that he broke the rules of the club, the United States Senate, when he began attacking the integrity, the loyalty of fellow Senators, he was censured by that body, and was finished. The timidity of television in dealing with this man when he was spreading fear throughout the land, is not something to which this art of communication can ever point with pride, nor should it be allowed to forget it.

Being aware that I am in the presence of my masters in science, politics and television, it is my purpose to contend only that the development of television is potentially more important than the development of the zipper. This may be an

unreasonably optimistic view, for we may all remember that Rutherford, who first understood nuclear transmutations, held the view - regarded as reasonable at that time - that no practical use would be found on this minor planet for nuclear energy. In this perilous present we may discover that television and politics can be blended in such a way as to produce a more informed and enlightened electorate.

The politician in my country seeks votes, affection and respect, in that order. This is not unique or surprising. His is a trying profession, for the politician must spend an inordinate amount of time with bores. He has practically no mechanism to keep them at a distance. He is even less protected than the bus driver who at least has his "No Talking" sign, or the doctor with his stethoscope. The politician of necessity leads an isolated life, so far as his colleagues are concerned, because most of them are his rivals. Many of them are men of undoubted charm, ability and incredible energy, and yet too often they lack purpose or appetite for anything beyond their own careers. With few notable exceptions, they are simply men who want to be loved. They are, by and large, not specialists but general practitioners. They require supreme confidence in their own intelligence and ability. Few among them can make an objective appraisal of ability such as Andre Gide did when he was asked by a foreigner: "Who is France's greatest poet?" And he replied: "Victor Hugo, alas!"

As professionals, politicians are hard-working, not particularly dissolute. Some even prefer success to pleasure. But when it comes to television, the politician is severely handicapped. He is trained in the art of inexactitude. His words tend to be blunt or rounded, because if they have a cutting edge they may later return to wound him.

The politician has little time for contemplation or solitude. He fears to

step off the escalator, lest others pass him by. There have been a few exceptions. Prime Minister Nehru, who may be said to have been indoctrinated, contends that all politicians would be better off for a few years in jail. Ben Gurion may retire for a spell to his kibbutz in the Negev, confident that he will be recalled. Tiberius went away for seven years before reaching the pinnacle of his power. But today most politicians do not have time even to prepare those well-rehearsed improvisations that are so effective on television. They must choose between talking at length and precisely, and probably boring their audience; or talking briefly and misleading the audience. One United States Senator attempted to establish ground rules for political performances on television by introducing a bill that would have required all politicians who wore makeup or used visual aids of any kind (referred to in the trade as "idiot cards"), to make public announcement of the fact. This proposal did not become law.

In fact there are very few laws, either in politics or in television. And this is undoubtedly a good thing, otherwise elections would be decided by those who constantly burn candles on the altar of public opinion polls. Stimson Bullitt, in his little book, "What it means to be a politician", writes: "People often resent a politician for his failure to be both delicately responsive to public wishes, and a self-sustaining leader who leads. He disappoints them if he is not at once a thistledown on the breeze and a game fish that swims upstream. Hiram Gill was elected Mayor of Seattle on a "closed town" platform. He kept his promise and was dismissed from office at the next election. He ran again on an "open town" platform, was elected, kept this promise, and was again defeated. This confused Gill, who just wanted to be Mayor. Another attitude which makes for disappointed citizens and exasperated politicians, is people's dislike of a cocksure manner, and their concurrent wish that a politician be sure he knows the

answers, since they did not elect him to doubt and ponder. They want a humble Messiah. A politician also knows that many of his constituents wish him to perform the functions of his profession, yet be above politics, where President Eisenhower tried to be, and where they think President Lincoln was. There is a common wish that he be both subservient and dignified; that he run petty errands and run them as though he were descending Sinai with tablets of stone."

In a free society, politics essentially involve the resolution of conflict. It is part of television's duty to define, illuminate and illustrate the nature of the conflict - to supply the voter with the raw material upon which informed opinion may be based. Thucydides said: "We both alike know that into the discussion of human affairs the question of justice arises only where the pressure of necessity is equal; that the strong take what they can, and the weak grant what they must." The true function of television in politics is to operate a market place in which ideas may compete on an equal footing. It is true that the voter may elect to purchase the secondrate, shopworn or shoddy idea. He may mistake a mobile countenance for an agile mind. He may vote for Profile rather than for Principle. An unruly lock of hair may be more effective than a disciplined mind. There is no way to guarantee that television will prevent the voter from being as wrong as he has been so often in the past. Television offers no guarantee that demagogues can be kept from political power. It merely provides them with wider and more intimate, more immediate circulation. I would suggest that the evidence so far indicates that television can retard or accelerate a trend in public opinion, but it cannot reverse it. The hope so fondly held by enthusiasts a few years ago, the hope that television would make certain that the voter would sort out the phony from the statesman, is not proved. I would doubt that under today's system of communication a Lincoln or a Jefferson could be nominated or elected. According

to all reports, Jefferson had a most abrasive voice, and did not suffer fools gladly. While being interviewed on some panel program he might have told a particularly obnoxious questioner just what he thought of him, and that, of course, would have been fatal. Mr. Lincoln did not move gracefully, was not a handsome man, had a wife who was no political asset, and he was a solitary man. In our present society, he probably would have been examined at an early age by a psychiatrist, received an unfavorable report, have been told his attitude toward "togetherness" was altogether wrong, and advised to enter a trade school if he could gain admittance. On the other hand, it is conceivable that Woodrow Wilson might have won his fight for the League of Nations, and thereby changed world history, had he been able to use the tools of television and radio. He was a rather pedantic persuader, and these instruments wouldn't have changed him, but they would have given his ideas wider circulation; and the efforts of those who attempted to distort those ideas, might have had less success. It is part of the brief history of television that circulation is directly related to controversy.

But it is well to bear in mind that no large section of the public demands more information or a better presentation of it. Public affairs is a form of specialization. It is <u>not</u> recreation. The public as such does not feel the call to specialize, even in its own good. On the whole, it is unenterprising - it wants its fun. By the time most people turn on the television set, the work of the day is over. There is a welcome break in drudgery. Most people, after working hours, prefer to be called away from reality, not made to face it. There is a limit upon the attention the public is willing to devote to politics. This would be true even if television fulfilled its functions to the utmost. Television by itself does not usher in the democratic millenium, and its inability to do so is not its own peculiar failure. It is due to the unwillingness of men and women, even in the

highly developed democracies of Britain and the United States, to take more trouble to govern themselves better.

Both radio and television started as novelties, not as sociological or political devices. Their social importance was not at first imagined. They cost a great deal of money to develop. The pioneers in what Americans call "the industry" were businessmen and financiers, not scholars, statesmen or politicians. They still do not put public service first, for the simple reason that in my country it must pay its way. Business success has to come first.

In a competitive society, political broadcasts must compete. Generally they don't. For example, when Secretary of State Herter returned from the Geneva Conference of Foreign Ministers - a conference which had dominated the headlines and news reports for many weeks - he made a fifteen-minute report to the nation on television. It was delivered at 9 o'clock at night, was broadcast by two of the three television networks. It secured a total audience of approximately thirteen million. At the same time, the third network presented an assembly-line predictable Western, a thrilling distortion of our history called "Rifleman". According to the measurement, slightly more than twenty-two million people viewed this contribution to escapism.

In 1957, President Eisenhower and Secretary of State Dulles delivered a half-hour report on the Summit Conference. They did a little better than Secretary of State Herter. They were competing with a bunch of "good guys" and "bad guys" in a Western epic called "Wells Fargo". The gun slingers had almost precisely the same audience as the word slingers.

In 1958, President Eisenhower spoke solo for half-an-hour to a Republican gathering. A non-politico on another network - fellow named Bat Masterson, who

wears a bowler hat and goes about bashing people over the head with a gold-headed cane, was viewed by more than twice the number of people who watched the President. And on the third network, a personable young singer named Patti Page atrracted the attention of a few million more citizens than the President.

During the 1956 Presidential campaign, the average audience for all night-time political programs was roughly sixty percent below the average audience for regular entertainment programs.

As you know, we Americans have a great fondness for facts and figures, the kind of research that involves knowing more and more about less and less. During our last presidential campaign, both major Parties began to buy the last five minutes of a popular entertainment program. They were sort of hitch-hiking with their political message at the end of a popular program. It worked pretty well, too. But this produced trouble for the entertainment program immediately following; for it seems that about fifteen percent of the people went away during that five-minute period, and they didn't come back for the following program. This was bad - bad for the networks and for the sponsor of the following show.

There isn't much evidence that the advent of television has altered traditional voting habits. In certain areas there was no television during the 1952 campaign. By 1956 the magic box had arrived, but it produced no significant change in the traditional pattern of voting.

The television viewer is not fascinated by political orations. This may be due in part to the absence of meaningful controversy. The voter isn't interested. One of our most distinguished jurists - Judge Learned Hand - has remarked: "Doubtless things might become uncomfortable enough to arouse them, but, given

reasonable opportunity for personal favors, and not too irksome control, they are content to abdicate their sovereignty and to be fleeced, if the shepherds will only shear them in their sleep."

It may be that television magnifies all the facets of personality, the defects along with the merits. This ability of television to magnify the components of personality is not necessarily pure gain. A man's weaknesses may be brought to light, which is all to the good. But that is not all that happens, because a public leader in the age of television must be popular as well as sincere. He must have a quality not considered essential in the past, that is, simplicity. A politician to be popular must not be too complicated. He must not appear to be too subtle. He must be accessible, must be able to avoid the difficult question without appearing to do so.

We may have an illustration of this in the two races between Eisenhower and Stevenson for the presidency. Both men televised well; both had the necessary modicum of histrionics. But Eisenhower was simple, while Stevenson was considerably less so. Stevenson was more deft, had greater command of language and overtone, and had much more humor. But Stevenson just plain didn't like television. He resented the tyranny of the clock, the bright lights, the makeup, everything about it; and it showed.

Eisenhower may not be at all the characteristic leader in the age of modern communications, but he proved to be much easier for the public to be sure about. There was no doubt about his personality. He was a friendly, good, kind, paternal, successful General who stood above familiar political considerations, and could be trusted because he was not complicated. Eisenhower conveyed the impression that he would like to step out of the receiving set and, in the American vernacular,

"press the flesh" - shake hands - slap the viewer on the back and say: "We're just ordinary guys but together we can get the job done."

Stevenson, on the other hand, gave the impression that things were pretty complicated and would require some hard thinking and difficult decisions.

I am not saying that Stevenson would have won if there had been no modern communication. But his gifts of oratory and political analysis, his ability to improvise sentences that would parse, his mastery of debate and the wealth of his ideas would have counted more in earlier times. Such gifts, I suspect, count more in newsprint and radio than they do on the television screen.

Simplicity communicates itself more easily than complexity in persons: and it also does when it comes to issues. And this is part of the change brought about by television. This is by no means a boon. It surely is essential to have abstruse and complex ideas simplified, so that many can understand them. But we live in an age in which intelligence may not be able to simplify truthfully. The frontiers of knowledge have been pushed back, and the more that comes to be known, the less is understood, or perhaps I should say completely understood, even by the wisest. And since politics and television, more than ever before, have to take account of much of this abstruse and complicated knowledge, the art of self-government is not going to be perfected by the process of simplification alone. Indeed, looking ahead to the time when human destinies are to be determined by the uses or abuses of new sources of almost unlimited physical power, one may well ask if democracy will be able to develop the competence to deal with these complexities. If so, it must be through a broadening of education and a use of communications not yet realized, or perhaps even conceived.

I would suggest that the art of government in the near future, if it is to

improve or indeed survive, must develop along one of two approaches: either through a society in which politics - the whole art of governing - is left exclusively to the wise, or through an intellectually improved democracy. A society of the wise does not need television. Democracy, I suggest, cannot do its work well without it.

Supposing that freedom is more important than safety, then the tyranny of the wise is only less objectionable than the tyranny of the unwise. The choice we face is between a despotism of the ruthlessly ambitious, not of the wise, and of an intelligent democracy. The function of television in either kind of state is sure to be of tremendous importance. But in a free society it might almost be called supreme.

In a totalitarian state the role of television will not be to teach or facilitate self-government. It must be the opposite. Its purpose must be to make the governed content not to govern themselves. It will be to distract, and indeed to entertain. I suggest that what we are now asking from television is precisely what the totalitarian dictators will order when their countries have as many television sets per capita as we have. For people whose standard of living is rising, and who do not feel that their poverty is a sacrifice they are paying for the future, will need to be distracted if they are to be ruled by a despot.

It is surely ironic that we in the United States and Britain who ask for so much entertainment from television - so much escapism - so much insulation from harsh reality - are not having such programs imposed upon us by tyrants. We have been making the choice freely. But we have made it without any awareness of the nature, intensity and inevitability of the contest between the democracies and totalitarianism. We have reached our present prosperity and seeming security

without taking much heed. But now our societies must take on a new and more conscious development, and television must rise to a more constructive task. We must rid ourselves of our allergy to unpleasant and disturbing information.

I have acknowledged the natural limits to the performance of this task. I have admitted that television of itself cannot usher in the Utopia of freedom. I have ventured to suggest that the great drag on the growth of democracy is that people do not care to specialize in self-government, even if they know vaguely that the science of government never was as difficult as it is growing to be. Television is a tool that is not being used to finish the job of Education.

It is the duty of the politician to see to it that the controls imposed on television do not prevent it from being a medium where ideas may compete for the allegiance of the viewer. And it is the duty of those who control television to use it as a sound mirror to reflect conditions as they are. If what is reflected on the end of that tube is bigotry, poverty, discrimination or prejudice, that is good and wholesome so long as the picture be true. Where there is controversy it must be reflected. We have no alternative system so long as we are dedicated to the proposition that the voter in the polling booth is sovereign.

Television must find a little time to remind us of our inheritance, and it must find more than a little time for the dissenters, the heretics, the minority spokesmen who may be tomorrow's majority.

The editing of informational film for television presents problems that are without precedent. It is only a slight exaggeration to say that you may read verbatim text of what a man has said, but you do not understand what he means unless you see him say it. It is impossible to edit from text alone. A demonstration of how the spoken word plus picture can be misunderstood when reduced

to cold print, occurred in connection with a recent interview with Field Marshal Montgomery of Alamein. It was presented in my country as a conversation lasting an hour. The Field Marshal was blunt, unequivocal and most amiable. He was less than enchanted by certain aspects of American foreign and military policy. He indicated that some of our leaders had been, and were, fallible. He thought it important that if war should come again to Europe, American blood should be shed on the first day. And he said, to the accompaniment of laughter by all participating in the program, that he had promised his Continental friends that if necessary he, the Field Marshal, would shoot one himself. Now the British Press, working only from the text of the interview, broke out in a rash of headlines to the effect that, "Monty has done it again!", "Americans Outraged by Montgomery Attack"; in general this savage blow at Anglo-American amity was deplored. The fact was that, judged by all normal standards of measurement, the Americans loved it. There were a couple of critical editorials, but they appeared in papers that would denounce the arrival of manna, if it were stamped "Made in Britain".

As a result of this program I saw exactly three critical communications from viewers - many requests for a repeat performance, or for "More of Montgomery".

I do not blame my friends in Fleet Street for their treatment of this incident. After all, they were working from text and had not seen and heard the Field Marshal say these things which they were sure would outrage the Americans. It illustrates one of the differences between print and television. What is said is important, but how it's said may be equally important. And it may be said hopefully that perhaps this reaction on the part of my fellow-countrymen reflects a developing maturity. And it should be added that those who were distressed about what they regarded as the Field Marshal's indiscretions should see and hear some of his comments on the American scene, for which we did not have time! We

are saving those for a subsequent report, and I venture to predict that the alliance will survive the shock. After all, the Field Marshal didn't say very much that couldn't be turned up by a careful reading of the British Press. He just said it a little more bluntly, and looked the Americans squarely in the eye and smiled when he said it.

The ability to smile and to wait is just about the indispensable asset in interviewing a soldier or a politician, if the interview is being filmed. If you put a direct question, the interviewee will answer it as he has probably answered that same question dozens of times before. Then begins the waiting game. He thinks he has given you the definitive answer. You manage a slightly uncomprehending, puzzled expression, and you can watch his mind work. He hears that compulsive whirr of the camera in the background, and he says to himself (and I've known one or two to say it out loud to the interviewer): "You stupid oaf, if you didn't comprehend that, I'll put it in language you can understand", and proceeds to do so. Then, in the course of editing, you throw out the first answer and use the second one. And, as Mark Twain would have said: "That's about all, or maybe more than I know about conducting an interview."

I trust that you will not regard it as a violation of your hospitality if I venture a few personal comments upon your recent rather demure General Election. It would be a churlish visitor indeed, who failed to remark the technical excellence displayed by the entire television fraternity. This was particularly true in the presentation of the results.

I have heard none of your fellow-countrymen complain that television failed to report the campaign adequately and fairly. It should be possible to draw some profound conclusions as to the influence of television upon this General Election.

But that must be left to a bolder and wiser man. That the issues were aired cannot be doubted. The restraint of all partisans was remarkable. I would doubt that smoother production, better camera work, tighter editing in the Party political broadcasts would have altered the results substantially. It seems to me at least possible that television in this election did the one thing that it does superbly well. It aroused curiosity and excited interest; and that may be one reason why political meetings were so well attended. The voters may have seen the candidates on television, but they still retain the belief that if they see them in person they may be able to tell what they are really like.

I have somewhat the feeling that in both our countries the politicians are unduly fascinated by the mechanics of this new method of communication - a little too inclined to make political television a competition between film cutters and producers, rather than a competition of ideas and convictions. There is, I suggest, no substitute for the man who has at least a mild fire in his belly, and is able to pierce that screen with his own conviction. Also, there is no substitute for brevity; for brevity is good, both when we are and are not understood. For example, speaking strictly in terms of communication and not politics, I would have thought that the ten-minute talk by Jo Grimmond was as effective as anything presented during the recent campaign. That effort had none of the technical competence of the Labour Party broadcasts. He did not appear to be speaking down to us from Cloud 7, while moving from an almost unseen globe of the world to the casual leaning position on the lectern, as did Prime Minister Macmillan at his final effort at persuasion.

Of one thing I am sure. In the area of political television, we are all ignorant. We need to know much more than we do. In my own country we know a great deal about what will sell goods and services. We have spent vast sums on

research. And similar efforts have been made in this country. But we do not know enough, we have not been sufficiently interested, to try to determine what sells ideas. You can sell goods by repetition; there is some evidence that you can even sell them through irritation. But we don't know with any degree of accuracy how we sell or convey ideas. We ought to try to find out. My own conviction is that there is no substitute, no technique, no use of film that can replace the individual who has conviction, and who can in some mysterious manner convey that conviction to the viewer. May I try to illustrate this with an example that has nothing to do with politics? We once undertook a program on the peacetime uses of nuclear energy. We filmed eighteen hundred coal cars in a marshalling yard. We then filmed a simulated block of enriched uranium on a desk alongside an office typewriter. That represented the equivalent in fission fuel to the eighteen hundred coal cars filled with fossil fuel. We thought we were using this instrument of television in a most effective fashion. But immediately after this sequence, we did a ten-minute interview with Admiral Hyman Rickover. Now our unscientific survey indicated that most of our viewers had not seen, or at least had not remembered this unique contribution to visual communication. But they did remember Admiral Rickover and what he said. There is, I suspect, no substitute, even in television, for people.

Even in this age of bigness, where small farms are being taken over by bigger farms, where small businesses are being taken over by bigger ones, the individual remains the primary means of communication between the politician and the viewer. In political television, this represents a danger, particularly in a parliamentary system. It may mean that the Party leaders become more important symbols than the local candidate. The viewer is exposed, of necessity, more frequently to the national leader than to the local candidate. I do not know the results of Granada's "Operation Marathon", but anyone deeply concerned with the relationship between

television and the continuation of democratic processes must applaud the effort to prevent political television from becoming too big - from concentrating too much on the national political figures.

The politician who uses television should beware of booby traps, for a record is made of what he says. This is more dangerous than the writing of a book. For on a subsequent occasion, his utterances or his promises may return to bite him. If during a subsequent campaign his extravagant language is quoted in print or on radio, he may cry "foul", or "I have been misquoted", or "the statement was torn from context". But if he can be shown on film or a kinescope, no question remains as to what he said, where and when. If I were a politician concerned about future campaigns, I should collect and hoard the utterances of my opponent, in the hope that upon a subsequent occasion I might be able to convict him of false promises, double-dealing, insincerity, out of his own mouth, supported by his own picture, while saying these despicable and dishonorable things.

Perhaps the most important thing to be said about television and politics is that the politicians, whoever they are, should not be permitted to control television. Let them use it; let them be as persuasive as they may be. But do not permit them to use this instrument to prevent today's minority from becoming tomorrow's majority.

There is a tendency to believe that television becomes meaningful in relation to politics only when a General Election is imminent or in progress. This of course is not true. It is, or it should be, the business of television to provide in picture and sound the exposure of what is happening day by day and week by week in order that the voter may in due course make up his mind as to the Party which will produce in fact a picture of his country which is more pleasing and more satisfying to him.

The relationship between television and the politician should be at arm's length; the eye of the camera should pursue the politician to the very limits of privacy and decency. When the politicians complain, as they have in several countries, that television turns their proceedings into a circus, it should be made clear that the circus was already there, and that television has merely demonstrated that not all the performers are well trained. In short, the politicians ought to leave television alone, but never at any time should television leave the politician alone, except when he seeks refuge in his home, or when he becomes so boring as to drive viewers back to radio or a good book.

I would suppose that the important thing for politicians and others who use television to remember is that the fact that voice and picture can be transmitted from one end of the country to the other does not confer upon the speaker greater wisdom, perception or effectiveness than was the case when his voice reached only from one end of the street to the other. This new instrument only gives wider circulation to the cry of "Hope!" or "Havoc!" It doesn't make either more imminent or more believable.

The informative program can compete successfully for the listener's attention, but it must be good and it must be fair, and it must be fearless. Television won't save us, and probably it won't destroy us, but we should be mindful of Bernard Shaw's counsel: "We must get what we want, or we will come to want what we get."

It is a limited medium; it can amuse, entertain, and it can sell goods. It can also arouse curiosity, stimulate interest, cause the viewer to read and argue. It can stretch the horizon of his interest. But it can't reason - and is no substitute for reading.

In ancient times, cartographers were wont to label unknown or unexplored areas

of the map with the legend, "Here be dragons". In both television and politics, this Anglo-American partnership ought to go searching for dragons. We are both disposed to sit at home juggling our prejudices while we think we are thinking, sending out an occasional missionary to preach to the already converted. It is true that our political systems and our television systems differ. Your politicians are liable to answer a particularly outrageous or libellous statement from their opponents by saying: "You may be right", or "There may be something in what you say". Whereas our politicians would be content merely to label his opponent as the lineal descendant of thieves and traitors. Some of the exchanges between our two countries resemble the First Mate who wrote in the ship's log: "The Captain was drunk today." Whereupon the Captain made the entry: "The First Mate was sober today."

We need to argue more. This alliance is not a fragile thing likely to collapse if our differences are exposed. We ought to use television to explore the areas where the dragons live. We are both so preoccupied with the Russian menace that we forget our own potential. After all, freedom of expression is one of the hallmarks of our societies. By exercising it we lose only our prejudice and our ignorance.

In the field of television we have a few items for export that may be superior in quality to "Wagon Train", "Wells Fargo" or "I Love Lucy". And certainly the American viewer is isolated from the best product of British television. Something should be done about it, and the doing would not be difficult.

It would be cruel and inhumane to require our fellow citizens to read both Hansard and the Congressional Record. This would most certainly undermine faith in the alliance, cause lawyers to laugh and philosophers to weep. But there is no reason why we could not establish a weekly session of what might be called a

"Mid-Atlantic Parliament" by way of television. The dragons might object, but I foresee no opposition from other sources save the timid and those who fear the truth. Why not a weekly conversation piece between a Member of Parliament and a Senator or Representative? An old-fashioned argument, using this newfangled instrument. If you are offended, as you were when we tried to stop you flying a commercial airline across the Pacific, or when we refused to accept a low British bid for a hydro-electric plant, let's argue it out. Likewise, when you are reluctant to have American intermediate range missiles on British soil, or are somewhat less than enthusiastic about American bombers flying about over your heads with a bellyfull of nuclear weapons, let's argue about that. There would be no shortage of controversy - controversy makes good television. It wouldn't be very expensive. Certainly, there is no shortage of politicians, and we might just possibly learn something. The right to disagree, indeed to revile each other in public, is one of the many things that makes us different from totalitarian states. The option needs to be exercised.

There are, it is true, subtle differences in the debating techniques employed in the House of Commons and in Congress, but the language has not diverged to the point where we fail to understand each other's insults, and it is some time since honorable gentlemen wore swords or members of Congress carried pistols.

I think it was von Clausewitz who said that in war the first duty was to recognize one's enemy. Surely in peacetime the first duty is to recognize one's friends. And the second duty is to argue with them in complete candor. I am told that the width of the carpet dividing the House of Commons was determined by the length of two rapiers, in order that Honorable Members might not puncture each other in the heat of debate. If we use this electronic instrument properly, the

Atlantic Ocean need be no wider than that carpet in the House of Commons.

This is not to suggest that politics should represent the only television traffic between our two countries. This instrument, if properly used, can be made to transport our fellow-citizens across the Atlantic faster than the most modern Jet. It can make us acquainted. It can cross-fertilize our cultures and it can strengthen our common heritage. Neither our broadcasters nor our politicians are doing their best, while the Russians are doing their worst. If this alliance of ours flinches or falters - it will be because we have failed to communicate with each other. Our policies may from time to time reflect fear, but our purpose is as clear in the perilous present as it was to all of you in the days when this island stood for a whole year - the one Fortress of Freedom, ready, waiting, and indeed eager to defend the faith.

The common purpose is clear - we desire and are determined to live in the same kind of world. We argue about methods and tactics, not about objectives. Television and Radio can and should reflect those arguments - should record our accomplishments and frustrations, our common hopes and fears. To speak our minds, whether face to face or at a distance through electronic devices, is part of our heritage. May it continue to be our habit.

E.R. MURROW

LONDON LECTURE: (A) copy

INSERT A. Page 1.

Take in, in entirety, on p. 27 of Master Script at A.

I trust that you will not regard it as a violation of your hospitality if I venture a few personal comments upon your recent rather demure General Election. It would be a churlish visitor indeed, who failed to remark the technical excellence displayed by the entire television fraternity. This was particularly true in the presentation of the results.

I have heard none of your fellow-countrymen complain that television failed to report the campaign adequately and fairly. It should be possible to draw some profound conclusions as to the influence of television upon this General Election. But that must be left to a bolder and wiser man. That the issues were aired cannot be doubted. The ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ restraint of all partisans was remarkable. I would doubt that smoother production, better camera work, tighter editing in the Party political broadcasts would have altered the results substantially. It seems to me at least possible that television in this election did the one thing that it does superbly well. It aroused curiosity and excited interest; and that may be one reason why political meetings were so well attended. The voters may have seen the candidates on television, but they still retain the belief that if they see them in person they may be able to tell what they are <u>really</u> like.

I have somewhat the feeling that in both our countries the politicians are unduly fascinated by the mechanics of this new method of communication - a little too inclined to make political television a competition between film cutters and producers, rather than a competition of ideas and convictions. There is, I suggest, no substitute for the man who has at least a mild fire in his belly, and

is able to pierce that screen with his own conviction. Also, there is no substitute for brevity; for brevity is good, both when we are and are not understood. For example, speaking strictly in terms of communication and not politics, I would have thought that the ten-minute talk by Joe Grimmond was as effective as anything presented during the recent campaign. That effort had none of the technical competence of the Labour Party broadcasts. He did not appear to be speaking down to us from Cloud 7, while moving from an almost unseen globe of the world to the casual leaning position on the lectern, as did Prime Minister Macmillan at his final effort at persuasion.

Of one thing I am sure. In the area of political television we are all ignorant. We need to know much more than we do. In my own country we know a great deal about what will sell goods and services. We have spent vast sums on research. And similar efforts have been made in this country. But we do not know enough, we have not been sufficiently interested, to try to determine what sells ideas. You can sell goods by repetition; there is some evidence that you can even sell them through irritation. But we don't know with any degree of accuracy how we sell or convey ideas. We ought to try to find out. My own conviction is that there is no substitute, no technique, no use of film that can replace the individual who has conviction, and who can in some mysterious manner convey that conviction to the viewer. May I try to illustrate this with an example that has nothing to do with politics? We once undertook a program on the peacetime uses of

nuclear energy. We filmed eighteen hundred coal cars in a marshalling yard. We then filmed a simulated block of enriched uranium on a desk alongside an office typewriter. That represented the equivalent in fission fuel to the eighteen hundred coal cars filled with fossil fuel. We thought we were using this instrument of television in a most effective fashion. But immediately after this sequence we did a ten-minute interview with Admiral Hyman Rickover. Now our unscientific survey indicated that most of our viewers had not seen, or at least had not remembered this unique contribution to visual communication. But they did remember Admiral Rickover and what he said. There is, I suspect, no substitute, even in television, for people.

Even in this age of bigness, where small farms are being taken over by bigger farms, where small businesses are being taken over by bigger ones, the individual remains the primary means of communication between the politician and the viewer. In political television this represents a danger, particularly in a parliamentary system. It may mean that the Party leaders become more important symbols than the local candidate. The viewer is exposed, of necessity, more frequently to the national leader than to the local candidate. I do not know the results of Granada's "Operation Marathon", but anyone deeply concerned with the relationship between television and the continuation of democratic processes must applaud the effort to prevent political television from becoming too big - from concentrating too much on the national political figures.

The politician who uses television should beware of

booby traps, for a record is made of what he says. This is more dangerous than the writing of a book. For on a subsequent occasion his utterances or his promises may return to bite him. If during a subsequent campaign his extravagant language is quoted in print or on radio, he may cry "foul", or "I have been misquoted", or "the statement was torn from context". But if he can be shown on film or a kinescope, no question remains as to what he said, where and when. If I were a politician concerned about future campaigns, I should collect and hoard the utterances of my opponent, in the hope that upon a subsequent occasion I might be able to convict him of false promises, double-dealing, insincerity, out of his own mouth, supported by his own picture, while saying these despicable and dishonorable things.

Perhaps the most important thing to be said about television and politics is that the politicians, whoever they are, should not be permitted to control television. Let them use it; let them be as persuasive as they may be. But do not permit them to use this instrument to prevent today's minority from becoming tomorrow's majority.

There is a tendency to believe that television becomes meaningful in relation to politics only when a General Election is imminent or in progress. This of course is not true. It is, or it should be, the business of television to provide in picture and sound the exposure of what is happening day by day and week by week in order that the voter may in due course make up his mind as to the Party which will produce in fact a picture of his country which is more pleasing and more

satisfying to him.

The relationship between television and the politician should be at arm's length ; the eye of the camera should pursue the politician to the very limits of privacy and decency. When the politicians complain, as they have in several countries, that television turns their proceedings into a circus, it should be made clear that the circus was already there, and that television has merely demonstrated that not all the performers are well trained. In short, the politicians ought to leave television alone, but never at any time should television leave the politician alone, except when he seeks refuge in his home, or when he becomes so boring as to drive viewers back to radio or a good book.

I would suppose that the important thing for politicians and others who use television to remember is that the fact that voice and picture can be transmitted from one end of the country to the other does not confer upon the speaker greater wisdom, perception or effectiveness than was the case when his voice reached only from one end of the ~~XXXXX~~ street to the other. This new instrument only gives wider circulation to the cry of "Hope!" or "Havoc!" It doesn't make either more imminent or more believable.

7-B-28

January 12, 1961

MURROW'S LAST SPEECH, AS A BROADCASTER, WAS MADE AT A RADIO-TELEVISION EXECUTIVES SOCIETY NEWSMAKERS LUNCHEON IN NEW YORK.

"Several months ago, in what must have been a period of reasonably tranquil absent-mindedness, I accepted Dick Salant's invitation to speak here today. A recent item in VARIETY causes me not to regret that decision, although at the end of twenty minutes you may regret it. For it was announced in that esteemed journal of record and rumor VARIETY that there will shortly appear a new television program titled 'Mr. Ed' featuring and indeed starring a talking horse. The writers are said to be numerous and excellent. Being of a non-controversial temperament - desiring no argument with a horse, particularly one with good writers - I desire to state at the outset that this is not an audition for that program, although others may hold an opposite view.

"Slightly more than two years ago this reporter ventured a few comments in Chicago on the state of radio and television in this country. Said remarks were regarded by some as critical of the industry, but I would point out I criticized no horses. At that time I suggested that we should have a little competition, not only in selling soap, cigarettes and automobiles, but in 'informing a troubled, apprehensive but receptive public'. We are now getting that competition between the networks, and it is a very good thing. May the area of competition increase to the end that the viewer may be increasingly involved and concerned about the world in which he lives.

"In the four months that ended last year - that is, from the first of September through the end of December - the networks, according to their own tabulations, aired public service programs in prime time - that is between 7:30 and 11:00 P.M. - at an unprecedented rate. C.B.S. lists 35 hours during that period; N.B.C. 38 hours and a half; and A.B.C. almost 25 hours.

"It would be churlish to question the validity of some of those listings, and no real purpose would be served by questioning the motives which produced this agreeable and impressive increase in night-time programming of a serious nature. However, mention should be made of the fact that according to their own figures, well over half of these programs were commercial. And this fact causes one reporter to raise an abrasive voice in a salute to sponsors, including some selling consumer goods, who put up the money or at least part of it. It should further be noted that at last report both the sponsors and the networks remained solvent.

"The improvement in network radio has also been substantial. The number of news programs has increased. There is, I think, a greater willingness to deal with ideas, although I am told there is a certain reluctance on the part of the stations to deal with the networks in this area. Still, the improvement is noticeable and agreeable.

"If this mild praise ill behooves one who has been critical of certain practices in the past, you should, I think, remember that during the war Mr. Winston Churchill said: 'If Hitler were to

invade Hell, I would find opportunity in this House to make passing and not altogether unfavorable reference to the Devil'.

"Before trying to deal with the future, more than passing reference should be made to television's contribution during the recent political campaign. I refer to the mis-named great debates. It was, in my opinion, a puny contribution - capsuled, homogenized, perhaps dangerous in its future implications. Still, it was a beginning - did arouse curiosity and interest, and may have affected the outcome. I am disposed to agree with Professor Henry Steele Commager, who wrote, 'The formula of tense and concentrated confrontation, even at its best, is not designed to discover in candidates those qualities really needed for the conduct of the presidential office. What are those qualities? They are patience, prudence, humility, sagacity, judiciousness, magnanimity. But these qualities, or many of them, are a positive handicap in a tense television interview. These televised question hours put a premium on glibness and fluency - qualities not of great value in a President'.

"It is true, of course, that the candidates determined the ground rules. The networks, to a large extent, abdicated their responsibility and became merely a conduit. But the instrument was used, however superficially - the republic survived - and it is to be hoped that lessons were learned. Whatever the shortcomings or the dangers, those who urged the temporary suspension of Article 315 of the Communications Act deserve full credit, for had the instrument of television existed at a somewhat earlier period in history, that

provision would have required that equal time be given to Jesus and to Judas.

"Enough of the past. The new frontiers for radio and television promise no tranquility....There is no ready-made remedy for the kind of headaches radio and television will suffer. In spite of the improvement in programming, to which I referred earlier, networks, station owners, sponsors and advertising agencies are going to have to consult not only their balance sheets and their ratings, but their consciences as well. We are an imitative society. We suffer from bigness. In the mass media we are too much concerned with the body and not enough with the mind. We are, in fact, bloated with statistics, concerned about our underarms and the middle colon, and too largely indifferent to what our words and pictures are doing to the mind of America. We seem to research everything except the important. We measure the things that are easy. Some of us appear to regard this nation as some kind of economic plot where the mind is no longer master and where things are in the saddle and ride mankind. Responsibility has to a degree become a refugee. We are so busy doing that we have neither the time nor the interest to study the effect of what we do, except in purely economic terms. For this state of affairs we all share the blame. But at least fifteen percent of it belongs to the advertising agencies. The rest can be distributed as you like.

"This slippage in the field of the mass media is not confined to radio and television. Our newspapers become fewer in number. Our one-newspaper cities increase in number. We suffer from bigness. We are probably stifling regionalism. In short, we are not examining

what we and our competitors are doing to the people who read us, listen to us and look at us. Someone ought to examine what it is we are doing.

"This then is a proposal for the creation of a privately financed National Information Institute. Its purpose would be to better the whole pattern of information in America. It would be an organization staffed by men experienced in public affairs, journalism, probably the law, and certainly the appropriate social sciences. They would devote themselves continuously for an experimental period of seven years to independent measurement, study, exploration, experimentation and public education in the methods used, and the results obtained, by the principal media of mass communication of information.

"Thus, this institute would be the only organized and independent body in the entire world wholly devoted to continuous study and examination, solely in the public interest, of the methods and the results of written and spoken journalism, including discussion on the air and news on the screen. In the period of its experimental life, it would be continuously gaining skill and experience. It would develop expertness in techniques and procedures, and it would gradually acquire authority and standing which would give it a growing influence for good. It would therefore be enabled year by year to make larger and larger contributions to the public welfare.

"Vast sums are devoted by foundations and individual philanthropists

to education and to many other worthy social causes. Yet the immediate day-to-day impact on men's minds of the radio, the press, television, the movies and the magazines is of at least equal importance in the critical years now upon us. The information field as one for independent research, study, analysis and public education has been unbelievably neglected....

"This institute would have four main purposes:

I

"To encourage and help to bring about improvement in the purveying of information, discussion and argument by existing publications both written and oral. It would do this in two principal ways. One is by making the public more and more aware of what it wants and needs, thus creating consumer demand which is bound to react on all the information disseminating industries. The other is by finding out and also helping others to find out by experimental methods what the public wants and needs, what helps and what hurts it, and what economically feasible methods can be developed to serve it better.

II

"Such an institute could create a more favorable climate in the form of readier public acceptance and reward for all those now controlling or managing oral or written publishing enterprises; that is, those who want to do a better public service job in the information field, and for all who wish to come into the field with higher ideals and higher purposes.

III

"Such an institute could also analyze and publicize threats to the public welfare that take the form of assaults on freedom of the press, including all efforts or factors tending to hamper or limit the purveying of information to the American people such as legislative, regulatory or economic factors, and efforts at censorship or suppression by individuals or organized groups.

IV

"It would make ever larger numbers of the public more and more proof against bad news handling, bad editorials or poor arguments by teaching people to weigh and judge for themselves in reading, listening and looking, and to detect at least the more obvious devices of inadequacy, unfairness or intellectual dishonesty.

"Such an institute would be modern in its methods so as to serve effectively in these times of swift change. Its techniques would be as nearly scientific as qualified experts can possibly make them in a field which to a certain degree is always subjective. Its spirit would be wholly scientific, since it would seek to make no preconceived notions of its own prevail and since it would publish its results whether it or anyone else liked them.

"To sound techniques, acceptable to reasonable men of science, would be wedded lively, interesting, forthright and ingenious promulgation of its work and of other pertinent work in the field. Information about information would be made news. The widest possible public interest in information would be stimulated so that there would

be increasing discussion of all problems and points of view. Thus specially interested groups and the public as a whole would become more and more aware of what it needs, when it gets it, when it does not get it - and why.

"There are many reasons why such an institute would be useful in our society today.

"First the faith on which our democracy is founded -- and on which great numbers of thoughtful persons think it must always be founded -- is this: There can be no real, lasting and improving democracy unless the people understand the basic political, social and economic issues upon which their welfare depends. Understanding, the people can intelligently exercise their voting right and exert the force of public opinion. Thus they can choose and change their Government and affect its actions, as well as the actions and influences of large organized groups, to the end that the public welfare is served.

"If a deceived or confused public is betrayed into creating or allowing to be created an America in which it loses faith, democracy will not survive. Neither will it survive if the combined effect of all the skilled and the unskilled, the selfish, unselfish and in-between efforts to inform people, to enlighten them and to argue with them, finally convince them that the nation's problems are beyond their grasp. If the people finally come to believe either that they cannot grasp or they cannot cope with America's

problems, or that those who inform, those who argue and those who act are inept or malign or both, then distrust, dissatisfaction, fear and laziness can combine to turn them in desperation to that 'strong man' who can take them only to destruction.

"There are many faint-hearted students of the American scene who believe that our form of government, at least to the degree that free private enterprise is a major element in our present structure, cannot survive another severe economic collapse. The more the pattern of information contrives to be confused, distorted and manipulated, the more likely are these prophets to be right, because cynicism, distrust and despair will be added to the physical sufferings and the fears of the population.

"Furthermore, there obviously are many penalties short of the extreme one that the nation pays, and will continue to pay, for an information job that is less adequate for modern means than it could be.

"I should like to label that proposal as my own. It has been in my files since 1947. Most of it was the work of Ed Klauber, one-time Executive Vice President of C.B.S. - a great editor, committed to the pursuit of truth wherever it might lead him. I had a small hand in it. It was urgent when we hammered it out together thirteen years ago, it is certainly more urgent today...."

The beginning

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STATEMENT BY EDWARD R. MURROW
AT SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE HEARING
REGARDING HIS NOMINATION AS
DIRECTOR, U. S. INFORMATION AGENCY
TUESDAY, MARCH 14, 1961

My name is Edward R. Murrow. I was christened Egbert but abandoned that name at the age of 16 while working in logging camps in western Washington.

Most of my adult life has been spent in the periphery of the academic world and in the field of radio and television. These activities have involved considerable travel, at home and abroad, and some acquaintance with statesmen, educators and newsmen in many countries.

As a foreign correspondent, I am more familiar with the work of the U.S. Information Agency abroad than here in Washington.

At the conclusion of a trip around the world several months ago, I gave it as my opinion that the work of USIA abroad had improved very considerably under the direction of Ambassador George Allen and am pleased to have the opportunity to repeat that opinion here.

If I am confirmed in the office to which the President has nominated me, I shall attempt to discharge the duties and responsibilities of that office to the best of my ability.

The Agency will attempt to make United States policy, as designed by the President, everywhere intelligible and wherever possible, palatable. We shall endeavor to reflect with fidelity to our allies, to the uncommitted nations, and to those who are hostile to us, not only our policy but our ideals.

(more)

We shall operate on the basis of truth. Being convinced that we are engaged in hot and implacable competition with communist forces around the world, we will not be content to counter their lies and distortions. We shall constantly reiterate our faith in freedom.

To the emerging nations we shall say, "We share your dreams." There is a dynamism in freedom which permits and encourages progress without binding the individual to the wheel of the state. We shall try to make it clear that we as a nation are not allergic to change and have no desire to sanctify the status quo. This nation not only has a birth certificate, it holds the patent rights on change and revolution by consent.

The Agency will try to speak on behalf of all the American people with restraint and reason. All of us in the Agency recognize that in spite of electronic developments, the best form of communications is still face-to-face. To that end, any men and women we recruit and train must be able and eager to serve the cause of freedom which we regard as being indivisible.

The voice of this country should at all times be steady -- firm but not bellicose -- carrying the conviction that we will not flinch or falter in the face of threats or provocations.

In the end of the day it may well be that the example of this nation will be more important than its dollars or its words. If we, in this generous and capacious land, can demonstrate increasing equality of opportunity, social justice, a reasoned concern for the education, health and the equality under law of all our citizens, we will powerfully affect, and probably determine, the destiny of the free world and

(more)

that freedom may be contagious, may incite those who have lost that most precious of all possessions to strive to do likewise.

No man can set either a time or dollar limit upon this contest between the forces of freedom and those who would demean and brutalize mankind. The contest will be prolonged and it will cost much treasure. There is no guarantee that we will win it. If we should lose, it will be by default, and history will take its revenge. We cannot imitate the tactics or the techniques of the dictatorships that now ride the backs of most of this planet's people. We cannot threaten, we must persuade. Freedom cannot be imposed, it must be sought for, and frequently fought for.

We live in a world we didn't make. We are honored by an awesome responsibility of leadership we did not seek. We must defend and expand that leadership in company with our allies and other like-minded peoples because that is what our history and our heritage demand of us. We are the pivot upon which the history of our time will turn. Our task is formidable and difficult but difficulty is one excuse history has never accepted.

We must, I think, approach the task with patience and fortitude and with an abiding belief that not only our own ancestors who bought our freedom for us but all those who have suffered and struggled and died in the pursuit of freedom throughout all time are watching to see whether we be worthy of our heritage.

If I am confirmed in the office to which the President has appointed me, I will, together with my colleagues in the Agency, attempt to be worthy of the trust.

Murrow's FIRST ADDRESS AS DIRECTOR OF USIA.

U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

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Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the joint session of the House and Senate
of the Missouri Legislature
Jefferson City, Missouri, May 1, 1961

Permit me to express my appreciation for such a gracious and generous introduction. Candor compels me to confess that one reason for coming here today was the prospect of again basking in the sunshine of Mr. Truman's countenance. It is of course dangerous for a broadcaster turned bureaucrat to attempt to anticipate history but I must report that there is evidence that Mr. Truman's name becomes increasingly an exclamation point in our history. The fact that he made the tough decisions without flinching or faltering -- that he conducted himself with a combination of grimness and gaiety -- has, I think, made iteasier for those who now must face decisions of equal moment to stand steady in their shoes to do likewise.

Each generation stands in a certain sense upon the shoulders of those who earlier bore the burden of decision.

I am aware that Missouri is not only a state of mind but a state of festivals. I have arrived too late for the Pony Express Commemorative at St. Joseph, too early for the Hole-in-One Tournament at St. Louis or the Ozark Jubilee at Poplar Bluff. Perhaps my purpose is to tide you over that dull

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lull between festivals. It is of course possible that upon the conclusion of the discourse to which you are about to be subjected, you may conclude that it would be altogether appropriate to suggest a return engagement on the occasion of the Mt. Grove Festival in October -- the National Egg Laying Contest.

You here in Missouri are near to the center of population of this generous and capacious land. But you are no longer isolated, and whatever your political persuasion, you are part of the New Frontier. Oceans and continents no longer provide protection or insulation. By air over the Polar Cap, I am about as close to Moscow here in Jefferson City as I would be standing in my office in Washington. Here under this Capitol Dome, we are 800 miles closer to Moscow than I will be when next I visit San Francisco.

It would be churlish to come here without acknowledging the debt that the whole field of communications owes to your State. Back in 1921, the ST. LOUIS GLOBE DEMOCRAT put on the first broadcast of a very good fist fight between Dempsey and Carpentier. A year later, Station KSD carried the first midnight mass ever heard from the Old Cathedral in St. Louis, and a year after that Warren Harding was the first President of the United States ever heard over the air in a speech from St. Louis.

Eugene Field served time as a Missouri newspaperman. The western world is now discovering Africa, but a young reporter for the ST. LOUIS DEMOCRAT named Henry Stanley did a reconnaisance there, in the course of which he found Dr. Livingston. Theodore Dreiser became a giant of American literature, but he was first a St. Louis reporter. And it was a

(more)

Missouri paper that sent a young man named Fiorello LaGuardia to cover a war in Cuba. But perhaps the most appropriate title to be found in the state of Harry S. Truman is in Linn, Missouri. A newspaper that rejoices in the name of THE UNTERRIFIED DEMOCRAT -- a suitable description, Gentlemen, one to be inscribed on the portals of the Harry S. Truman Library in Independence.

Your State has given hospitality to much of our history. Young Abe Lincoln wooed a girl named Mary Todd over in Columbia, while John Wilkes Booth played stock in Missouri theaters. The famed Tuskegee scientist, George Washington Carver, was born of slave parents near Diamond Grove. Both Daniel Boone and Kit Carson lived within your borders. And there were others such as Robert Dalton and Jesse Woodson James. Young Robert E. Lee built jetties in the Mississippi. Ulysses S. Grant served here and it was in this State that W. C. Handy produced the St. Louis Blues and Mark Twain produced Tom and Huck and thereby placed future generations of youngsters in his debt.

Your State has flexed the muscles of the American language. A bull is a "male brute." The Black River is in fact bright and clear. The White River is without color. But still there are times when your vernacular requires translation. When a Missouri farmer says -- "He lit a shuck out o' thar, I tell yuh, a-makin' mo racket 'n a jack-ass in a tin barn," we know that someone left somewhere in a hurry making a lot of noise.

Today, May First, is Law Day in the United States. Oliver Wendell Holmes once said "The life of the law is not logic, it is experience." I

(more)

confess that my own experience with the law has been limited. Rather than discourse on the law of which I have so little experience, I would prefer to speak of freedom under the law, and of this I do have knowledge. For along with 180 million associates, I am a citizen of a democratic republic, conceived in the ingenious idea that man and his freedom are more important than the State in which he lives. Law serves not the State but the individual and the prime function of that law is so to orient our society that those individual rights protected by law are above impeachment or impairment.

But freedom under the law can never be taken for granted. As we would value our freedom, so must we value our law, for it is the law that protects us from the tyranny of the State and encroachment by our neighbors.

We live in a state of perpetual crisis. Freedom is hard pressed on many fronts and it must be assumed that the pressure will increase. Freedom is in fact indivisible and the law is its armor. Our greatest strength in this continuing struggle is the worth we place in our rule of law.

History is heavy with the list of men who have made mockery of human worth, who have regarded human life as rain upon a barren desert, rarely saved, usually wasted, and of only passing importance. But it remains a fact that no State in modern time has lost its freedom without its law first being destroyed or subverted. Totalitarianism cannot tolerate diversity. The individual man has no place in any walk of tyranny's life. Intellectual life is barred from that freedom of thought or expression which is the end product of intellectual endeavor. In the totalitarian state the citizen is urged to "think with his blood." Religion is allegedly "emancipated" from tradition.

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Economics falls under the uniform system of stifling conformity, machine-tooled to respond to the state's ambitions and dreams. Labor as a dignified part of society is nonexistent, with no avenue open to strike, and sabotage the only means of protest. As the Nazi Minister of Propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, said "There is no freedom of the individual. As we are convinced we are right, we cannot tolerate any other in our neighborhood who claims also to be right."

I watched the destruction of the law in Germany and it was only after that butchery that the murder of the people could begin.

We have recently had also to watch some of the trial of Adolph Eichmann. The courtroom is far away, the enormity of the crime is blurred by time and distance, but his crime was made possible by the fact that German law was first destroyed.

Those who now contend that under the implacable pressure of the new tyranny, our laws should be bent or blunted, that our solemn international agreements should somehow be ignored or breached, might well ponder a little known quotation from Adolph Hitler, uttered in Koenigsburg before he came to power. It was an awesome prophecy and its fulfillment can be prevented only by a fanatical defence of the law. Hitler said on that occasion, "The great strength of the totalitarian state is that it will force those who fear it to imitate it."

Hitler so blunted his own state's law that he reduced the legal profession to virtual serfdom. A few years later, Rudolph Hess addressed the annual meeting of German lawyers, described in German law reports

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as "a meeting of the Party, the outstanding proof of unity of the legal profession." The only parallel in this country would be organizing the American Bar Association as an adjunct of the Democratic Party, a move calculated to disconcert such eminent members of the Bar as Dewey, Nixon, Rogers, Brownell and many others.

The Fascists in Italy obliterated the rights of the individual by striking down the law. They merged the functions of both prosecutor and judge, gave the Executive power to hand pick its own trusted judges to sit in criminal appeal cases -- put limitations on the accused person's ability to defend himself, and invested in the Minister of Justice power to excuse the police from any liability for illegal actions.

But of the tyrannies that have strode through the political jungle that is our world, few have been as implacable as the Communist. Theirs is a dedication to change through chaos.

Let us draw this line of distinction carefully. We do not, nor have we ever, opposed change. Our land was born in the swaddling clothes of revolution. We hold the patent rights to revolution both by violence and by consent. Our current responsibilities of adult nationhood demand that we welcome and nourish the explosion of expectancy occurring in many areas of the world. Those who demand to be free have a claim upon those of us who are free. Change is the very fabric of our nationhood and it is this that sets us apart from the leaders of Communism, not change itself, but the base on which change rests, change under law, under which the individual is sacred unto both himself and his land. Change under Communism is posited on the

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individual's total lack of sanctity and on his personal worth as imposing no limit on the state. One of the heroes of Communism has written that the State must have "power with no restriction whatsoever, power absolutely unbounded by any rules of law, based upon violence, unlimited power based upon force and not law." The author of that is now known by the name of Lenin.

Andrei Vishinsky, who was the top legal officer in his country before becoming a Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs, has written "Neither the Court nor criminal procedures is outside politics. This means that contents and form of judicial activities cannot avoid being subordinated to political class aim and striving."

There are some indications that the application of the law in the Soviet Union is changing. There is for the time being less day-to-day reliance on the use of political terror. The sound of rifle butts on a flimsy door in the dark of night is heard less frequently in the land. Some Russian experts report that this easement has increased Mr. Khrushchev's popularity, but the power of the State is there in reserve and the ghosts of those taken away are remembered. Soviet leadership may, for the time being, have sheathed its punishing sword, but the weapon is still there and those who may be tempted to engage in open dissent are aware that it will not be allowed to rust in the scabbard.

Today is May Day. The pavement of Red Square in Moscow will feel the bite of tank treads and the slap of marching feet. It will be a great celebration of the might and accomplishments of Communism, and it is mighty

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indeed. But among the accomplishments, history will record Hungary as well as Sputnik. It will record that while they thrust out a man into cellular orbit, they also forced back a nation into political orbit. And it is here that we draw the distinction between our life and theirs, for they have no concept of rights embodied in a rule of law that puts man above man's accomplishments. But freedom is contagious and it should be remembered, and we should ponder the lesson, that the only foreigners who fought beside those who fought for freedom in Budapest were deserters from the Red Army.

In time of crisis, and now is such a time, nations dig deep into their history for support and sustenance. We must go back to our root-holds, to our traditions and our trials. The emerging nations search the record of our youth for inspiration and guidance in their formative years. In our Information Libraries abroad, there is a great demand for the writings of America's revolutionary heritage. In a single small African post there was compiled in a few weeks' time a longer waiting list for the Federalist Papers than accumulated in one year in the New York Public Library.

Many in this country are disappointed that the emerging nations to which we have acted as midwife and fairy godmother have not chosen to imitate our economic and social system. In many cases they cannot do so. They have neither the capital nor the education. We cannot impose our social or economic structure upon them. But we can and should tutor them in the ways of our law, persuade them that democracies' business is always unfinished business, and to the preachment of our principles, we must add the pride of our practice. We cannot successfully extol the virtues of the American way of life abroad

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when we cannot provide and insure it for several million Americans living in this land.

There have been times in our recent history when we have confused dissent with disloyalty. We have walked too openly with our fears and to little in the company of our faith.

I claim no great powers of expression but few, I think, would attempt to improve on this statement of the matter by John Stuart Mill, "If all mankind minus one were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind."

We must recognize that it is difficult to sit diplomatically with the man of color abroad or in the United Nations when we refuse to sit democratically with the man of color at home. Please do not misunderstand my intent. I choose to admonish no one for his belief, for it is a percept of my democracy that dissent is priceless. If you will permit a venturesome opinion, our conflict of conscience over segregation borders on being a national asset. I know of few other lands where youthful protest by silent sit-in could be successful. It is a rare society that can take traditions so deep, and feeling so bitter, and settle them primarily by an appeal to law. As Alexis de Tocqueville remarked, "major issues of American life sooner or later appear as questions for the courts". This again is that measure of difference between our land and that world that opposes us -- the difference between a system of command and force, and a system of conscience and law.

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The question before us, and I venture to suggest that it will become more urgent and more widely recognized in the months and years ahead, is whether our system can survive, whether we can demonstrate to those who are hungry, impatient and ill-informed that our concept of the relation between the individual and the state is worthy of imitation.

We may not be the first to place a man upon the moon, that is a matter of no great moment. We must get our priorities straight and measure our values truly. The future of those who inhabit this minor planet is not on the moon, it is here on the ground where street lights are more important than stars, as those lights illumine the path to the courtoom where justice is served. Our system of law is not perfect, it is under constant attack and review and that is as it should be, for ours is a changing, questioning society.

There will be those in the future as there have been in the past who in time of tension and trial will insist that the law can be bent and that solemn international promises can be broken. This has happened before, it will happen again. It is easy for man to abdicate their responsibility to decide to make up their minds. There is always the temptation to assign that responsibility to a leader or a party. That is the easy way and it leads only to darkness and despair. We must decide what we will not do and we will then be free to do vigorously what we ought to do. What we must not and cannot do is to abandon our faith that enforceable law is today the only method for settlement between individuals and tomorrow will be the only method for settlement of disputes between states.

Our law and our economy have led a rather sheltered existence.

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It is long since we have been tested. We are fat in a world that is largely lean or hungry, but there are testing times ahead.

Our law stems from English law even though the framers of the Constitution failed to understand entirely English constitutional procedure. That procedure was tested in 1940 and 41 as no other in our time. It was, you will recall, a period when Britain stood alone and when most men, save Englishmen, despaired of Britain's life. The Germans were expected on the beaches the first foggy morning. German bombers were through in the daylight over London. The last reserve squadron of Spitfires had been committed. At that time when the House of Commons and its members might have been destroyed by a single strike, the House chose to devote two days to discussing the conditions under which enemy aliens were held on the Isle of Man, for Honorable Members were determined to assure themselves that though the Island fell, there would be no concentration camps recorded on the final pages of British history.

There was another example. It was two days after Italy declared war. An Italian resident of London, who had lived there for twenty years and never acquired citizenship, had been convicted in the lower courts of killing a British sailor with a knife in Soho. The case finally reached the law Lords, and on that gloomy day, when the soft coal smoke hung like a dirty blanket over London, the law Lords reversed the verdict of the lower court, set the Italian free; and in the pubs, as in Parliament, and on the busses, there was no criticism, no complaint, it was regarded as the normal functioning of British justice. The British on those two occasions

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had their priorities right, for as Benjamin Franklin once said: "I conceive that a great part of the miseries of mankind are brought upon them by false estimates they have made of the value of things." And sometime later, E. B. White wrote a bit of advice that is most timely: "Do not try to save the world by loving thy neighbor. Save the world by respecting thy neighbor's rights, under law, and insisting that he respect yours."

There are times when we are tempted to believe that if we be separated from injustice by oceans or continents, that there is no injustice. This is not true and if we persist in this illusion our consciences will become calloused to the point where we shall fail to recognize injustice when we meet it in our own streets.

I can produce no words of my own nor can I find more fitting ones for this occasion than these by Mr. Lincoln: "Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might, and in that faith let us to the end, dare to do our duty as we understand it."

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Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the National Press Club
Washington, D.C., May 24, 1961

WHO SPEAKS FOR AMERICA ?

It is with mingled pleasure and awe that I join you today...pleasure at being again among so many of my former colleagues...awe that I am now the object of those scowling, critical visages among whose array I once sat with my own frowning brow. The frowning brow has not changed. We have only changed seats, and I must now answer questions instead of propounding them.

I come to this microphone to tell you of the U.S. Information Agency. In a sense, it is a reciprocal visit. There are members of this club who have shared our international microphones on the Voice of America. For example, three of your members -- William Stringer, Ernest K. Lindley, and Fred Collins -- do a weekly broadcast for the Voice, entitled "Issues in the News." The program has had an excellent response from a widely appreciative audience. I trust I shall do these gentlemen no offense, however, if I share with you one letter we received that was not so enthusiastic. "Dear Voice of

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America," the letter said, "Never in my life have I heard three more indecisive talkers. They never have anything definite to say. Keep them off the air and run John F. Kennedy instead." Let me add, though, that if I have as few detractors as they, I shall count myself among the fortunate.

I have been in my job as Director of the Agency scant weeks. Operating as we do in 98 countries around the world, there is much about the Agency that I have yet to learn. But as a former working newsman like most of you here today, there are a number of thoughts and impressions that I would share with you in my present role as a government official.

Our Agency operates in a difficult, not too well defined area. We embrace a multitude of disciplines and professions. Many of you are newsmen who devote your careers, as I did for 25 years, to expression in a single medium of communication. USIA employs not one but seven: radio, television, movies, press, book publishing, exhibits and the arts. We are involved in an entire range of problems: from a press run in Beirut, an exhibition in Turin, a stage performance in Munich and radio relays in Colombo. From a news telecast in Bogota to a sound-tracked film strip in Paris to a book typeset in Manila -- upon all the myriad of details we initiate, we create, we facilitate.

Even more important we must deal amidst the intangibles: the difficult, delicate human art of persuasion. For by word of mouth, by cultivated personal contact abroad, we seek to persuade others of the rightness of our view and that our actions and our goals are in harmony with theirs. And this brings on a thought: in the course of a single working day how many of you

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gentlemen here could exercise your expertise competently over an array of problems as diverse as these?

To those bold enough to reply in the affirmative, I offer a note of caution: this is only half the Agency's problem. For we deal not only in communications but also in policy. We articulate and distribute not advertising for cigarettes and soap suds but clarifications of government policy and deeds. And we speak in many languages to many peoples of vastly differing cultures and styles, of vastly differing levels of comprehension. We must deal also with the very considerable pre-conditioning foreigners have had to the image and the ideas of America. We must deal with the realities of their fears, their concerns, their stereotypes -- however unjustified, their existence is real -- of the product we promote: the actions and the hopes of the United States.

Thus the effective overseas USIA officer must be a creature who combines the talents of professional proficiency with persistence and patience. He must try to know as much about seven media of communication as most of you gentlemen know about your one. I shall not indulge your sufferance by reading a roster of qualified officers in the Agency. But I assure you I have found I am able to call upon resourceful minds of many disciplines. We have men who number among their accomplishments, before coming with the Agency, such positions as a broadcast Peabody Award winner; a past President of NBC International; a former producer with Eagle Lion and Warner Brothers studio; the former President of a college; several deans of universities, including a Dean Emeritus from Columbia University; an original editor of Newsweek; an author of 15 published

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novels, 6 of which have been adapted for motion pictures; editors of metropolitan newspapers and national press services; overseas bureau chiefs, foreign correspondents, and Nieman fellows in Journalism. Overseas they are supported by an equally diversified and distinguished staff: nationals of the countries in which we work, writers, editors, artists, lecturers and others. They are a talented and varied crew. They serve by choice, I know, for many of them annually refuse private offers for far more money then they now earn.

In my first four months, I have asked many of my colleagues to postpone fellowships, assignments abroad and desirable posts long anticipated. Often at great personal inconvenience, their invariable response to me has been: "Whatever you think is best for the Agency, I will gladly do."

So it was that one of my own long-held illusions about government was rudely shattered on that January day when I assumed office. I arrived at 1776 Pennsylvania Avenue expecting a bureaucracy of dawdlers; instead I found a bounty of capable doers. For my own part, I have never worked harder in my life. I have never been called a loafing man -- though on occasion I confess a predilection for good conversation, fine wine and rich food -- but not since the days of World War II have I worked with such frantic fascination.

I am finding that this is truly the time of the "New Zeal", and it is not easy to set the pace for my younger colleagues. Our work product would stagger the mind of what we in government call "private enterprise". Our radio broadcasts live over 88 hours a day in 35 languages. Our special wireless file puts out up to 8-10,000 words a day to each of five world areas. Our films reach an

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estimated weekly audience of about 150 million people. When a special project goes through on a crash basis, we can get to an audience of over five hundred million. And in television, our "market" is rapidly expanding -- some 36 million TV sets and 160 million viewers.

Nor is our product dissipated meaninglessly. For the 50 million books we have published in 50 languages, there is incessant demand. In Blantyre, Nyasaland, a library opened in March of this year, and borrowers stripped its shelves nearly bare in about a month of operation. In another African post there was a greater demand for the Federalist Papers in four weeks time than the New York Public Library had in a year. And the first English classes formed in two newly-independent countries numbered among their pupils both Prime Ministers, a number of Cabinet officials as well as other high government leaders and their wives.

Our Agency by Congressional Mandate operates overseas. There is much misunderstanding about just what the U. S. Information Agency does. We have received letters with ominous overtones, such as a request to "send me all your information on counterfeiting" and "please rush me all the facts on bullet wounds, fast." Letter-writers have asked us "what percentage of young people are juveniles, how can I figure out which TV newscasters are Republicans, and why are most auctioneers called 'colonel'?" And do-it-yourself fans have written our Agency for information on how to bottle peanut butter, refinish driftwood, operate bongo drums, and make low-calorie soft-drinks.

Information is our job, but information of more serious import. I told the

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Senate hearing on my nomination that our Agency will attempt to make US policy as designed by the President everywhere intelligible and, wherever possible palatable.

We shall endeavor to reflect with fidelity to our allies, to the uncommitted nations, as well as to those who are hostile to us, not only our policy but our ideals. Yet, in our day-to-day efforts directed to this end, we do not stand alone. For much that is known and believed about this country is beyond the purview of our Agency alone.

Just as the work of USIA is far more than just Voice of America broadcasts, so is the real voice of America far more than just our Agency. From Norway to Nyasaland, from Rio to Rangoon, the story and the face of America goes out in movies, television, magazines and the press. The military, with fighters and their families, number one million abroad. Over four million American tourists travel abroad each year. Another half million Americans live overseas for reasons embracing both business and pleasure. Foundations, educational exchanges, and international scholarships send our young intellectuals and their studious professors swarming to foreign universities. Fifty thousand foreign students and hundreds of thousands of foreign tourists visit our country every year to hear and evaluate the first-hand voice of America.

And all of this has great impact. Italy has built its first drive-in movie. An authentic drug store stands in the shadow of the Arc de Triomphe. England, heaven bless its warm draught lager, is beginning to drink cold beer in cans. American blue jeans and slacks vie with the kimono in Japan. Nairobi has its parking meters; there are skyscrapers in Johannesburg and supermarkets in

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Leopoldville. Air conditioning has settled in Santiago, and even Moscow has succumbed not only to jazz and Louis Armstrong but also -- heaven assuage the souls of Marx and Lenin -- to American installment buying. And these are but frothy facets of the spreading style of America -- or of the 20th Century, since both in so many ways are synonymous.

Beneath them, and of far more lasting impact, is the broadening outward flow of ideas and techniques of how to live and work together, of respect for neighbors, of faith that every human problem is capable of human solution. We and all the other voices of America that reach outside our frontiers are helping to spread the concept of "access", of individual self-fulfilment and citizen participation.

I tell you all this not to defend our culture but to define our Agency. You gentlemen of the press share very much with our Agency the making of the picture of America that is known abroad. To give you but random figures: 89% of the people in West Germany consider the press as their major source of information about the USA. 77% in Burma, 81% in Britain and Japan, 85% in Peru and Uruguay. All of these are people, gentlemen, saying the press is their major source of information about America.

And the impact made on these people through the press is of course largely beyond the exclusive influence of USIA. Yet the picture is even broader. Not only the press, but the television, the movies, the travelling tourists, the missionaries and the businessmen, are part of the chorus that is the real voice of America. It means there are no more domestic issues. The speech of a single Senator to a hometown audience can have more impact abroad than months of

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our Agency's informational activities. A breakthrough in science or medicine, the price on the big board in Chicago, import duty on textiles -- we have lost the luxury of living in isolated America -- these events and issues are absorbed, debated and pondered on all shores of every ocean.

To some of us the picture of a burning bus in Alabama may merely represent the speed and competence of a photographer, but to those of us in the U.S. Information Agency it means that picture will be front-paged tomorrow all the way from Manila to Rabat. Here in Washington itself, for example, there exists a much unreported encumbrance on our African relations that can lose us as much influence as anything the Soviets might do. Where do we house African diplomats in our capital? These are representatives of Negro nations led by Negro leaders. It is bad enough that they read headlines of Birmingham bus burnings and beatings. It is even worse that they find it near impossible to live in the capital of our nation. Landlords will not rent to them; schools refuse their children; stores will not let them try on clothes; beaches bar their families. Today there are some 30 African representatives in Washington with what is euphemistically called "unsatisfactory housing." Fully 1/3 of these are termed emergency cases. There will be some 50 more families arriving in the next six months, 100 in the next year. It is not only that these people are humans like the rest of us, but that they are leaders of nations whose friendship this land deems vital. We would have them join our company of honorable men in defending against encroachment our dedication to dignity and freedom. But it is a dignity to which we will not fully admit them.

It was William Shakespeare who in the "Merchant of Venice" wrote lines

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that could come from the mouth of any of these wronged Negro diplomats.

"If you prick us, do we not bleed?
"If you tickle us, do we not laugh?
"If you poison us, do we not die?
"And if you wrong us, shall we not revenge?"

And if revenge they should, it would be recounted as a diplomatic debacle for the United States. And if and when that day should come, do not fly to your Information Agency crying that we have not told "our story" abroad. For in this damaging indignity there is blame enough for us all. And let us remember, this is not something the Communists did to us. We do it ourselves in our own capital. Is it possible that we concern ourselves too much with outer space and far places, and too little with inner space and near places?

Let me turn back to the subject at hand. You did not invite me here to talk about our duty and our opportunity as citizens, rather to tell you about our work. Quite reasonably, you wish to know where we hope to go and how we shall try to get there. At the outset let me emphasize that I did not bring to the Agency the infinite wisdom of an outsider, with magic cures for all that's wrong.

In fact, much of what I have found is good, effective, solid. I recognize, as I know you will too, that the role of our Agency has limits. We are but one arm of the U.S. government. As such, we must respond to the policy of that government. To put it more bluntly, USIA can be no better than the policies it supports and explains. Yet within that limitation there are obviously practices and principles to which we are committed. It is fundamental that we operate on a basis of truth. Ours is, and must be, a dedication to the factual.

But this itself poses difficulties. We operate abroad; our audience is foreign. And in this world there are no absolute standards of truth. What is

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one man's truth is another man's falsehood. Our objective is, and must be, credibility. It is easy to assume that because we tell the truth as we see it, others will believe us. But statements that are true are not always believed. It is a measure of our difficulty that in this relentless half-war, truth and credibility are not co-equal.

Candor and openness have their merits...as the successful Alan Shepard demonstrated. They also have their demerits...as the abortive Cuban episode demonstrated.

On Cuba, we had no choice but to be truthful and complete. At noon on April 17, we expanded our Spanish broadcasting to Latin America from one hour of origination to 19 hours. Within two hours we were on the air. I mention this with some pride. What network could undertake such expansion on such short notice with no change in personnel allowance?

There were Latins relaying our broadcasts who said, "you are too honest, you will be misunderstood." There were Americans who protested, as the letter writer from California who heard the tirades of Dr. Paul Roa on our Spanish broadcasts and suggested we leave such broadcasting to the Voice of Castro. The answer was that Dr. Roa was speaking in the United Nations debate which we carried in its entirety. We carried the whole story -- Castro's announcement, the self-labelled "invasion", the writhing in Washington, the agonies in the UN, and even the agonizing reappraisal which a critical aftermath spilled over the Administration.

But if truth must be our guide then dreams must be our goal. To the hunger of those masses yearning to be free and to learn, to this sleeping giant

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now stirring, that is so much of the world, we shall say: "We share your dreams." As a nation, we have never been allergic to change. Ours was the first of the great revolutions. It is a birthright we do not intend to let go by default. Our responsibilities of nationhood are predicated on a helping hand to others who would elevate their crushing way of existence by change into a more bountiful society. We offer no panaceas, no final solutions. We offer to join in the search for betterment. We offer our experience and our energies in partnership in the quest for greater human excellence. This we not only endorse. This we sponsor and promote, and provoke. A tradition of government by the governed, of revolution by consent -- all of these are among the greater virtues that we have to demonstrate to a world sorely in need of great virtues.

But we shall go further. We are taking the offensive in this war of ideas. We shall be more alert in exposing Communist techniques and tactics. Distortion and duplicity about this land and its people will not go unanswered.

How shall we accomplish this dual role?

First, the projects that we launch are delivered abroad, primarily through our posts -- 218 of them in 98 countries around the world, staffed by some 1,200 American men and women and their valuable local assistants. Their relation to Washington is as the rim of a wheel to a hub. We in Washington set policy and direction for our posts abroad, but it is as a service center to our overseas operators that we serve our main function.

Second, I have already mentioned that we operate in seven principal media of communication --- radio, television, movies, press, book publishing, exhibits and the arts, as well as the all-important field of personal contact ---

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reaching out to all parts of the world in virtually all languages. As the informational arm of US policy, what we do is often imposed on us by the impact of events. But we do not await events. We anticipate, prepare and organize our resources. There is also sometimes a need to concentrate on a selected short range of subject-matter. We have thus established a new post, entitled "Director of Media Content". This job is to aim our output, to pull together the sinews of our several media, to multiply their effectiveness by combining their effort.

Next, we are concentrating our attention on the fields where the ideological competition is being waged. This means expansion in Africa -- where new nations have arisen -- and in Latin America -- where new difficulties have been born -- and in Southeast Asia -- where new pressures are upon us. We will not do this, however, at the expense of thinning the lines of communication with our traditional friends and allies.

To our neighbors to the south, we shall ask them to face the facts about this man called Castro. We shall ask them to recognize the nature of his totalitarian dictatorship, his betrayal of the ideals of the revolution that brought him to power, his suppression of basic human liberties, his treason to the ideals of civilization, and his atrocities, his calculated reliance on the Sino-Soviet bloc and the danger that this threatens to free institutions in the Western Hemisphere.

But we shall do more than merely affirm the negative. We shall examine and explain the promise of the new "Alliance for Progress", the economic and social promise that can bloom from the new planted seedling of US-Latin American cooperation.

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In Africa, there are new lands emerging with new leaders. It is a continent groping for directions, churning with ideas, surveying our style, sampling our ideals. One need only recall the heady wine of our own independence in 1776 to appreciate the new intoxication of Africa. To them we must do more than criticize their politics and caution them on the Soviets. We must share with them our hands and our hearts, our techniques and our time. We must, perhaps above all, accord them the dignity of friendship and respect. In Africa alone we have opened 12 new posts in the past year: Mali, Ivory Coast, Togo, Dohomey, Niger, Upper Volta, Congo, Gabon, Central African Republic, Chad, Ruanda-Urundi, Malagasy Republic. New countries, all of them, some not even in existence when I assumed this office less than four months ago.

In Latin America, we hope to establish 11 new posts in key interior cities, and to strengthen 17 existing posts now undermanned.

In Southeast Asia we are taking additional urgent steps to communicate our determination to support our allies and to prevent neutral countries from falling to Communism. Communication in these lands is poor. Literacy is low. The challenge to our ingenuity and to our energy is great -- and it is expensive.

Our financing for this year will we hope be adequate. But I would remind you that our budget now awaiting approval was drawn up before the sudden increase in the menace of Castro's Communism, before the stepped-up Communist assault in Laos and the eroding subversion in South Viet Nam and Thailand.

In the matter of financial and manpower substance, our adversaries have a clear advantage. The Soviet bloc spends more money jamming our radio broadcasts than we spend on our entire Agency. Our total budget is less than

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the cost of one combat loaded Polaris submarine, and it is one fifth of the estimated advertising budget of our armaments manufacturers. One American soap company spends almost as much on advertising as the USIA spends explaining US policy abroad.

We certainly do not solicit billions for propagating the truth. But this country must be willing to do what must be done -- or we will forfeit to the inexorable tide of history our role as the promoters of freedom.

Implicit in meeting this challenge is the cost of physical facility. The Voice of America broadcasts 600 hours a week and, including packaged programs, uses up to 62 languages. But, as they say in the trade, let's look at the competition. We are fourth, ranked in order behind Russia, Communist China, and the United Arab Republic. But we certainly do not intend to remain in fourth position. We are building new transmitters, one in North Carolina, and one in Liberia, but we are seriously handicapped against the opposition because they are already located physically closer to much of the audience we would reach. We have had practically no increase in power since 1953 and it is in these years that our competition has passed us.

Our broadcast and other activities do need more money, but money alone will not do the job. We need immunization from accordion financing -- granting most of our budget requests one year, squeezing them tightly the next. No network or newspaper could flourish on such financial irregularity; neither can USIA.

We face a difficult time with staffing. We need more permanent staff -- talented people willing to work for little pay and less recognition. And we need

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the cooperation of the men who help shape the thinking of our citizens. We want them to share their thoughts abroad. In Moscow and Peiping, such intellectuals and journalists are summoned at government bidding. In America, we do not bid; we request. But the argument heard sometimes here that cooperation with the government hampers professional independence is, I submit, specious. We need your help and, while we cannot pay commercial rates, we can offer another compensation: the satisfaction that you helped keep our country strong.

The history of this Agency has been brief and turbulent. I trust its future will be long and fruitful. In the bare 20 years of its life, it has had five titles and a dozen different directors. Our origins lie in the frenzied beginnings of World War II, when we operated with a radio and a prayer. Our future may lie in the unseen systems of communication satellites, when we will operate with international television and perhaps those same prayers again.

The product of this Agency is all for export, much of it invisible, much of it unknown at home. Much of its end-product effectiveness is not measurable by common standards. We do not have a rating service, and frequently our work is known to the public only when we make a mistake. We do not ask for special consideration, and certainly not for sympathy, from those of you who work in the private sector of communication.

We do not ask that our mistakes be ignored, nor that our accomplishments be exaggerated. We shall do our best to tell you what the Agency is doing in the belief that you are as concerned as we in providing the citizens of this country with information as to what is being said and done in their name abroad.

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I have learned since coming to Washington at least two things: the first is that it is easier to ask questions than to answer them, and the second, that questions are never indiscreet but answers sometimes are. I suppose the art of answering is to produce a proper mixture of candor and discretion and to confess ignorance when it is obvious. And with a promise -- in answering your questions -- to follow this precept, Mr. President, may I turn the floor back to you.

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Release No. 26

FOR RELEASE AT 4 P.M. EDT, 2 P.M. CST, SATURDAY, MAY 27, 1961

Statement by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency,
at the First National Conference on Peaceful Uses of Space
at the Education Building, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Thank you Mr. Chairman. I have looked forward with keen anticipation to this meeting -- not for what I would say but for what I would learn. I have listened with interest to my fellow panelists, and the enlightenment of their remarks only reinforces a conclusion I just stated: namely that I am out of my league. Your participants these two days have been drawn from impressive scientific backgrounds, top administrators from preeminent technical institutions, all with their eyes trained on the heavens. I bring credentials primarily as a reporter, my background in science is confined to the one technical conclusion that I was able to wring from 25 years of broadcasting namely, the long waves are in fact short and the short waves are long.

I have traded my microphone for a meeting table. The change has been invigorating. But I might question your premise that because I now reside on the new frontier of politics I am therefore qualified to speak on the next frontier of space. I read your purpose in this conference as being, quote, "to bring together an array of some of the best minds in space and related fields." I feel myself at best a distant though I hope respectful relation. In your array of dazzling minds in space I feel my own lustre appropriately dimmed by the

company in which I stand.

At the risk of being the one rocket on your panel which fails on the pad, I'm going to assume the role of the Socratic interlocutor. I do this in no sense to doubt the necessity of the program but rather to propose certain questions for discussion by experts.

The most incisive letter I ever received in a quarter century of news-casting was a missile-like missive from a lady who had long listened to me but wrote: "Not only do you not tell me anything important but you don't even ask me interesting questions." I hope at least to ask some interesting questions.

I would speak to you today not as the head of a technical agency but as a person identified with the problems of policy and the feelings of people. I share with you an excitement about the future. Communication systems in space can help unburden communication systems on earth. Subways and highways will continue jammed, but at least while waiting for commuter routes to unclog we may someday be able to watch live the latest TV from Europe. Broadcasting, of course, is the main reason our Agency is watching developments in space. Whether done directly or by point to point relay, we have a large and obvious stake in any improvement in bombarding the world with words and music and pictures.

And that is precisely the point. We can orbit our rockets and transmit our broadcasts, but in the end we still deal with the base elements of human communication: words and pictures. Space satellites will not make it any better; it will simply diffuse it over a wider area.

On a basis of policy, politics, and content, space communications will

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not solve the fundamental problem of communications, one that has haunted man since time immemorial: What is he to say and how is he to say it? A communication system -- even one in space -- is totally neutral. Batteries and wave lengths have no vocabulary. A transmitter whether on the earth or in the atmosphere does not know what to say. Communication systems have no conscience, only a history. They will transmit both filth and inspiration with equal facility. The mistakes -- and they will abound as much tomorrow as they do today -- will still be made by humans.

With apologies to my fellow panelist from the F.C.C., Mr. Craven, I suggest that here is where the "wasteland of television" speech by Mr. Newton Minow imposes itself on our thoughts. Even beyond that wasteland, do we really want the world, without the context of background knowledge, to see TV covering the bloodlettings and bus burnings in Alabama?

Space satellites will neither solve our dilemmas nor salve our conscience. Television and radio are still television and radio, whether sent from a tower 500 yards away or a satellite 500 miles above.

But even beyond our sins of society there are grave matters of international policy. Any system I take it by its nature must be global. One does not send a signal to a satellite and have it die there. There must be a terminal point in another country. Like Pandora glimpsing inside her box, the problems begin to appear. We must in some cases at least use facilities of other countries. How? Shall we do it by agreement with them? Broadcasting needs frequencies. In developed countries these frequencies have been distributed.

There may be a major problem of finance; who pays for the system?

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Participation by many smaller nations may involve an outflow of hard currency when they can ill afford the loss of international exchange. The problem then becomes a mixture of the engineering, the legal, the political, the financial.

There is another international barrier that is at least worth mentioning: the difference in international broadcast standards. Television in the United States is different from television in England, Russia, and France. Standardization has great merit, but a nation's individual standard is precious to it. Besides the bald element of national pride, control of standards mean, as I understand it within certain limits, control of what people see and hear. This would bring us in conflict not only with other countries but even with ourselves. What American engineer, for example, would recommend overhauling U.S. television production standards to gain international compatability?

In the field of space satellites, international amity must be based on domestic unity. And domestic unity about space communications seems to be somewhere on the horizon. There are at least three major policy areas upon which agreement must be reached.

One, shall the space system be government or private enterprise? The problem has been ingrained in our past and is probably ordained for our future. Even if a decision were made for private enterprise, the capital requirements are so enormous that there would have to be some government participation.

Two, shall the system be military or civilian? Both have good arguments. Space communications can have endless military purposes; what national leader would deny its use for defense of our democracy? But I

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mentioned earlier that we must have the cooperation of other countries. If the system is military, will this make it unattractive in convincing other countries to participate?

But we don't solve these problems by opting for a civilian system. There are still government needs for security and national defense. Further should only one communication carrier run the system and lease facilities to other carriers? Or perhaps to be fair we should let the companies merge to form one surviving carrier for international communications.

Three, underwriting the cost. Will we make the system pay its own way abroad, subsidize it in part, or give it away free? Although foreign cooperation is important, many countries cannot afford the cost of a satellite participation.

Communicating around the world is expensive. To the extent communication costs are high, the free flow of information is hindered. If costs for a satellite system are higher, which now seems reasonable, the flow of information will be hampered even more.

All of which brings me to the uncomfortable subject of paying the bill. Experts agree on only one thing: the astronomics of space become the astronomics of money. Beyond that, estimates diverge like forks in the road.

It is here that I make certain emphasis for our Information Agency. A system of communications satellites will be meaningful for our Agency only if it is a cheap system. We cannot squander millions for the novelty of using a new satellite system. On our Agency budget we must staff and maintain over 200 posts in nearly 100 countries around the world and carry on a range

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of highly diversified activities. Broadcasting is only one of those activities.

Satellite communication will be an additional system of communications. Not a completely new system, but an additional one.

We will still broadcast standard band radio; there will still be normal broadcasting of television. The satellite system will be an expansion and expensive, but it is unlikely to be a replacement.

There is a further problem in the power system to be used. How does one send the best signal to a satellite and then back to earth? We must be competitive in our broadcasting. People will not listen/watch a signal if that signal is weak or distorted. They will turn to the signal offering the best quality of reception. There must be good transmission, consistently every day of the week, every week of the year.

There may be another issue worth discussing: let us call it the "gimmick value" of the satellite. When a person can receive our radio on normal broadcast bands, and TV over normal broadcast channels, why should they ever bother looking or listening for the same programs merely because we have beamed them via satellite? For the first few weeks it may have the gimmick value of inducing an audience. But when the honeymoon is over and our marriage between programming and audience has settled into its day to day monotony, satellite broadcasting may offer little more in any areas than we offer today.

We have, flown Commander Shepard's Mercury capsule to the United States exhibit at the 24th International Air Show at le Bourget in Paris. There over a million people at the world's largest international exposition on aviation

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and space will see this symbol of the latest American space success -- and this on the very site where nearly a generation ago a slim lad named Lindbergh landed his "Spirit of St. Louis" after another historic flight over the Atlantic.

One assessment we will have to make is how we choose to shape our lives and our fortunes. This generation of Americans has no monopoly on problems. They abound abroad. Over much of this globe there are unfed bellies and tired bodies that will turn to our satellite system with but marginal interest. The grindstone of poverty will still be the lodestone of policy. It would seem the level of living would be a relatively high priority for this generation to face. Maybe schools and sewers in certain developing areas are more important than satellites.

I have come today not to doubt your hopes. If we would do this job there is much to consider. There is hard work as well as harsh risks. I once knew a man, who in the twilight of his colorful career would flee into the house when an airplane passed overhead; when asked why, he would respond: "Someday one of those things'll drop a monkey wrench."

I suppose that there may be monkey wrenches dropped in this vision.

I pick no quarrel with a dream. And the hope of a world system of communications with satellites may be a dream worth the trying. But history will record that there were more people than there were nations, and more dreams then there were people. Not all of those dreams could be delivered to reality. It may be that the history of our day will be decided by what dreams we choose to deliver. The issue, gentlemen, is not how we deliver it, but what our delivery has to say.

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Awards

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Release No. 29

Text of Remarks by
Edward R. Murrow
at USIA Honor Awards Ceremony in the
New Auditorium, Department of State, June 9, 1961

I am convinced the greatest reward on earth for achievement is the satisfaction in human conscience which comes with self-realization of a job well done. Today's public recognition therefore is sauce on the pudding for the men and women whose concentration of energy and talent and devotion to their work has caused this ceremony.

But I should like to use this occasion to pay tribute not only to those who receive awards but also to the men and women of the Agency who are making public service what the President termed "a proud and lively career." To each of you here and those overseas whose conscience accepts with tranquility the job you do, I address these remarks.

In these days when so much future depends upon what we now do, I believe that a tranquil conscience over personal performance cannot be achieved without a sense of urgency. If it is true that each generation finds its own time the most trying, this never can excuse our own lack of diligence or devotion in applying our talents to our chores. I do believe that urgency and stamina are required as never before in this Agency.

My own confidence in our ability to fulfill the role of the Agency is based upon my knowledge that here in Washington and in posts around the world, we have men and women whose nervous systems respond with energy and ideas when stimulated by a challenge.

Ideas are our prime commodity. We as an Information Agency, representing an affluent nation, need fear no scarcity in this most precious of our products. The resources of a society in which ideas compete never can be matched by the output of an intellectual assembly line. I look upon dissent and disagreement as a grist for genius.

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Ours is the task of documenting and communicating this genius of our nation so those unaccustomed to our ways and thoughts can understand. As all of you who have labored at it know well, this chore comes easier to him who only tells us how than to us who have to do it.

With the premium I place on ideas, I do not propose to abandon those procedures and techniques which lack only the quality of newness. But on this occasion, when we recognize performance above the routine, I want to encourage proposals of how we should do our business better. This Agency, with the President, "recognizes the value of daring and dissent" and greets "healthy controversy as the hallmark of healthy change."

So I exhort you to dare to dissent, to push your ideas with assurance that all will be welcome if not all are adopted, and, as one of my staff members who is in perpetual opposition to chaos once suggested: Make a big noise with your suggestions -- but through channels.

My brief time in USIA has fortified my confidence that we have the capacity to do our job. It has convinced me that we need to increase our capabilities for doing it better. For my part, I assure you that I shall not shirk the chore of seeking the tools and talents we need, and which our nation needs us to have.

The time ahead, I believe, will unfold a dynamic American role in international affairs. As our national policies to carry out this role emerge, the burdens and the opportunities of our Agency will increase. I shall not preside over an abdication of this responsibility.

We now are given the task of making sure the world comprehends what stirs us as a people. This frontier is the Alliance for Progress, education in Africa, the development of the means for a better livelihood in Asia, and in the end man's right of free choice. We must make known our selfish motive to assure peace and the preservation of our own right to choose.

How can we gear our people and machinery to reach the minds of understandably suspicious people around the world? How can we best reflect not only our heritage but our drive toward the future? Reduced to simple terms, the answer lies in theprograms we produce and successfully present to the right audiences abroad.

As you ponder the way, never discard an idea for fear the bureaucracy can't digest it. Budgets never will seem to be enough, but we shall strive tirelessly for the means which in prudence can be employed.

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For such ideas we seek and for sustained achievement in the service, we demonstrate here that all reward is not put over to paradise -- we have our honor awards today.

In deep appreciation for the work of the Agency's employees and with earnest anticipation of your imaginative devotion to the task before us, I congratulate the men and women singled out for recognition today.

Permit me to add a purely personal word. I have not yet reached the age where my own reminiscences fascinate me, but I have seen certain crises and conflicts and have at times been moderately well paid for observing how men and women conduct themselves under such conditions. There was Vienna at the time of the Anschluss -- the betrayal of Czechoslovakia - Dunkirk -- the British expedition to Norway -- the Blitz in London -- and that year when Britain fought alone. There was North Africa, Normandy, Buchenwald and Dachau, the first months of the war in Korea, too many international conferences to count. The brief intervals of tranquility are lost in the memory of turmoil. And yet I am persuaded that new crises of greater magnitude impend. Decisions of great complexity and greater consequence are just over the horizon. Our oceans have become rivers, our dreams have become doubts and the very atmosphere is harsh.

It is long since this country has suffered or sacrificed. It is long since our ability to stand steady in our shoes in time of adversity has been tested. I suggest that the testing time approaches. If we are to meet that test -- and all previous crises must be regarded as prelude to it -- then we must combine patience with fortitude. We must recognize that there are no easy answers and that difficulty is an excuse history never accepts.

We in this Agency have the honor to serve our country. We must devise methods for serving it better. We must disenthrall ourselves and re-examine our policies and practices. An organization or an agency is not a chart any more than a charter guarantees character. This Agency is without constituents, much of our product is invisible, many of our accomplishments intangible, some of our critics irrational. That is as it must be, but I would suggest to you in all seriousness that there must be one constant element in this Agency if we are to accomplish the task the President and our heritage have imposed upon us. If we are to make our contribution to the defense and expansion of freedom on this minor planet, we must have pride. We must not be defeated by secondary victories or discouraged by major reversals. However dreary the drudgery, we must believe it to be of consequence. I believe that history even in a footnote will so regard it.

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Dreams

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Release No. 30

FOR RELEASE AT 9:30 A.M. EDT, TUESDAY, JUNE 13, 1961

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before Johns Hopkins University
June 13, 1961
Baltimore, Maryland

THE DIVIDED WORLD

You do me great honor in conferring upon me the mantle of your degree. And I, pauper that I am in thanks, am humbled even in gratitude.

In his gracious invitation Dr. Eisenhower observed that your University is small in size. But the quality of greatness is measured not by acres or numbers but by purpose and accomplishment. I stand upon soil near hallowed for its role in making the modern American mind. By any standard that is worthy, the name of Hopkins must rank high.

It was Johns Hopkins in the last century that first set a new frontier of its own in education. The idea of graduate education in America is linked first with Johns Hopkins. Under the Presidency of Daniel Coit Gilman you pioneered the then radical notion that a college was not a university, that intellectual excellence could and would be attained through graduate study, that to teach the teachers scholarship was as worthy an enterprise as to teach the students wisdom. As Charles Eliot of Harvard later remarked, "The creation of a school of graduate studies (at Johns Hopkins)...has lifted every other university in the

country..."

Educational radicalism under Daniel Gilman has given way to international humanism under Milton Eisenhower. Your School of Advanced Inter-National Studies gives intellectual vigor to the moulders of our present as well as the makers of our future. Much cherished by my own Agency is your Bologna Center in Italy. Here USIA has assisted Johns Hopkins in creating a center of American studies in Europe -- a center whose scope bodes well to encompass the entire North Atlantic community, a symbol of the universality of the inquiring mind that is the hallmark of free men everywhere.

I take it as an appropriate symbol that Johns Hopkins, a leader in American education of the last century, has in this century become a leader of world education. For it is to the dimension of the world around us that your generation and mine must now address its efforts.

I shall give you no graduation sermon, painting vistas of promise about tomorrow's bounty. For the dreams of tomorrow grow out of the realities of today. Tomorrow's bounty is a function of today's sweat.

I have brought my son to these proceedings. He will in a few years time sit in those same seats of graduation that you now occupy. What I say to you could, in a sense, be a valedictory for his ears as well. I do have dreams of tomorrow -- for him and for you, and even, if I am not too presumptious on the chronology of age, for Dr. Eisenhower and myself. But dreams are the gossamer of self deception if they divide our attention between hopes and hard work. For it is hard work that faces our divided world -- a world spawned in heartache, wracked by bestiality, beset with frustration.

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To refer to a world divided may be misleading. Division implies duality -- a bi-polar world divided between two nation states. I suggest this thinking is outmoded.

The world today which beckons to you and my son is a far different thing. The issues are changing; the old answers will no longer do. Containment has become competition, the alliance system may need study, rearmament fosters arms control, the dependent world opts now for its own independence. The world is indeed divided. But it is long division now -- not into two camps but into many camps. It is no longer US versus THEM. Duality has become multiplicity.

This should be not saddening so much as challenging. We are living, in Mr. Stevenson's happy phrase, amid the revolution of rising expectations. No land by definition could ever be more qualified to participate than we. As for revolution, it is our birthright. As for rising expectations, where is there a more capacious or generous land than this, floating on its floodtide of washing machines and automobiles.

But if we would convert our washing machines to grander schemes, if we would put our shoulders to the revolutionary wheel, there are expectations of our own with which we must cope.

The first is speed. The rapidity of change is now beyond our control. Expectancy is literally exploding around the world. The demand for results is timed today -- not for tomorrow or next week, but for now. The continents will no longer respond to a call for moderation.

Second, we can be influential, even determinative, but we can never

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be controlling. There are people who will question our motives, resist our claims, and seek to edge their own way into a place in the sun. As we would determine our national policies by what we define as our own best interest, so would they feel the same about defining their own destinies. As we would not do otherwise ourselves, so should we not expect otherwise from other lands.

Third, we must not fall into what I call the "fallacy of forms." Other lands will seek forms and institutions of their own conjuring. These may be forms and ways which we would not choose for ourselves. But it is not ourselves for whom we are choosing. Imitation may be flattery, but in politics it may also be foolish. We must neither impose our forms and methods nor expect others to imitate us in every respect. We cannot afford the folly of believing that our way is the only way, for the multiple world of nations.

I do not imply by this that our way of life has nothing to commend it to others. There are great masses in the world groping for direction, churning with ideas, surveying our style, sampling our ideals, searching for new allegiances. To these people, we have much to show and to say. We would help elevate their crushing way of existence into a more bountiful society. We offer no panaceas and no final solutions. But we would offer our experience and our energies for a partnership in the quest for greater human excellence.

In their searching for new avenues of approach, we would suggest that what differentiates us from the Communists is worth their careful examination. Basic to our system of man and state is the fact of man himself.

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We in this land inhabit a democratic republic conceived in the ingenious idea that man and his freedom are more important than the state in which he lives. We enshrine this in a system of laws, laws dedicated to the service not of the state but of man. And the function of that law is so to orient our society that individual rights protected by law are above impeachment or impairment.

It was this which Jefferson held to be a truth self evident, and it was this to which he and his companions pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honors.

But in our cauldron of seething idealism let us mix a potion of the practical. We must admit that in competition with the Soviets we are at a disadvantage. To an emerging society shopping for a ready-made philosophy in the market place of ideas, democracy appears difficult to operate. And indeed it is. Diversity is its virtue, dissent is its hallmark. It is complex and confusing, it is often slow to act, its respect for the individual may restrain government, its multi-varied character defies labels and categories. In the left-wing Democratic Party there are as many right-wing Democrats as the right-wing Republican Party has left-wing Republicans. If this is confusing to you who inhabit this political polyglot, you can savor that hesitancy which may give new foreign leaders some cause to pause.

Arrayed at the other end of the spectrum of choice is the way of the Red Horde. In lieu of complexity, they offer simplicity. Instead of diversity, they offer singleness of purpose. The Communists submit their way as the quick way. And you will recall I suggested that speed was the first ingredient

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of the world's newborn political explosion.

In these decades of desire a land teeming with people may as well teem with dreams. But the drawback of the dream may well be the very multitude of millions who dare to tempt history with their desire.

To a country burdened today with more peasants than principles, progress at the expense of humanity has strong appeal. But short-run favors may be offset by long-run fallacies. A man, unlike a pound of ore, is not an expendable raw material. It is not only possible but, according to Communist doctrine, logical that Communist China will industrialize their country at the expense of millions of lives, even as the Russians did before them. It is an argument answerable only by example, and by demonstrating that there are other ways to move mountains and mould men than by muscle alone.

There is a sense in which our interests abroad impose a burden at home. We are by nature a pragmatic people. Ours is the way of action and results. Our impatience is liable to demand solutions when nothing is ready to be solved. There are some among us who, to achieve results rapidly, would counsel that in the heat of struggle we abandon our traditional concepts and meet the enemy on his own level. But the smoke of battle blinds their eyes to the truth of circumstances. It does us little good to overcome the beast, if in so doing we become beasts ourselves. Adolf Hilter bespoke the hope of tyranny when he said that democracy in its own defense would begin to imitate the very tyranny it opposed. This fight for freedoms could be lost by forfeit.

Ours is a generation under pressure. We are engaged in an implacable

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struggle upon which we did not choose to embark. Ours is a leadership we did not seek. We live in a world we did not make. But history and nationhood are boon companions. If in the beginning we did not ask for the weight of our circumstances, in the end we can do no better than respond to our challenges. The burdens of life are never distributed by choice.

This is true not only for ourselves. It is equally true in this divided world where for many lands the grindstone of poverty will remain the lodestone of policy. When we deal with these lands in impatience, we must realize that our own democracy is as yet unfinished. There are problems of our own mass industrial society awaiting solution.

I would in conclusion leave a final thought with you young leaders of democracy. There is in the Communist countries what I can best describe as a type of willingness to serve the state -- however unwilling it may be in its origin. Perhaps in this land we could use a slight infusion of concern. Perhaps today we are a little short of fanatics -- the kind of fanaticism that sustained our courage when we were amid, as Tom Paine said, the times that tried men's souls. I have in recent months read much of a great searching for a national purpose, as though by some curious intellectual process we would find a new definition of purpose. Perhaps the old was good enough. Perhaps the dignity of our task can only be matched by the sincerity of our effort.

A curious contradiction suggests itself. The Communists are said to have the most materialistic philosophy in the world, whereas this country is reputed to follow the most materialistic life in our world. May I suggest that perhaps we might do something to bring our practice more in line with

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our principles. There is a rare distinction and satisfaction to work for one's country instead of for dollars, to pursue principle in lieu of profit. The career of no man comes more readily to mind than that of Milton Eisenhower.

To those of you already committed to other paths, let me leave this additional thought. There is much to be said for the "in-and-out" approach to government service. The man experienced in private pursuits brings that much more to a temporary sojourn in government later in life. The opportunity to serve is never foreclosed by a single decision at any single time. Whether it be now or later. Please remember that the nation has need of the services of those who desire to serve.

No graduate of any college, nor any set of parents, has ever paid for an education entirely. Society and the people have contributed a goodly measure. Candor compels me to observe that there is implicit in this a sense of obligation and a debt to be discharged. I commend these words to your consciences in days to come: If the primary purpose of a college graduate is personal profit at the expense of the society that made possible the education, if there be no effort to discharge that debt, then history will be the collector.

I am not the first prophet, nor will I be the last chronicler, of grim tidings about the times in which we live. You people today advance from the world of books into the world of men. But there are others who march beside you. Their graduation is perhaps less formal than yours. Their school has been the education of grim serfdom. Their diplomas are of sheepskin as well. But it is the skins used to clothe a huddling body, and it is the sheep used to feed a swollen belly. Their eyes shine not quite so brightly as your own,

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for these are eyes blinded by the dust of poverty, brains dulled by the struggle for existence. It is from this they would graduate. And their minds are as eager as yours, for this is a time of change for them as well as you.

If they have their way, as I think in time they will, they would decree that this will be the last of the generations of agony. I suggest that together we must make this the first of the generations of opportunity.

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Testimony of
Edward R. Murrow
Director, U. S. Information Agency
before the Committee on Science and Astronautics
of House of Representatives, July 14, 1961, 10 a.m.

Mr. Chairman, Madam, and Gentlemen: Let me thank you for the invitation to appear before your committee this morning.

I am here to speak of the interest of the United States Information Agency in space satellite communications. You are as well aware as I am of how deeply this could affect our operations. Our Agency is in many businesses -- we broadcast radio and television, we make movies, we are in the press and photopicture trade. Any or all of these could and will be affected by what we discuss here this morning.

I must at the outset pay tribute to what space communication research has accomplished. Our explorations have unravelled much of the tangled knot of ignorance that was our status a bare decade ago. And the reputation that we now have abroad is based not on the gimmicks of our schemes but on the gains of our sciences.

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I share with you an excitement about the future. Communication systems in space will one day revolutionize communications systems on earth. This may revolutionize our Agency. It may even help transform our world. It is this excitement of the unknown, this inquiry into tomorrow that gives our age so much of its vitality and our problems so much of their urgency. Space communications will not solve these earthbound problems of people and politics. There will still be a bellicose dragon on the Chinese mainland, and underfed bellies in underdeveloped countries around the world will still be hungry. But the road to the future lies along many routes, and one of them most assuredly is a space age means of communications.

Our Agency approaches this road to the future with two concerns in mind. The first is the psychological impact abroad of what we as a nation do in this field: the second is the potential use which we as an Agency might make of such a system.

The psychological impact abroad of what this country does is the area of our Agency responsibility. Our function is to make the policy of this nation everywhere intelligible and wherever possible palatable. I suggest that for communication satellites this area is crucially important, for the very premise of communicating by satellites must involve other nations. What reason is there to the system if it be not for sending-receiving with other lands? This means that abroad we must both gain cooperation as well as earn confidence.

This nation has much to gain from space communications. I do not view national policy as based solely on the premise that we must outdo the

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Soviet. We do what we must do not because it is politic but because it is right. To those who view our performance as a race against the Russians, space communications will carry much weight in their scales of judgment. It will advance this nation's prestige overseas to be the first to span the oceans with live and immediate television programming. This excitement of instant television cannot help but have an impact abroad. It will also be a challenge to our adversary and his closed society. For in effect we will be saying to the curious world, "We are open and you are at liberty to observe us, 'warts and all,' as the expression goes." The comparison cannot help but be drawn that Mr. Churchill's "Iron Curtain" over the Russian satellite empire is as impenetrable as it is enduring.

But let us be frank with ourselves. We postulate this as a global system. We desire mutual cooperation and international operation. This project must not become so monopolized by a United States interest that the world forgets this is to be a world system.

But let us not gild the lily so that we overlook the problems of gardening. There are difficulties to be weeded out. Even more, the world will observe how we do our weeding. What I imply is that the way we solve these problems may in the long run be as important as the solutions themselves.

This implies international cooperation on an unprecedented communications scale.

There is, for example, the problem of differing international standards of broadcasting -- difficult, but not insoluble. Television in the United States.

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is different from television in Britain, in France, and in Russia. It does us little good to reach a country with a telecast that cannot be received there due to different standards.

Further, there is the needling problem of frequency allocation. There must be agreement on frequencies on which to broadcast. There is no such thing as a television or radio party line. It must be one program, to one channel, at one time.

But this is not easy around the world. Frequencies unused in this country may be used in Europe. Some channels may be easily moved; others may be more difficult to move as they are involved in foreign military and defense frequencies. Frequency allocation must meet the issue of what is here available may be there unavailable.

As you yourself said, Mr. Chairman, in a speech delivered in California in April of last year, "we can see a coming war of the radio frequency spectrum."

There has as yet been no international allocation of frequencies in space. I am advised that a conference to deal with this will be held in 1965, with a preparatory conference set for 1963. I am sure there will be a US delegation for this conference. But I am also advised that this country has not as yet ratified the international convention under which this conference will be held.

Assuming a US delegation to the conference in no way guarantees that we will have our own way regarding allocation. We are only one voice -- albeit a prominent one -- among many. We must make our policy not in a

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vacuum but in concert with others. With the best technical reasons in the world our point of view might fail. But agreement is essential if we are to broadcast internationally via space.

And it is axiomatic that we must examine with other countries the best role that can be played by the United Nations and the International Telecommunications Union.

One brief caveat. I do not advocate surrender of this project to an as yet vaguely conceived international body. But the system by its very nature must have international cooperation. Unless other nations are convinced by plans and negotiations with this country that they too will benefit, we will encounter more than the usual difficulties in making our plans flourish. The world should, and will, be reminded that this is a system fostered and founded by this nation, but it is a system that we freely choose to dedicate to more than our own national interest.

The second concern I mentioned to you is the potential use which U. S. I. A. might make of such a system.

It is here that I make an important emphasis for our Information Agency. It is clear that the instantaneous telecasting of such events as the Alan Shepard flight would have great impact abroad. But it is equally clear that a system of communications satellites will be useable by our Agency only if we can afford it. Our Agency cannot squander millions for the novelty of using a new satellite system. On our budget we must staff and maintain over 200 posts in nearly 100 countries around the world and carry on a range of highly diversified activities. Broadcasting is only one of those activities.

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And the cost of that broadcast service is a prime concern of this Agency.

I can illustrate this by mentioning the Atlantic cable. It is an existing means of communication which this Agency would use more frequently if its cost were cheaper. People have inquired why we do not use the cable, and invariably our answer for the cable is, as it may be for the satellite, a question of dollars and cents. We would if we could -- but we can't -- so we don't.

USIA wants to use a space communications system, and will, if the cost is reasonable. May I therefore propose that you gentlemen consider a personal suggestion?

I suggest that in repayment of the national investment in development of the system, there be an exemption from cost by government agencies using the system. Having contributed to developing the system, government should not be put on a parity of payment with other customers. We are, in business parlance, giving up a type of patent, and in return should receive some royalty for so doing. Cost exemption may state the matter too strongly, but there should at least be a preferred position for government agencies to afford the system. One can phrase this as a reservation of a public domain for public use, an extension of the public service concept into the system. This is, I am told, a departure from telecommunications tradition, but it is a departure worth your eminent consideration.

Cost is not our only problem. USIA is further concerned with the strength and quality of its signal. How does one send the best signal to a satellite and then back to earth? We must be competitive in our broadcasting.

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People will not listen/watch a signal if that signal is weak or distorted. There must be good transmission, consistently every day of the week, every week of the year. To be useful to us, the satellite system must offer this.

If, as I have mentioned, the cost is much greater to us, and the signal is much poorer to them, you cannot expect USIA to make great use of the space satellite.

I propose to take no sides in the argument over whether the system should be publicly or privately run. This country has a long history of worthy private efforts that have resulted in much public good. I am in agreement with those who say that to throw away the national asset of private talent and participation would be folly. There is much to be done, and there is room for all of us to work.

But while the jury is still out over who should own the system, there are certain matters which this Agency feels constrained to bring to the committee's attention:

The first, as I just mentioned, is that private enterprise must participate to the limit of its talent and capability.

Second, this is to be a global system. That means no less than global participation. Any system that does not have due regard for the national interests of other countries will not engender their cooperation. Without that cooperation, we jeopardize the creation of the system itself.

I now venture another personal suggestion. We can best satisfy the national interests of other lands by bringing them into a partnership

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regarding the system. There is much technology to learn, minds to train, and men to organize. We cannot alone staff the world's communication systems. Why not bring these men here now to start that training, to prepare for the day when we will need qualified men from Conakry to Calcutta to help operate the satellite system. Much as we had an International Geophysical Year, let us commence an International Space Communication Year. Small nations of the world found the IGY of benefit; they made some contribution, but primarily they learned, they gained stature and status and confidence, and we presumably forged bonds of contact with a growing international community of scientists and intellectuals. Let us hope the same would happen with a Space Communication Year or even Years. Foreign delegations would come to our shores and, in concert with them, we would exercise our leadership in mastering the complex art of broadcasting from the region of the heavens.

I have not broached this idea to my colleagues in the National Aeronautics and Space Administration. It would be primarily their burden to bear, and must needs be done with their enthusiasm. But the national policy as iterated by the President is that advances that we make we offer to the world. The satellite system cannot be made to work without world cooperation. What better way to harness their efforts than to invite them to follow our lead into an international space communications year.

Third, as international cooperation must be attained, and this means negotiating with foreign governments, agencies of this government must participate in those negotiations. Let me be explicit. My concern is that

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private corporations with profit as their aim should not be in a position to bind our government. The aims of government and industry may not be identical. Industry may have little interest in communications with Upper Volta, as there may be no profit forthcoming for years. Yet it is right that Upper Volta have as much potential use of the system as the United States. And if it is not the aim of private industry to serve the lean as well as the lucrative, then it must be the aim of government.

Fourth, the principle of "ACCESS" must be paramount. Every nation must be guaranteed this right of access to the system. Smaller countries must be assured that while the system is within the technological control of the United States, we will not turn the system on or off at will, limit or bar them from its use, or operate it in any way for capricious national advantage.

This point of access has another aspect that needs mention. If the principle of "access" opens the system to all users without exclusion, it is axiomatic that use of the system will not be determined by where we can best make a profit. As I have just mentioned, this system is not meant for linkage only between North America and Europe, but is rather to be a dialogue between our consciences and the world.

The implication of this is clear. We must service the emerging lands. We must NOT use this system to confirm the backward condition of backward countries. Private industry should be in our deliberations. But if they assume with us any responsibility for the system, it must be a responsibility for public "access" and not just private profit. The national interest must at the same time be served, and it is for this reason that the government must

guide our communications effort.

Fifth, there are domestic concerns of the government that must be considered. Without elaborating them because they concern this Agency only indirectly, I mention such matters as strategic considerations of national defense, the compliance with anti-trust legislation and the regulation of rates, licenses, and frequencies, the encouragement of further research and development.

There is another matter of import which should be brought to the Committee's attention. The matter can be stated as simply as this: What are we to say?

We shall orbit our rockets and transmit our broadcasts, but in the end we shall still deal with the basic elements of human communication: words and pictures. Space satellites will not make it any better. It will simply diffuse it over a wider area -- and more quickly.

I am aware, of course, that there are gains as well as drawbacks from satellite telecasting. If the world could have witnessed Alan Shepard's flight as an exercise in the science of a democracy, the psychological impact would have been enormous. The immediacy of seeing excitement as it unfolds is unparalleled. But remember that the human drama of our land as tears as well as laughter, that there will be as much exposure to our vices as there is to our virtues.

On a basis of policy, politics, and content, the space satellite will not solve the fundamental problem of communications that has haunted man since time immemorial: What is he to say, and how is he to say it? A system of

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communications is totally neutral. Power sources, transmitters, and microphones have no vocabulary. Communication systems have no conscience, only a history. They will transmit both filth and inspiration with equal facility. Distortions and duplicity broadcast via satellite will still be propagated by humans.

What I am suggesting, gentlemen, is that space satellites will neither solve our dilemmas nor salve our consciences. Television and radio are still television and radio, whether transmitted from a tower 500 yards away or a satellite 500 miles above.

Let me summarize. Our Agency is concerned with the psychological impact abroad of what this nation does. Space communication will enhance our prestige. But we must have international cooperation on an unparalleled communications scale. Only this way can we scale the barriers to our hopes, and how we do it may be as vital as what we do. USIA will make use of such a system, provided the cost is economical enough and the signal good enough. It is immaterial to this Agency whether the system is publicly or privately owned so long as it runs and national interests are safeguarded. After all, it is not what it is, but how it works.

I state the case for satellite communications with caution, for it is important that we do not oversell our enthusiasm. Much of what we discuss will not be realized for the next several years, and some of it not until the next decade. Our current status is one of experimentation and development. It is well that we all remember that. We do ourselves and our hopes little good if we build up expectations abroad which we cannot satisfy for a long

time to come.

Over much of this globe there are unfed bellies and tired bodies that will turn to our satellite system with but marginal interest. In many areas of this planet, the grindstone of poverty will still remain the lodestone of policy.

A system of communication satellites is a dream worth the trying. But history will record there were more people than nations, and more dreams than people. It may be that the history of our day will be decided by what dreams we choose to deliver. The issue, gentlemen, is not only how we deliver it; it is equally what our delivery has to say.

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Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U. S. Information Agency
Poor Richard Club, Philadelphia, Pa.
Thursday, September 14, 1961

IMPROVED COMMUNICATIONS FOR BETTER UNDERSTANDING

Mr. Chairman, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen:

I am, indeed, in your debt. You have done me great honor.

Your club and our Agency have a strong bond in common -- the person of Benjamin Franklin. For you, he is a patron saint. For us, he is the man who was probably the first information or propaganda specialist that this country had. When the British brought Hessian mercenaries to help subdue the colonies 185 years ago, Franklin, along with Thomas Jefferson, distributed handbills and leaflets among the troops. The results were startling. Of the 30,000 Hessians, 5,000 of them defected. They settled here to become stalwart citizens of a new young country.

Franklin's success -- one out of six of his target audience -- is a goal for both of us to admire -- you as users of advertising, we as purveyors of information.

I read by your citation that I have been singled out for "imaginative thinking, unshakeable courage, fertile ideas and dedicated leadership." I

pause here, and the words come softly to mind of a North Carolina minister who responded to the praise of his introduction: "My heavens. I can hardly wait to see what I'm going to say."

As you of course know, I have traded in my private cudgels for a public mace. I am a bureaucrat, and I carry with me the knowledge that a much talking bureaucrat is an ill tuned instrument. Talking bureaucrats sometimes do not get the word. So it was that Captain Pearson of His Majesty's Navy posed the question amid the heat of battle: "Sir, do you give quarter?" John Paul Jones retorted with the now immortal, "I have not yet begun to fight." But I am reliably informed that upon that bloody deck in back of John Paul Jones there lay a crewman who, when he heard the remark, lifted himself on one elbow and cried out in anguish, "Always somebody don't get the word!"

I trust that I shall always as a bureaucrat be able to look back to get the word. And I say this in full knowledge that it was Satchel Paige who sagely admonished one and all: "Never look back. Something may be gaining on you."

In asking me to speak today you imply that I must ignore that advice and look back on some 25 centuries of history and its lesson that speech-making is basic to man and a free society cannot exist without it. Or to put it in terms of any recent morning's headlines, we can either shoot it out or talk it out.

Communication -- and any understanding that comes from it -- is basic to humanity. It had its beginnings far back in the early dawn of pre-history when manlike animals first huddled together against the cold and the danger of a primitive world. Language itself came before history. Then followed an

alphabet. And somewhere between the starting of language and the inventing of an alphabet came the vital steps of storing information and transmitting knowledge. Some ingenious mind discovered the sounds that could be made by beating a hollow container. Someone else noticed that fires could be seen from distant hill tops. Those first drum beats and smoke signals became the first broadcasts. Stone carved tablets became the first books. And the march of communications was on.

The Romans published a type of wall newspaper. To this day every newspaperman and agency head is in the debt of the first century Chinese who began making paper and ink. During the Middle Ages short documents were printed from wood blocks. On the eastern edge of Asia they began printing with metal type, and 15th Century Europe lay fascinated before that first Gutenberg Bible.

As David Reisman points out, the Western world would not be what it is without the printed word. We could not have fought World War II without the telephone. Gigantic high speed presses mass produce printed matter in almost unlimited volume at infinitesimally low unit cost. Plastic disc, wire, and magnetic tape give new dimension to communicating sound. With film we move into the higher dimension of moving visual imagery -- and embellish it with color. We have girdled our globe with cables and wires. With the electromagnetic spectrum we could, if we chose, take this voice to which you now listen and reflect it to any place on the globe where man may desire to hear it. Soon orbiting communication satellites will enable us to beam television in every direction and place save underground. And any and all of these signals can be captured on film or magnetic tape for countless replays. And with

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simultaneous or delayed translation we even surmount language barriers. There has been literally an explosion in communications. For a race of animals desiring to communicate with his brethren, we have, in the vernacular of my North Carolina forbears, come a purty fur piece.

We sometimes overlook how much communications control our very lives. Walter Lippmann speaks of an island where Englishmen and Germans lived together. The year was 1914, no cables reached the island, and the packet steamer came every 60 days. When last it called news was of an approaching murder trial on the Continent. When next it called the contented island of Englishmen and Germans learned their countries had been at war for six weeks, and that people who had been behaving as friends were in fact enemies. The island was never the same again. Communications, it seems, cannot only tell us whom to hate but, in the name of nationalism and the sanctity of treaties, whom to kill.

Thus did Robespierre tell the French Revolutionaries: "He who can phrase it can lead it." Joseph Conrad said: "If you give me the right word and the right accent in which to speak it, I can move the world." Ralph Waldo Emerson declared "there is no art more necessary to human kind than the art of putting things." Or as the thing was put by that perspicacious German, Thomas Mann: "Speech IS civilization."

It is in this calling of "phrasing it," of "putting it" that I have spent my own life. It is in many respects a noble calling. Nobility is a virtue with its own reward. All too often communications, which could be an art, is but big business. By its nature it seems destined to be controlled by the few, and therein lies its great danger.

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For what they control is our right to know. What man does not know, he can neither fear nor act upon. What man does know will largely control his behavior. If you tell him the world is flat, he will sail his ships to a point and no further. If you tell him that in a far country men have discovered yellow sand, he will drop his way of life and rush to search for gold. And if you tell him that one people are friends and another are enemies, he will like and dislike accordingly, and he will even in the surety of his knowledge drop his work and march to do battle. The way the world is imagined will determine what men will do.

So it is that this observer views with sadness what he can only describe as the "attack on truth." Truth and right are under seige. The marketplace of knowledge has been attacked by the adversary, and he will pervert any and every fact to gain his advantage.

Both our world and the Communist use many of the same words. We both speak of "peace." We both desire "freedom." We both proclaim "democracy." But the same words could never have more different meanings. Their "democracy" is the yoke of communism. Their "freedom" is the dictate of the police state. Their "peace" is the aggressive surge of their greed. As Clausewitz said: "Every aggressor wants peace. He would prefer to march in unopposed."

What better example than Berlin, 1961 -- a city divided by the wall. We say it makes captive part of a people. They say it is protection against saboteurs and spies. Our U. S. Information Agency in Berlin runs a broadcasting station called RIAS -- Radio in the American Sector. Basically it

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broadcasts news. It reports the truth, it makes commentaries upon that truth, but its dedication to the factual is undeviating. But our truth is their provocation. RIAS is villified as lies, spies, and packrats. This station was never designed as a provocation to the Soviet. That they find it so is not only a tribute to the power of truth but also a measure of the gulf that divides our two ways of life.

The preservation of our way of life is probably going to require an unprecedented act of self-discipline on the part of this nation. This is not a Berlin crisis. No one spoke of the crisis of 1938 as the Czechoslovakian crisis or the 1939 crisis as the Polish crisis. They were both created by one man. The so-called Berlin crisis was created by Khrushchev. In this crisis we have no cushion either in terms of time or distance. There is no opportunity for "those who are half asleep to become half ready." Each generation must pay its installment price for freedom. It is never purchased in perpetuity and it is not to be had in the bargain basement. At some point in time we face a rendezvous with those of our friends and ancestors who paid the earlier installments and I doubt that they paid the price in order that we may have a second outboard motor, color television or cigarettes that light themselves.

We are discovering that the price of leadership is high indeed, that our desire for easy and quick solutions is frequently frustrated, that we confront an adversary both cynical and ruthless, prepared and willing to keep his own people in ignorance while dealing in broken promises and raw terror.

What is at stake is not Berlin but the world and the manner in which its people shall live, whether fear will cause them to flinch or falter when the next payment for freedom falls due.

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What is one man's truth is another man's treason. Communicating our truth around the world is what currently occupies my days -- and of late, my evenings and weekends as well. The business of my agency is to make the policy of this country as designed by the President everywhere intelligible and wherever possible, palatable.

Our Agency operates in a difficult, not too well defined area. We embrace a multitude of disciplines and professions. For a quarter century I devoted my career to expression in a single medium of communication. USIA employs not one but seven: radio, television, movies, press, book publishing, exhibits, and the arts. We are involved in an entire range of problems: from a press run in Beirut, an exhibition in Turin, a stage performance in Munich and radio relays in Colombo. From a news telecast in Bogota to a sound tracked film strip in Paris to a book typeset in Manila -- upon all the myriad of details we initiate, we create, we facilitate.

But this is only half our problem. We deal not only in communications but in policy. We articulate and distribute not advertising for cigarettes or soap but clarifications of government policy and deeds. And we speak in many languages to many peoples of vastly differing levels of comprehension.

Information is our job. We endeavor to reflect with fidelity to our allies, to the uncommitted nations, as well as to those who are hostile to us, not only our policy but our ideals.

I recognize, as I know you will too, that the role of our Agency has limits. We are but one arm of the U. S. Government. As such, we must respond to the policy of that government. To put it more bluntly, USIA can be no better than

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the policies it supports and explains. Yet within that limitation there are obviously practices and principles to which we are committed.

It is fundamental that we operate on a basis of truth. Ours is, and must be, a dedication to the factual.

But this itself poses difficulties. We operate abroad; our audience is foreign. And in this world there are no absolute standards of truth. One man's fact is another man's fiction. Our objective is, and must be credibility. It is easy to assume that because we tell the truth as we see it, others will believe us. But statements that are true are not always believed. It is a measure of our difficulty that in this relentless half-war, truth and credibility are not co-equal.

Candor and openness have their merits -- as the successful Alan Shepard flight demonstrated. They also have their demerits -- as the abortive Cuban episode demonstrated.

But if truth must be our guide, then dreams must be our goal. To the hunger of those masses yearning to be free, to this sleeping giant now stirring over so much that is our world, we shall say: "We share your dreams."

As a nation we have never been allergic to change. Ours was the first of the great revolutions. It is a birthright we do not intend to let go by default. Our responsibilities of nationhood are predicated on a helping hand to others who would elevate their crushing way of existence by change into a more bountiful society. We offer no panaceas, no final solutions. We offer to join in the search of human betterment. We offer our experience and our energies

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in partnership in the quest for greater human excellence. This we not only endorse. This we sponsor, and promote and provoke. A tradition of government by the governed, of revolution by consent -- all of these are among the greater virtues that we have to demonstrate to a world sorely in need of great virtues.

But to be effective, great virtues must first be communicated. We have come a long way since that day in the 1840's when a German named Paul Joseph Reuter decided that he would supplant palace scullery gossip in London with news flown from the continent by carrier pigeon. But there is still a barrier of untold enormity for the world of communicators. That barrier is the state of the world. At the outset I referred to the dawn of early communications. The centuries that have trod the dusty bye-ways of history have not brought us all to the same point in time. There are parts of this minor planet where the best communications are still the signal fire on the hill, the drum beat in the forest, or as in first days of Reuter's, the pigeon in the air.

The United Nations has inquired into the state of world communications. Their conclusion: nearly 70 per cent of the world's peoples lack even the barest means of being informed about developments at home, let alone in other countries.

But this statistic is optimistic. Standards set up by UNESCO for the inquiry were minimal and rudimentary. Even many countries above the 70 per cent line have communications systems far from adequate. The distribution of facilities is highly unbalanced. What facilities there are concentrate in urban areas. People who live in rural regions -- the dominant condition of this globe -- have virtually no communication contact at all.

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In Africa, for example, with a population of over 236 million peoples, newspapers reach less than 3 million. Not a single country on that continent possesses the UNESCO minimum requirements -- rudimentary as they are -- for communications and information. Fifteen countries have not a single daily paper.

In the Middle East, over 50 per cent of the newspaper circulation, 40 per cent of the radio receivers, and 42 per cent of the cinema capacity are concentrated in one small country. Of the 13 other countries, 6 of them have no daily press whatsoever.

In the Far East, with one out of every four persons on earth -- a population of 767 million -- newspapers reach but one and one/third per cent of the people. That leaves about 760 million unaccounted for. Films, commonplace to you in this room, have yet to be seen for the first time by millions of Asians.

These pose communication problems of staggering dimensions. And they resist ease of solution. Literacy is limited. There is no purchasing power to support the advertising or transmission rates which would support communications. There is no capital for communication development. Even with today's limited coverage there is a shortage of trained and technical staffing. There is inadequate electrification. Even present frequencies seriously overlap one another. There are no effective distribution systems. Newsprint and paper are in short supply. Languages abound; the one country of India has over 500 tongues and dialects. World-wide, the problem seems almost insoluble, as some tongues are not alphabetic but ideographic, and some have yet to be reduced to any written form.

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It would indeed be good to have "Improved Communication for Better Understanding." But sometimes the dimensions of our difficulties seem to conspire against us.

The corollary of this is, of course, that we must improve communications systems around the world. I agree. So do we all. But may I suggest another difficulty -- much overlooked in concern for improving communications?

I testified this summer before the House Science and Astronautics Committee. The subject was space communications satellites, and what it will mean to our country to project instant television around the globe. The difficulty can be stated in these 5 words: What are we to say?

We shall expand our communications, we shall orbit our satellites, we shall transmit our message to the world. But in the end we shall still deal with the basic elements of human communications: words and pictures. Space satellites and wider world communications will not make it any better. They will simply diffuse it over a wider area -- and more quickly.

On a basis of policy, politics, and content, improved communications will not solve the fundamental problem of communications that has haunted man since time immemorial: What is he to say, and how is he to say it?

A communications system is totally neutral. Power sources, transmitters and microphones have no vocabulary. Communication systems have no conscience, only a history. They will transmit both filth and inspiration with equal facility. Distortions and duplicity over new and improved communications will still be propagated by humans.

Television and radio are still television and radio, whether transmitted

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from a tower 500 yards away or from a satellite 500 miles above. Over much of this globe there are unfed bellies and tired bodies that will turn to progress in communications with but marginal interest. What I am suggesting, gentlemen, is that communications advancement will neither solve our dilemmas nor salve our consciences.

May I continue this subject but change our focus, and talk of "Improved Communication for Better Understanding" not in the world but in this country.

I have spent most of my life in the public arena of private broadcasting. There are aspects of other media that disturb me: I note with concern, for example, that in the last 30 years over a thousand newspapers have perished in the United States, that for the last half century the number of newspapers in this country has been contracting, and that today almost 95 per cent of American communities are one paper towns with no competing news view. It is further a pity that national newspaper criticism is virtually non-existent. I make no pretense of imposing on the sanctity of the free press.

But as broadcasting was my past, let me share with you the thoughts and concerns of a former TV-communicator still concerned with communicating.

In a country of 180 million people, there are now 50 million television sets. There are TV sets in four out of 5 U.S. homes; the reception range of TV covers 97 per cent of America's populated areas.

Exposure to television will increase. More and more people are spending less and less time at work. A century ago the average work week was 70 hours. By 1960, it was below 40 hours. And since the American worker for

every hour on the job now has two hours to spend at his discretion, and labor-saving devices make chores and tasks easier, more leisure time will undoubtedly be spent with television.

But this improved tool of communication will not necessarily lead to better understanding. No large segment of the public demands more information, or better presentation of it. Public affairs, and better understanding that might come of them, are not recreation. The public wants its fun. By the time most people turn on the television set the work of the day is over. After working hours, most people prefer to be called away from reality, not made to face it. Television by itself does not usher in the democratic millenium, and its inability to do so is not its own peculiar failure. It is due to the unwillingness of men and women, even in as highly developed a democracy as our own, to take more trouble to govern themselves better.

From this arises a problem which I suggest that, as communicators, we might all ponder with some concern. In a totalitarian state the role of television will not be to teach self government. Its main purpose will be to make the governed content not to govern themselves. It will be to distract, and even to entertain. It appears that what we now ask from television is precisely what totalitarian dictators will order when their countries have as much television as we have. For an oppressed people will surely need to be distracted if they are to be ruled by a despot.

Is it not, then, ironic, that we in the United States who ask so much entertainment from television, so much escapism, so much insulation from reality, are not having such programs imposed upon us by force. We adopt the

choice freely. But it is a choice made without any awareness of the nature, the intensity, and the inevitability of the contest between the democracies and totalitarianism.

It is the duty of those who control television to use it as a sound mirror to reflect conditions as they are. If what is reflected on the end of that tube is bigotry, poverty, discrimination, or prejudice, that is wholesome so long as the picture is true. Where there is controversy, it must be reflected. We have no alternative so long as we are dedicated to the proposition that the "X" on the ballot is the most important letter in the political alphabet.

The real function of television -- indeed, of modern communications -- is to operate a market place where ideas may compete on equal footing.

There is no way to guarantee that television will prevent the voter from being as wrong as he has so often been in the past. Television offers no guarantee that demagogues can be kept from political power. It merely provides them with wider and more intimate, more immediate circulation. I doubt that with today's communications a Lincoln or a Jefferson could be either nominated or elected. According to reports, Jefferson had an abrasive voice, and did not suffer fools gladly. While being interviewed on some panel program he might have told an obnoxious questioner what he thought of him, and that would have been fatal. As for Lincoln, he did not move gracefully, he was not a handsome man, had a wife who was no political asset, and was a solitary man. He would probably at an early age have been sent to a school counselor, received a

negative report, told that his attitude of "togetherness" was all wrong, and advised to enter a trade school if he could find one to admit him.

Television must find a little more time to remind us of our inheritance, and it must find more than a little time for the dissenters, the heretics, the minority spokesmen who may be tomorrow's majority.

The camera and all communications must follow politicians in their public guise to the very limits of privacy and decency. When politicians complain that this turns their proceedings into a circus, it should be made clear that the circus was already there and that television merely demonstrated that not all the performers are well trained.

Television itself is a limited medium. It can amuse, entertain, and it can sell goods. It can arouse curiosity, and it can stimulate interest. But it cannot reason, and it is no substitute for reading.

Television and all modern communications won't save us, and probably it won't destroy us. It will, however, play an increasingly large role in our lives, and it may come to influence us greatly. The issue, I would suggest, it not so much what television does to us; it is rather what we do with television.

There is dishearteningly small indication that the great mass of the public senses its ability to influence what it is asked to see and hear. It accepts what it is given. It does little to force change or improvement.

Well phrased then was this epigram of advice from George Bernard Shaw: "We must get what we want, or we will come to want what we get."

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

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Release No. 42

FOR RELEASE AT 9 P. M. EDT. SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1961

MURROW URGES STEADINESS
IN TIME OF GREAT TENSION

"We are approaching a time when the steadiness and the fortitude of this country will be tested as never before," Edward R. Murrow told several hundred members of the Radio Television News Directors Association convention in Washington tonight.

"Our nerves are going to be twisted and tortured, and we shall at some point be required to reach a collective conclusion as to whether we are prepared to pay another installment in the unending and escalating price of freedom," he said.

The Director of the United States Information Agency, addressing the closing session of the convention in the Statler-Hilton Hotel, offered his audience "a few general observations regarding the awesome responsibilities that confront you as I see them.

"If you are to discharge your responsibilities to your listeners, to your country and your conscience, you must have more information about government policy and purpose, not less, for the responsibility that now rests upon you is greater than that which has burdened communicators at any time in the long history of communications. The speed of the instruments you use represent a hazard and put a premium upon restraint, coolness and mature judgment. Your audience, in varying degrees, believes in you, trusts you. They probably think you know more than you do. Your credibility, your integrity, represent your only real asset.

"This country is now in a position where decisions must be made in an arena that is illuminated by the bright lights of television, where there is little time for hesitation. We have no cushion, as we have had in the past, in terms of time or distance. There will be no opportunity for those who are half asleep to become half ready. That is part of the price of leadership, part of the burden we bear as a result of the speed and power of modern weapons.

"Let me illustrate the change that has occurred by revealing a small footnote to the history of recent communications. Shortly after the outbreak of war in 1939, the majority of United States radio networks and certain government officials decided to terminate all news broadcasts from Europe. They were fearful lest emotional strain or physical danger would cause reporters to violate neutrality, agitate for action, or otherwise compromise the isolation, the detachment which we were determined to defend. That decision did not stand for more than 48 hours but it was taken.

"Now, as we face squarely the prospect of another and more terrible war, that question at least will not arise. But the old question that has troubled thoughtful men since speech began remains: what to say and how to say it, and the 'how' can be as important as the 'what.'

"We are, I think, approaching a time when the steadiness, the fortitude, of this country will be tested as never before. Our nerves are going to be twisted and tortured and we shall at some point be required to reach a collective conclusion as to whether we are prepared to pay another installment in the unending and escalating price of freedom. It is going to require, as I have said, an act of national self-discipline that is without precedent, and this appraisal, this estimate, of the worth of what we have must be carried out with a freedom of expression and reporting that is known in no other country. That is our way of doing things, and the way it is done is very largely your responsibility.

"You represent relatively new instruments of communication, but I have occasionally felt that you all too frequently have made your youth your oldest excuse for your shortcomings. You have the power and therefore you have the responsibility. Maturity is not measured by age but by performance.

"I would not like to be misunderstood. This is no plea for conformity or uncritical acceptance and support of the policies of this Administration. I hope that seven months or seven years as a bureaucrat will not change life-long convictions, but I do suggest that there isn't going to be any need in the coming months for anyone to hot-up his copy or to exaggerate the importance of events.

"There are and there will be disagreements between this government and its allies. I am not suggesting they should not be reported but rather put in perspective, with full recognition that the primary and consistent pattern of Russian policy for more than a decade has been to sunder the Western Allies.

"Honorable and dedicated men in this country will differ regarding the policies we should pursue. I am not suggesting that these differences should be ignored or glossed over. I am saying that our enemies and our Allies will be watching us, the way we talk, the manner in which we conduct ourselves, as never before. In the coming months, you will be writing and speaking not only a footnote to history but what could be the final chapter.

"I have worked intimately with many of you, know the manner of man you are, and have some knowledge of the power and influence you possess. So far as news is concerned, most of you will continue to try to get it first but first get it right, but I think the times require a recognition of a new responsibility. The responsibility rests uniquely upon you because you are so few and because you are in fact the eyes and ears of your fellow countrymen. I am not suggesting that you all become somber sentinels, intoning events and pronouncements of a magnitude beyond the grasp of most men. A little gaiety goes well with grimness and in the past, sane men have been able to tinge adversity with humor.

"Perhaps I could have said what I am trying to say with greater brevity by merely telling you a story, but I am reluctant to admit that I have reached an age when my own reminiscences fascinate me. However, it was all summed up early one morning at the end of the worst night of the London blitz. I had been driving around all night in an open car with an old and cynical friend, wise in the ways of reporting, and when we got back to our typewriters I confessed the obvious -- that I didn't know how to write the piece. He said: 'It is very simple, my boy. Just sit down and write it as thought it were your last one because you know it might be.'"

In describing the work of the U. S. Information Agency, Mr. Murrow said:

"What we endeavor is to reflect, with fidelity to our Allies, to the uncommitted nations, and even indeed to those who are hostile to us, not only our policy but our ideals. We not only seek to show people who we are and how we live; we must also engage others in the delicate, difficult art of human persuasion, to explain why we do what we do.

"To accomplish this, we use many media of communication: radio, television, movies, newspapers, magazines, books, pamphlets, exhibits, trade fairs, the arts, teaching and education, personal contact, face-to-face conversation.

"The range of expertise that we need in a foreign service officer is enought to make an educated man long for illiteracy. But note that communications are only half our job. We deal as well in policy. We must make the policy of this government everywhere intelligible and, wherever possible, palatable. We must speak in many languages to many peoples of vastly differing cultures and styles, of vastly differing levels of comprehension.

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For we speak not to a receiving-set saturated audience of one culture in one country speaking one language -- as you gentlemen do. Our media must talk to both peons and professors, to the illiterates of Central America, to the natives of Ghana, to the Muslim shopkeeper, to the Indian Hindu, to the Japanese scholar.

"This means we must approach them in their own country, whatever its climate or terrain -- in their own language, whatever its dialect -- on their own level, whatever its depth. We must deal with the realities of their fears, their concerns, their stereotypes of the product we promote: the hopes and actions of the United States government.

"This means that our work is endless and varied. Much of what we do is unglamorous, much of it thankless. In many areas apathy and suspicion are the enemies of understanding. Preconceptions about this country abound abroad. Much of what people think is distorted, unfavorable. Often our success is measured in good-will gained, or simply in the removal of ill-will. Much of the best work of USIA is long term, quiet, unsensational.

"Our hours are long. Our work product is well-nigh staggering. Our radio, the Voice of America, broadcasts live over 95 hours a day in 36 languages -- on occasion, up to 62 languages. The Communists spend six times as much money trying to jam us as we spend broadcasting; and they use 2,000 jamming transmitters against our 87 broadcasting transmitters. But the Voice does get through. Our wireless file puts out up to 8 - 10,000 words a day to each of five major world areas. Then our 219 posts in 99 countries translate it into countless local languages for local press. We turn out over 50 magazines in 23 languages. Last year we printed over 12 million pamphlets. We publish some 25 small newspapers, wall posters, and other periodicals. Over three-quarters of a million photo prints went out last year, and if syndication is your interest, we run cartoon continuity features in more than 2,700 newspapers, including the world's most widely read cartoon.

"We distributed 6 million books last year. We run 176 libraries and 85 reading rooms in 80 countries and 128 bi-national centers in 35 countries. Almost a quarter million people studied English with USIA last year, we ran 87 seminars for 5,000 teachers abroad, 150 exhibits and expositions made their way around the world, and we shipped out 11,000 musical scores and 25,000 records.

"In television our market is rapidly expanding. We air ship tapes and kines to stations in 57 countries. In movies we play films overseas to an audience weekly of about 150 million people."

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Release No. 43

FOR RELEASE AT 1:00 P.M., EDT, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1961

MURROW HAILS
BERLIN COURAGE

Following is the text of remarks made today by Edward R. Murrow, Director of the United States Information Agency, in presenting the annual Freedom Award to Willy Brandt, Lord Mayor of Free Berlin. The ceremony, held on the twentieth anniversary of Freedom House, took place at a luncheon at the Hotel Commodore in New York.

"We gather here on the 20th anniversary of Freedom House in whose honor we are assembled. And this Assemblage has as well a more purposeful aim -- paying honor to the recipient of this year's Annual Freedom Award.

"I have looked at the roll of your predecessors of this Award, Herr Brandt. I find thereon names that are distinguished and names that I am privileged to count among my own good acquaintances. I note also the names of Sumner Welles, George Marshall, Arthur Vandenberg: these men were giants of their day, and the society of free men, among whom they trod, is now the less for the fact that they are no longer with us.

"But it would indeed be churlish of me to dwell upon the merits of past recipients. You were gracious enough to honor me with such a presentation in 1954. I note with a pang of pleasure mixed with heartache that the previous year you gave your award for the first time to men of a country other than our own -- the United Nations Soldier in Korea. And the man who accepted that award is the man whose bereavement weighs heavily upon the hearts and hopes of us all -- the late Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjold.

"I am no man for trends or statistics, but I deem it a token of our times that of your last 6 awards 5 have gone to men who come from beyond our shores -- Sir Winston Churchill, President Ramon Magsaysay, Hungarian Freedom Fighters, Dr. Paul-Henri Spaak, and Alan Paton. As one of the minor lights in a constellation of bright eminences, let me welcome you, Herr Brandt, to the fellowship of a distinguished company. It is a mantle you will wear, I am sure, with an air of unadorned grace.

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"For by so recognizing you we give currency to our concern over your fate and the fate of those who live in your city. Theirs is the residence of the brave, for they dwell in the shadow of tyranny.

"Your city is a city that has known tyranny. It is a city once destroyed by tyranny. And it now stands as a sentinel beacon against the gutted shell of life that contaminates the land around it. Berlin has demonstrated its will to be free. It has maintained its freedom behind the Iron Curtain where no other spot of freedom exists. But it is a locale today burdened by a cruel fate. A wall divides this place. Khrushchev's vicious vivisection of the city condemns it to live in the shadow of a wall -- erected to prevent men,women and children from coming into a land of freedom and dignity.

"Yours is not the first wall of Europe. The Roman Empire built a wall -- a wall to keep out the barbarians. Unlike the wall of Berlin built to keep its own people captive, this Roman wall took nearly 150 years to build -- with wooden towers, connecting massive forts of masonry, crenalated walls of mortar, ditches and ramparts around its base. From the reign of Hadrian through Caracalla, they built this frontier stretching from the Danube to the upper Rhine. This defensive wall against barbarian attack lasted but a pitiful handful of years. Then the tribes from the north swept over it, and in the third century it was abandoned. Its only use was to supply peasants and farmers with stones for their farms and roadways and homes.

"To you and your people of Free Berlin, Herr Mayor, I feel it worth predicting that the wall of Ulbricht will be no more enduring.

"But I find still another text of classicial history worth the mention here. In the last chapter of Edward Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," he describes the liveried inscriptions of the most conspicuous knights who fought in the Roman games. These three stand out in recollection: 'Though sad, I am strong. Strong as I am great. If I fall -- addressing himself to the spectators -- you fall with me.'

"Edward Gibbon could as well have been writing about you, Willy Brandt, and your Berliners. Though saddened by the wall, you are strong. You are strong as you are great. And if you fall -- addressed perhaps to us as spectators -- we fall with you.

"And so it is that Freedom House has chosen to bestow its Annual Freedom Award upon the shoulders of Mayor Willy Brandt of West Berlin. It was in 1950 when the Freedom Bell was brought to West Berlin that freedom scrolls came from millions of Americans bearing these words:

"'I believe in the sacredness and dignity of the individual;

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" 'I believe that all men derive the right to freedom equal from God;

" 'I pledge to resist aggression and tyranny wherever they appear on earth;'

"These are times of stress for free men everywhere. A great struggle is wracking the peoples of this minor planet, testing whether our company of free men has the will to remain free. From 1945 to the present there has been unremitting pressure upon our way of life. From 1945 to the present Berlin has known the scourge of the Soviet Army, the privations of the blockade, and the unrelenting malignity of the Communist intent. As a predecessor of Mayor Brandt's, Ernst Reuter, once said, 'more than ever we must not slacken in our courage so that we may stand up to the great struggle that has not yet come to an end. The ebb-tide is passed, and now the flood-tide has set in.'

"The city of Mayor Brandt, West Berlin, is a city under siege. We shall all of us share in its ultimate destiny. There is a great act of courage afoot in the world today, and it is committed daily by the more than two million people who continue to reside in West Berlin. It is to them through you, Mayor Brandt, that we now mutually address ourselves to this common proposition: where men have the will to be free, they will be free. And, as is inscribed on the Freedom Bell of Berlin in 10 tons of bronze: 'That this world, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom.'

"So it is with a respect for the past and a hope for the future that the Freedom House plaque, in bronze, is presented this year with this inscription:

Annual Freedom Award

To Mayor Willy Brandt

In the Shadow of Tyranny

Your Integrity and Courage

Sustain the Spirit of Liberty

Freedom House 1961 "

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Release No. 53

ADVANCE: FOR RELEASE 9:30 a.m. C.S.T. MONDAY, NOVEMBER 13, 1961
10:30 a.m. E.S.T.

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the Public Relations Society of America, Houston, Texas
Monday, November 13, 1961

Thank you for your kind words. I know that I am among friends this morning. For the U.S. Information Agency and the Public Relations Society, like the Colonel's Lady and Judy O'Grady, are sisters under the skin. We both work for others -- you for clients and firms; my Agency for 180 million Americans. We both are in the business of persuasion -- for you, the American public; for us, peoples everywhere abroad.

I have, as many of you no doubt know, recently returned from a trip to Latin America. It was indeed sobering to witness people across a continent chained to the rack of reality, their very dreams purloined from the bounty which you and I daily share. But amid the tedium of this turmoil I cannot forget one episode of humanity, particularly because it dealt with public relations.

A boy from a small village was describing to an old friend life in the big city. He told of his apartment and his money, bright lights, cafes, night spots, and the inevitable conquests over ladies demure in their demurrals. He then mentioned his job: he had gone into public relations. The friend was aghast. With mind harking back to those episodes with the ladies of the evening, his old friend stammered: "Public I can understand. Relations I can understand. But my boy, relations in public!"

I had not so intended it, but there may be a moral in this story. These are unsteady times, and nearly everything we do is public. Time has lost its intimacy. We all of us in this country share the hot white light of world attention. It is more with humility than courage that I suggest that what we now do or do not do may more than influence the course of mankind. It may end it as well.

There is for us all an adequate portion of responsibility. If memory serves me well, few men bore responsibility so well as the late great conductor of the

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Boston Symphony, the fabled Serge Koussevitsky. It was after one halcyon concert that an adoring fan ran to Koussevitsky and fell enraptured at his feet. Grasping his knees, she threw back her head and sighed: "Oh master, you conducted this evening like you were God!" Koussevitsky is said to have burst into tears and sobbed: "Yes. And think of the awful responsibility, too!"

There rests upon all of us today a sane sober sense of our "awful responsibility." Discharging our small portion of that responsibility is the task of the United States Information Agency. We are engaged in that difficult to define area of telling our tale abroad and putting our policy plainly but precisely in the primary terms of understandability. If this country believes that the end of the day will be carried not by force of arms but by force of persuasion, the job we do is a key to our very survival. I for one am persuaded that we have no alternative: we must persuade, or perish in the attempt.

And so it is that we undertake to explain the terms of our existence to the species of man inhabiting this minor planet. We broadcast radio. We make films. We produce television. We wire-service local papers, print magazines and newspapers, and circulate pamphlets. We distribute books. We run libraries and information centers. We teach English. We package traveling exhibits, sponsor exchanges, seminars, and cultural groups. We seek to persuade foreign editors. We consult foreign cabinet ministers. We talk to university students. In the process, we seek to convince that the goal we seek is a guide for enrichment and not a guise for enslavement.

It is this, I suggest, that makes this generation of Americans a rather unique strain of that unique animal called man. We seek not foreign dominion, not self-aggrandizement, but only the realization of those things in life that other peoples would have for themselves. Does anyone doubt for a moment that with the power this country can marshal and the pressure we can focus that we could command the destiny of man if we so chose? It is a tribute to our way of life that we have chosen to let man choose his own destiny.

And therein lies the nut of our difficulties. It is simple to impose one's own will by force. It is far more bedeviling to let those wills develop as others would will them.

Our adversary crushes freedom. We build it. Our adversary snuffs out the flickering fires of free choice. We seek to light them, then keep them glowing. Our adversary promulgates a premise of power. We postulate a precept of inviolate individuality.

It is this that sets us off from our opponents. And it is this transmission of our hopes and our dreams that engages my colleagues and me in the long execution of our many appointed tasks. We truly labor in the service of an ideal. Our days are long. I myself have never worked harder nor enjoyed

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anything more since the end of the war. I must needs proceed with rapidity to keep pace with my younger associates. And as we labor in the agony of our self-criticism and the perfection of our tasks, there is little doubt among us that this is truly the age of the "New Zeal."

But as you are Public Relations executives, let me move from platitudes to practices. Let me take a circumstance that concerns us all -- Berlin. Let's call it a living public relations laboratory of how the Berlin story was deliberated and then disseminated for all the world to see.

It was August 13th when Khrushchev's vicious vivisection began. I arrived in Berlin that Saturday night four hours before it all commenced. I was "privileged", if that be the right word, to witness the barbarous brutality of a way of life that clanged shut its Iron Curtain on its own people. It was a moving story. It was a story well worth the telling.

This is how we told it.

We began with priorities.

Films, radio, television and newsreels, press and periodicals, exhibits, pamphlets, libraries and lecture programs -- all turned their immediate collective efforts to the Berlin theme. We spread the news of what occurred. The theme was a simple one. We simply told the truth.

We said there was no "Berlin crisis," only a "Khrushchev crisis", stampeded and started in Moscow. We told how the danger to Free Berlin was a danger to free peoples everywhere. It was and is but one erupted blister on the face of Communism's vaulting world-wide ambition. We prefer negotiations to fighting, but we and our Allies have given a solemn commitment to Free Berlin. We intend, even at high cost, to keep Free Berlin free.

The Voice of America, now on the air over 100 hours every day in 36 languages, concentrated on Berlin news coverage, commentaries and features. We did a one hour documentary, "Berlin, 1961," a three-part series, "The Manufactured Crisis," and another seven-part series, "The Berlin Story." These were placed worldwide on local stations.

President Kennedy's July 25 Berlin speech and his September 25 UN address went round the world live in English, and was re-broadcast at peak listening times in 35 other languages. Total estimated audience for each broadcast -- over 20 million.

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In motion pictures, we filmed the President's two addresses, and today upwards of 900 prints of each of them are circulating in 95 countries.

A 20 minute documentary, "Journey Across Berlin," was released world-wide in 30 languages. Bolivia's biggest newspaper called it "a sensational documentary." Rome's television showed it to to 5,000,000 viewers. Rio reported 1,400 theaters across the country carrying it, called for 15 additional prints, said "the demand is fantastic." The 2,000 seat Buyuk theater in Ankara held over the film 10 days despite customary changes of feature films in half that time.

Another documentary, "Promise to History," was seen by 70,000 in Turkey and caused a box office rush in Monrovia, Liberia. "Day of Denial" depicted the August 13 border closing in Berlin and went to 1,200 theaters in Brazil, another 1,000 in Argentina. We filmed the Vice President's visit and the arrival in Berlin of U.S. troops; it went to 80 theaters in Ceylon for an audience of 350 to 400,000 people.

"Ask Those Who Know," a 20-minute documentary on worldwide refugees from Communism pegged to Berlin; "Hour of Challenge," an adaptation with illustrative visuals of the President's UN address - these too joined our impressive distribution list to show the demoniacal demeanor of Communism.

In television, we utilized these films and made other products for the TV medium itself. "Anatomy of Aggression" was a half-hour documentary linking Communist pressure in Berlin to Communist aggression worldwide. It went to 67 posts in 51 countries. "Focus: Berlin, Barbed Wire World" was another TV effort that went to 54 posts in 38 countries.

News clips and features have repeatedly been placed in the popular monthly African film magazine, "Today" -- a show hitting 30 countries and an estimated annual audience of 30 million. Berlin portions went into the Latin American weekly television program, "Panorama Panamericano," going to 38 cities in 16 countries at peak viewing time to over 12 million people.

Our press and wire service has been filing heavy coverage -- features, hard news, side-bars, commentaries, backgrounders -- for placement in local newspapers and magazines by overseas posts - - 90 key USIS offices in the five major world areas.

The President's Berlin speeches had such rapid translation and transmission that several dozen leading newspapers, from Montevideo to Manila, were able to carry the texts in full, and hundreds of others carried

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extensive extracts, summaries, and highlights.

Our 65 overseas periodicals have regularly carried illustrated articles on Berlin; their aggregate circulation runs to nearly 3 million. We also boast the world's widest read cartoon continuity strip, and cartoon panels told the Berlin story for over 100 million readers of 1,246 newspapers in 56 countries.

We prepared an illustrated packet of 15 background articles on the postwar history of Berlin, the human aspects of refugees and Communist oppression. Posts reported very heavy local usage.

With posts around the world we have done much cross-reporting. Editorials, interviews, and eyewitness accounts by Asian, African, and Latin American visitors to Berlin are cross-reported from one continent to another in support of the U.S. position.

USIA Information Centers -- 261 of them in 80 countries -- have mounted special window displays, photos, charts, and texts on Berlin. They sponsored lectures, seminars, and forums on Berlin, and featured books and magazine articles on the subject in their libraries.

We pitched in with the Berlin city government to help bring more than 750 journalists from 80 countries to see for themselves the Ulbricht wall. A special Berlin photo pamphlet, in large size magazine format with dramatic photographs, is getting worldwide distribution in over 3 million copies in 11 languages.

As you can see, we have been indeed busy with a steady drumfire. One cannot revoke the past, but one can continue escalating the price the Soviets must pay for their action. We will continue the drumfire.

But I would be remiss in responsibility if I gave the impression that we only react while the Communists act. We have initiated some pretty good things ourselves. Some draw Communist fire. In other instances, the Communists have stubbed their toes, and badly.

The score-sheet will bear scrutiny continent by continent.

Take the Far East.

In Laos we beat the Communists to the draw by turning an ancient strolling troubador tradition into a potent weapon of warning against a Communist take-over. The minstrels are called Mohlam singers. They have put on morality plays about local happenings for centuries. They are literally the town criers, the TV, the newspapers of jungle Laos. Working with the Royal Lao Government we built into the Mohlam plays the modern

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story of Communism's plot against the peoples and culture of Southeast Asia. We multiply the audience by filming the plays for showing wherever USIS and Lao teams can navigate a river or a trail or drop in by helicopter with portable generator and movie projector.

In one part of Southeast Asia our magazine, Free World, has the status of money. Ferry operators accept it as fare in lieu of the local currency.

In the island area of the South Pacific - Indonesian Borneo - the Soviets lost prestige by bungling the construction of a major highway through virgin rain forests and swamps. Then an American oil company with American bulldozer operators laid down 84 miles of new highway. Indonesians extolled the job. Russian arguments that the highway was motivated by capitalistic greed get short shrift by Indonesians in those areas.

In the Middle East, when Turkey began drafting its new constitution, the USIS library at Ankara was asked for basic works on American democratic institutions. Elements of that Turkish Constitution are based on material in the American reference documents supplied by USIA.

The story is duplicated elsewhere. The same happened with Pakistan's Constitution Commission. Further, the Pakistani Minister of Education borrowed several dozens of textbooks for his committee which was writing history texts for Pakistan secondary schools.

Our USIS library in Calcutta with its 22,000 volumes does as much business as does the National Library with its over one million volumes. In New Delhi the reconvening of Parliament hits USIS with an extra workload because of the requests which come to our reference desk.

This may not satisfy your sense of drama. But all our work is not intended to be dramatic or glamorous. The moulding of national constitutions, the forming of national educational systems, the assisting of national parliaments -- out of such fabric, I suggest, comes more lasting long range good for this country than many of the dramatic headline events.

In Africa we attract a significant response to teaching English. Class enrollments read like a Who's Who of the country involved. In Somalia, one third the national legislature is studying English with USIS. When we started up in Togo this summer 40 out of the country's 51 members of Parliament were in the first class. In another country we number half a dozen cabinet members, and the President of still another country has urged us to teach English in his capital and has promised to be the first to enroll.

Or take our libraries. When we opened a new one in Blantyre,

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Nyasaland, 400 people were lined up on the street waiting for entry. Within 3 hours 600 of the library's 750 books were borrowed and gone; the shelves were soon bare. In Marrakech the response to our opening was so overwhelming that membership cards had to be limited to attendance one day a week, with a different color for each day.

Perhaps most delightful of all, one library patron happened to have the same name as the country's Prime Minister. He was sent a book overdue notice. Mail being what it is, the card was delivered by mistake to the Prime Minister. He picked up the phone, dispatched his driver, and in short time delivered both borrower and book to the USIS library. We kept the book, released the borrower, and returned the Prime Minister's car and chauffeur. Very few libraries can make that statement.

In Latin America we produce an anti-Communist type of soap opera for radio. You would not believe its popularity. In an important mining city in Bolivia, for example, the local radio station broadcasting the show received a petition from the managers of the local movie houses. They asked the station not to air the program at the time of the commercial film showings because movie attendance dropped appreciably when these programs were broadcast.

More delightful still is this tale out of Mexico City. The day before English lessons were to begin at the USIS center, crowds waiting to register became so large that local police were called out to control the mobs. The next morning when USIS opened for registration, who were the first ones through the doors? The local police.

An obvious question arises. Why not do more? Part of the answer lies in people, good people, to do the work. We have good people -- but not enough of them. Another lies in time to do the job properly. But the biggest part of it is in money to spend. Take Mexico as an example. Our budget for this fiscal year is about 750,000 dollars. Cuban-Soviet propaganda in the country is estimated at 7 million dollars. That comes to about 10 to 1 against us, and this is only one country in one continent.

Much, I suggest, remains to be done.

None of us is yet in the trenches, but we are all in the front line. Any man who deludes himself that this world struggle does not concern him personally and intimately deserves that dire destiny to which his indifference may consign us all.

To avert that decree and make for us the life which we all would lead is a task to which we are summoned.

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How, then, can you help?

There is, as I am sure you are aware, a Public Relations Panel on Policies and Techniques set up for the purpose of advising USIA. The original purpose of the Panel was not to meet as a corporate body but to serve as a resource pool from which individuals would be consulted on specific problems. I propose to return to this interpretation of the Panel's original charter.

Much more important, of course, is not what we ponder in my office or yours in this country. It is rather what we perform in our work and yours in countries abroad. It is here that our interests virtually coincide. I would submit a maxim of overseas operations that concerns us both -- we in the government of foreign affairs, you in the private sector of business abroad. The maxim is five words: We stand or fall together.

If our foreign policy is successful, American business abroad can thrive. If it is not, your business climate becomes stormy. In the final analysis the success of American business abroad rests on a premise of general American respect. It is going to be difficult for you to continue business abroad if our foreign policy objectives are not achieved. For if our foreign policy falters and fumbles, the world will begin to slip into the hands of regimes, if not outright pro-Communist, at least anti-American.

But the converse concerns me as well. I am involved with that foreign policy. It will be difficult, indeed impossible, for us to make that policy successful unless we have the support and assistance of all major segments of American society; specifically, I mean American business abroad.

A number concerns us here--- 35,000. There are today over 35,000 representatives of U.S. business abroad -- more people, in fact, than the combined totals of the Department of State, the U.S. Information Agency, and the foreign aid agency, A.I.D.

USIA has long since learned the value of personal contact overseas. One of our recent research efforts shows that a significant proportion of people among the leadership abroad has formed its impressions about this country from U.S. citizens in foreign lands.

These 35,000 people abroad have their own circles of associates, friends, acquaintances, and contacts. They are usually quite different from those of the official American community. Because of the nature of business abroad, these different associates are frequently people of very considerable influence and importance. An American businessman will commonly discuss world problems with his friends and contacts. What he says often has repercussions far broader than he often realizes.

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What I am saying is not that an American businessman abroad must speak with guarded tongue. Nor must he speak with a tongue parroting the government line. But he must, at the very least, know the facts about which he speaks. If he talks from ignorance and personal bias, he merely does injury to himself, to the country, to the way of life we seek to preserve. And it is sometimes a grave injury. Conversely, if he be informed and his knowledge accurate, he can be a very helpful influence on his foreign friends.

Our Agency has undertaken a project of working with American business -- the better to inform their representatives overseas. Berlin came first. We had a State Department background paper on the Berlin crisis. Over 150 firms have cooperated in sending to their representatives abroad information on Berlin. Next came the President's disarmament proposals unveiled at the United Nations recently. 104 firms are cooperating by sending this information to their overseas personnel.

This is just a beginning. In the weeks and months ahead, officers of my Agency -- specifically from the Office of Private Cooperation -- will be contacting your firms to work out cooperative projects. These will be adjusted to the twin criteria of our foreign policy objectives and the resources of your individual firm. I need no reassurance that I can count on your assistance.

But we need your help in areas other than just the informational. The goods your clients produce can often produce good overseas. We are faced frequently with programming needs abroad that either cannot -- or in some cases, should not -- be met by USIA.

An example will help. One of our posts in Africa saw a need to establish in its Information Center a typing center. This was important, for in this way the center became identified as part of the country's development and not merely a foreign propaganda center. The center had no typewriters for this purpose. Odd as it may sound, neither did we back here. So we turned to private cooperation to fill the bill. Through the aid of a typewriter manufacturer and an oil company transporting to this particular country, we met this program need. And who benefitted? The Agency and our center, that country and its ambitions, this country and its goals, and those firms and their business.

Instances like this occur daily. I need not tell you that many of them go as needs unrequited. Where possible, of course, we give appropriate credit to the cooperating firms. Within the limits of your resources, I trust you will receive my representatives sympathetically when they call on you for future assistance.

There is naturally an area of growing cooperation between Embassies

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overseas and USIS posts and businesses overseas. This will continue. But I am certain you can appreciate that many matters can not be handled on a local level. It is very important that your representatives abroad know that the company back home wants them to cooperate with both the local Embassy and its USIS officer -- not only in terms of informing themselves on foreign policy but also in using company funds to support local projects in our mutual interest. This can only come from the home office.

By executive fiat the Soviet Union can marshal all its not inconsiderable resources behind its foreign policy goals. We cannot operate that way. Nor would we if we could. But we must propose a democratic alternative to such despotic command of resources. This alternative is, in part, the moulding of mutual interests whereby your firms can join with my agency to help further America's international goals.

May I here make a personal comment?

For many generations this land has treasured most highly a tradition of dissent. Of all the bright jewels in our political crown, the brightest by far was the privilege of every man to let his mind lead his tongue wherever his free thought would carry him.

I suspect that there are those who would now call this into question. If democracy be not dissent, then how can it be defined?

But there are those who would preach a new belief in politics. Under the banner of patriotism, they would exercise the very spirit of this land with the excuse of combatting Communism.

They would spy upon their very neighbors; they would impeach the judiciary; they would support the intrusion of politics into the military; they would abandon the United Nations; they would impose upon the land stifling uniformity falsely labelled as "loyalty"; they would deny dissent; they would impose patriotism from above by executive fiat.

I begrudge no man the right to speak his true mind. Subject only to the limits of common decency and statutes of slander, he may speak as he will.

The threat to this country from Communism can and will be met. For that threat which is internal, there is an agency to attend the task. We serve neither its cause nor our own by charging every dissenter with debasement of his loyalty. For that threat which is external, as it is in Laos and Vietnam, in Berlin and in big bombs, we poorly serve the cause of free men everywhere by dividing the people with false issues of mock patriotism.

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I suggest the world is too complex to be reduced to the simple formula of protecting fortress America from Communist encroachment within. To do so gives them much more than their due. I had not intended to come as a precursor of deep gloom. History, let us hope, will not end on the stroke of noon some day next month. But let us not be sanguine about our prosepects. Encouragement and optimism are functions of how one views the world. I am not encouraged about much of it. I am optimistic about even less of it. I share with others the seat of continual concern over our nation's fortune.

This generation of man has already been through one nightmare of history. Its memory haunts our very hopes. And any man who does not feel himself a part of that nightmare lives in a dream world of his own divination. We have become prisoners of our imagination, patrons of our own uncertainties, servants to our own fears. The anxieties of today serve as desperate handmaidens to our dreams of tomorrow. And the oracle of good hope has been all but banished from our company.

Amid the turmoil of these times, we must tell the world what manner of man lives here. We cannot convince others that we are what we are not. The inequities of this land, the inadequacies we share, the issues still unresolved -- these are as widely headlined in lands abroad as they are in cities at home. I am told by my colleagues that it is not easy to mingle with the African diplomatically when in this country we will not meet with the Negro socially.

When the next headline story bursts out of the southland to be emblazoned in papers from Rabat to Rangoon, do not turn to your Information Agency claiming that we have not told "our story" abroad. It is not within our means to contradict that which infact we are. The very trouble may be that part of "our story" has gone abroad. We are no longer isolated from the world around us, and we no longer have any cushion in either time or distance.

In the final reckoning it may well be that the example of this land and the life we live will be more important than our dollars or our words. In this generous and capacious land, if we can demonstrate increasing equality of opportunity, social justice, concern for the education, health and equality under the law of all our citizens, we will powerfully affect, and perhaps determine, the destiny of the free world.

I come as no metaphysician with secret credos to break the spell in which we are bound. Survival in our age may well depend on an act of self discipline unprecedented in this nation's past. We may yet be summoned to a rendezvous with our fate without parallel in the chronicles of man. We shall live or die because of what we are, and not what we pretend to be.

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Release No. 10

FOR RELEASE AT 7 p.m., EST., SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 10, 1962

Address by

Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the annual dinner of the Lincoln Group of D.C.
Willard Hotel, Washington, D.C.
Saturday, February 10, 1962

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Gratitude, we are often told, is that measure of appreciation a man expresses for favors or benefits received. I am indeed grateful for your invitation this evening. And yet gratitude alone seems inappropriate. For I have come not so much to share thoughts about Lincoln as to participate in the veneration of a legend. And legends, my friends, are not easily approached by mere mortals such as we.

I come as an interloper in the shrine of Lincolnesque recollection. There are, in this audience tonight, experts of Lincolnia with credentials far better than mine. I note that in times gone by your speakers have included such eminences as Alan Nevins, Bruce Catton, and Carl Sandburg. I know them all. They are scholars, historians, poets of the past. I am but a poor past broadcaster who was privileged to use his limited talent on an unlimited medium and who has chosen now to seek his daily bread in the public instead of the private arena. What novice new come to Lincoln could hope to improve on these phrases of Sandburg describing Lincoln as a man "...who is both steel and velvet, who is as hard as rock and soft as drifting fog, who holds in his heart and mind the paradox of terrible storm and peace unspeakable and perfect."

One century has passed and the paradox of storm and peace is still upon our land. Daily the communications pour in from around the globe, relating the difficulties and the doldrums of threatened interests. Not too different, perhaps, from the cables that poured in on Lincoln from the front, relating the dread and the disappointments of secession defended. I well recall one cable said to have arrived at the White House with the signature, "General Hooker. Headquarters, in the saddle." A day passed, and another came with the same signature: "General Hooker. Headquarters, in the saddle." It was on the third such cable's arrival

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that Lincoln is reported to have remarked wrily: "General Hooker has his headquarters where his hindquarters ought to be."

As you may know, I head an information agency with over 200 posts in 99 countries. Our headquarters are thus in the field where our 1,400 foreign service officers occupy our version of the front lines. The hindquarters are back here where I work in Washington.

I have just returned from a visit to part of those headquarters -- two weeks ago I was in Africa. For most of the month of January I saw the fulminations of freedom that are welling up in those lands, I saw the anxious faces and eager hands of black men reaching for their future, I heard the voices and sounds of a tomorrow being spawned in the toil of today. I felt the thrill of excitement filling the hearts of these new men of Africa. These lands will never see their past again.

Their voice and their dream is the ebb tide on which history flows. And as the sea's ebb tide is relentless and unceasing, so too is the ebb tide which carries their dream through these days in which we now live.

There is in this, I suggest, an intense relevancy for us who revere the memory of Abraham Lincoln. If there was any one man who could shape the destiny of a land and a people for generations to follow, surely it was Lincoln. Forging the bonds of insoluble national union, moulding the course of nation-building, leading his people into and out of chaotic struggle in which much was given, more was demanded, and all was committed, with blood strife their legacy but nationhood their future. This was Lincoln, gentlemen. But this, I suggest, is also Africa.

Here, then, is one full factor that puts this country in league with the "Revolution of Bright Hope" that is rising on our globe. We have a birthright on revolution. We are, in Henry Steele Commager's happy phrase, the oldest of the new nations, the first to be made out of an old world colony, ours the oldest written constitution, the oldest continuous federal system and ours the oldest practice of self-government of any nation. And it is as a great revolutionary power that much of the world regards us.

Our revolutionary documents are read and quoted worldwide. A small USIA library in Africa had more requests for the Federalist Papers in four weeks than the New York Public Library had in a full year. Demonstrators rioting in another African land quoted in explanation of their conduct a passage from Thomas Jefferson. When Libya convened its Constitutional Convention my Agency furnished on request a copy of the U.S. Constitution to every member of the Convention, all translated into Arabic. Without exaggeration, that shot fired "by the rude bridge that arched the flood" has been quite literally heard around the world. And its echoes continue to reverberate across lands like those I visited in Africa.

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Lincoln fits into this picture more aptly than most. He does so because of his highly personal "legend of the leader."

Though born amid revolution, America was governed by aristocrats. George Washington, John Adams, Tom Jefferson, James Madison, James Monroe, John Quincy Adams -- these were all educated men of letters, aristocrats of bearing and breeding. The southerners among them even held slaves. It was not until Andrew Jackson that a man "from the people" rose to the White House. But the most dramatized man of the people was surely Abe Lincoln. From log cabin to the Presidency, from rail splitter to nation builder, from common man to leader of men: this was the legendary route of Lincoln, and it is the legend of the leadership about this country that is popularized abroad.

"Lincoln," said Woodrow Wilson, "owed nothing to his birth and everything to his growth." This was the path of Lincoln. This, gentlemen, is also the path of Africa.

Lincoln is justly celebrated as the man who kept a nation from rending itself asunder. But if this was his canvas, his theme was larger. The effort was not only to preserve the union but to preserve for the world the most successful experiment in free government that history had yet seen. He said in his first message to Congress in July, 1861:

> "...it is a struggle for maintaining in the world that form and substance of government whose leading object is to elevate the condition of men -- to lift artificial weights from all shoulders -- to clear the paths of laudable pursuit for all -- to afford all an unfettered start and a fair chance in the race of life."

Free men everywhere, he insisted, had a stake in the preservation of the Union for that Union was "the last best hope of earth."

As early as the debates with Douglas, Lincoln propounded his doctrine of freedom for all. He declared that the men in Independence Hall were speaking to the whole world of men when they enunciated their principles.

> "They reached forward and seized upon the farthest posterity. They erected a beacon to guide their children and their children's children...they established these great self-evident truths that when in the distant future some man, some faction, some interest should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, or none but white men, were entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began."

Americans were, in Lincoln's words, "God's Almost chosen people." A civil war, then, engaged not for our land alone but for whatever land the fortunes

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of history might some day smile upon.

Of equal relevance for emerging nations today is the very time in which Lincoln lived. The milieu of Lincoln was the milieu of the frontier, of a nation on the move, of the growing pains that marked its evolution from a primitive to a developing society. Lincoln over a century ago lived amid circumstances ideally duplicated today in Africa.

Note these words: "New nations would be carved out of old empires, fabulous new lands would be explored and opened up for human settlement, and new struggles for human freedom would be won. The old slow-moving horse-drawn and windpropelled modes of travel would give way to the (new)." R. Gerald McMurtry wrote that. He was describing the America of Lincoln's day. He could as well be describing the Africa of our day.

Amid the difficulties of burgeoning nationhood and a pain-wracked Civil War that near prostrated the republic, Lincoln proved himself a man of mighty principle. Lincoln had every reason to postpone the elections of 1864 -- the bloody war was in its fourth year, he had no assurance of his own re-election. But hold the election he did. Listen to his words writ large on the pages of history a week after the election: "...the election was a necessity. We can not have free government without elections; and if the rebellion could force us to forego, or postpone a national election, it might fairly claim to have already conquered and ruined us... What has occurred in this case, must ever recur in similar cases...the election, along with its incidental and undesirable strife, has done good too. It has demonstrated that a people's government can sustain a national election in the midst of a great civil war. Until now it has not been known to the world that this was a possibility."

But it was a possibility. And the world saw it proven so. There may lie in this a moral for the newly arrived brotherhood of nations in Africa.

We do not expect them to imitate our forms. On the contrary, contemplation of our Civil War should make us tolerant of the difficulties of other lands. Our own forms were roughhewn for us. Into them our people have poured their blood and their toil, their work and their worry. Those forms even today undergo change and adjustment. Why, then, should we feel that our way is the best way for other peoples as well? Discovering one's own path in one's own manner is part of the soil in which our rootholds have grown. As we would not deny it to ourselves, so should we not deny it to others.

But we do expect these other lands to be true to their own principles and practices. The lesson of Lincoln and the 1864 election amid the travail of Civil War is a lesson ignored by others only to their loss. It says that the way of the expedient and the easy is not the way of the strong. This, too, is part of the "legend of the leader" that is Lincoln.

We celebrate this year the 100th Anniversary of the Emancipation

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Proclamation. In a time when local problems have become global concerns it seems prophetic that this epic pronunciamento on domestic freedom had foreign policy overtones as well. By making the extirpation of slavery one of the main objects of the war, Lincoln rallied the moral sense of England and France to his side. Britain and France could then only be unshakably for the Union. There was a tide of history running in the affairs of men even then.

One century later, the issue to which that proclamation was directed is still not at rest. The Negro has gained his freedom. He is still en route to gaining his equality.

The Proclamation resulted in political emancipation. Psychological emancipation has been longer coming. And the very nature of the Civil War has made its solution a difficult one. But because the War was severe, problems arising from it are severe. The south still has its bitter memories. Regional feeling and unity are still greater there than elsewhere in the country. And what more natural target for such lingering resentments than the very group which contributed a major issue to that fratricidal struggle, the Negro?

The most important aspect of slavery to impress itself on my mind is that it was NEGRO slavery. It was designed to regulate the relationships between black and white. The Civil War and the 13th amendment changed the status of the Negro, but the economic and social relationships of black and white were not greatly changed. Justifications of slavery before the war could be applied with equal force and relevance after the war to support continuation of the Negro as a subordinate. Indeed, in our southland today, there are phrases uttered that but for the accident of time could be relevant to issues bound up in the Civil War. This is not to say there is here a pro-slavery sentiment in the 20th century. Quite the contrary. But it does suggest that underlying the issues of slavery was a relationship of status between black and white. The nation one century later is still engrossed in realigning that relationship.

But the change of that relationship is inevitably stamped on the events of our day. Under Franklin Roosevelt Negro advisers were appointed to the Cabinet. Under Harry Truman the seal of the President's office was implanted upon the report of his Civil Rights Commission officially decrying the rights denied Negroes. In the 1950's there issued a Supreme Court decision that may well rank as the 20th century Emancipation Proclamation -- Brown vs. Board of Education, pronouncing separate facilities as inherently unequal. And only last month John F. Kennedy announced his intention of appointing the first Negro to sit in the President's Cabinet.

The Negro has come a long way in this land. He will go further. This country is indeed dedicated to the proposition that equality in the eyes of the law is not predicated upon color in the eyes of the beholder. This will take time because this land is equally dedicated to the rights and privileges of all its citizens. To change a majority, one respects a minority. And it will take place peacefully because this land is rooted in the soil of democracy and calm

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transition.

This I believe deeply: There is no land where changes so far reaching and so affecting the body politic could take place in an atmosphere so free of frenzy. It is a measure of the strength of a people that we do what we must do in a way that comforts the conscience of people with opposing points of view.

Saul Padover recently authored a book called "The Genius of America." His chapter headings list the moulders of the country as they seem to him best to be known: The American as Democrat -- Thomas Jefferson. The American as Conservative -- Alexander Hamilton. The American as Republican -- James Madison. The American as Federalist -- John Marshall. The American as Philosopher -- Ralph Waldo Emerson. I could not help but note this chapter with a simpler listing: The American -- Abraham Lincoln.

Perhaps that is how we best remember Lincoln -- simply, the American.

Padover again says that America's most original contribution to political theory has been to have no theory. If true this be, then surely the capstone of our nationhood has been its people. If the American dream were to be summed up in the figure of but one solitary person, surely that person would be the solemn Lincoln.

There was about him that most peculiar quality of manhood that history best calls destiny. In him was wrapped not the hope of one people but the dream of all peoples. The Civil War was fought not only to unify this nation or to free its slaves but for the freedom of men everywhere. Lincoln's life span of 56 years, 2 months, and 4 days is yet to end. And it may never, so long as men dare to tempt their dreams with the fervor of their hope.

His was an age new-born. He came into the world while Tom Jefferson was concluding his 8th year of the Presidency, that very winter that was the time of James Madison's inauguration and Bonaparte's invasion of Spain. A half century later he would be the first President born beyond the confines of the 13 original states, even as one century later John F. Kennedy would be the first President born in this century.

And in this land of ours -- born in revolution, tempered in struggle, united in blood, nurtured amid hope, and seasoned with responsibility -- the rising nations of Africa see more than just history alone. They would elevate their gaze to a horizon but dimly perceived by some but a horizon to which all of us are inevitably bound. To some it may seem they are caught in the pathological fervor of their nationalism. But I suggest that what we witness is but the fervent profile of what -- but for the grace of the past two centuries -- would be the early spawning of our own land of America.

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ADVANCE: FOR RELEASE 12:15 p.m. THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1962

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the Arthur S. Flemming luncheon and awards ceremony
at the Statler Hotel, Washington, D.C.
Thursday, February 15, 1962

Mr. Chairman, honored guests, you ten outstanding young men in the Federal Government who are still to be recognized, ladies and gentlemen:

Let me thank you for your invitation to make this Arthur S. Flemming Awards Address. We gather to honor others, yet I feel myself honored in being invited to sit among those to whom honor is being paid for excellence in government.

I am new to the Federal Service. I have many myriad impressions that weigh upon what will one day be nostalgic reminiscing. One of the deepest is an impression of the diligent and the dedicated who have given their labor and their life to the service and success of our common endeavor. It is fitting that we today give them their due, for of them it can be said: Theirs is the silence of the unrecognized.

It is to break that silence that we bestow today this accolade for accomplishment. It is, I think, equally important to note at the outset that none of you has sought this honor. The honor, on the contrary, has sought you.

Recognition is not always so passively gained. Performance and work, especially when it is well done, often goes unnoticed. I well recall an episode involving a colleague of mine several months back who found under the windshield wiper of his automobile this notice: "Merry Christmas and Happy New Year. From the boys at the garage." My friend was touched. He made a mental note to leave a gift of several dollars for "the boys at the garage." But his mental note was erased from his slate of memory. Several weeks passed. And two days before the holiday my friend found another note on his windshield: "Merry Christmas and Happy New Year. From the boys at the garage. Second notice."

You gentlemen here have no such need to advertise your talents. And this luncheon is not a second but a conclusive notice that you are appreciated

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and highly regarded.

Up to this moment there is a distinctive fact of this luncheon that I am sure has gone little noticed. This ceremony is to honor outstanding YOUNG men in the Federal Government. I look at them and acknowledge the blatant truth of their youth. It is thus all over this new Administration. And by inviting me here I trust you regard me as young enough to tread among the youthful. For this, Mr. Chairman and members of the Awards Commission, I am deeply grateful.

I was impressed by how thoroughly your selections have been made. You canvassed 87 Cabinet, Executive, and independent agencies, ranging from the Administrative Office of the United States Courts to the Washington Botanical Gardens. A decision was made to recognize half administrative and half technical persons. 67 nominees resulted. The final selection of these ten recipients was made from a screening process narrowing the field to 21 nominees -- 10 administrative, 10 technical. That 21st finalist was some poor chap described to me as an odd leftover technical administrator -- I do not know, but I hope he won.

And so we are here to honor you ten gentlemen -- or should I express it again, you 10 YOUNG men. This honor may bring you some small measure of fame. Of this be wary. Honor and fame are often regarded as interchangeable. They both involve an appraisal of the individual. They both evoke public commendation. Reflecting as they do the opinion of the community, any distinction between them tends to disappear.

But I suggest this difference. Fame is morally neutral. It is used by those who judge not men but the impression they make. What counts in fame is the magnificence of that impression, not its correspondence with either morality or reality. In Plutarch's Famous Lives are recorded biographies of the ancients. Plutarch does not regard these men of whom he writes as paragons of virtue. Some of them were perhaps even depraved. But they are all famous. And this we regard as a matter of historic fact.

If fame should come to you who gain honor, treat that fame cautiously. Fame may be lost as fortuitously as it is acquired. "Fame," said Thomas Aquinas, "has no stability. It is easily ruined by false report. And if it sometimes endures, This is by accident." Fame is naught but the jealous handmaiden of community approval. And note well, as some wit has remarked, that the final test of fame is to have a crazy person imagine he is you.

I have often wondered what it is that makes man respond to duty. No one compels you to remain in government. You could earn far better keep in private employ. Even if you stayed in government, no one compels you to pursue excellence. You could earn what keep you have with much less time and effort on your jobs. What, then, keeps you at it?

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A theologian might reply that God requires it. Thomas Hobbes would say the public requires it or else the Leviathan will invoke punishment. The Greeks would say to do otherwise would be dishonest and below the dignity of man.

Yet I think the answer may simply be this: it is that you require it. You do not work as you do out of duty to state or to God.or with reference to law either divine or human. This could be discharged without your last full measure of effort.

I think you perform as you perform because of a personal private virtue that lies in conscience. Some may say that such conscience is of private morality only. But to me the distinction between public and private morality is irrelevant to conscience.

It is a conscience perhaps best described by John Stuart Mill: "The ultimate sanction of all morality...is a subjective feeling in our own minds." And Mill went on to say that because we are social beings we each of us tend to feel that there should be harmony between our feelings and aims and those of our fellow-creatures.

To me this inner conscience is basic. It is the very stuff of which our way of life is made. It is others who have erected the state as a deity to worship. It is we who have enshrined in our way of life regard for the individual. To us the civic virtues are not exhausted by the virtues of citizenship. Man, too, has his place in our sun.

But we may take this matter of conscience a step further. Let us define that conscience as being a loyalty higher than the state alone. The welfare of the state is not the sole end of man. Man's common humanity takes precedence over membership in any state. More may be required of the good man than of the good citizen. Or,as I remember from my school days long ago: The virtues of a saint are of a higher order than those of a patriot.

Thus it was that Socrates appealed to a loyalty higher than the state. He disobeyed the state and chose death by the hemlock rather than foreswear his inner voice of conscience. And so it was that Marcus Aurelius could write: "My city and my country, so far as I am Antoninus, is Rome, but so far as I am a man it is the world."

And it is here that we are at base so very different from our adversaries. Their way of life can never allow pursuit of one's own conscience. We postulate that freedom as the base of our society: that higher than the state there is that personal morality of conscience. It is not so much that we resort to the higher morality as it is its availability in time of need. It is our tolerance of conscience that makes our way worth our living.

And to defend this we will give our all: our time and our temper, our

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future and our fortunes, and if need be, our very lives. To us this is sacred. Its compromise we shall not endure.

And there perhaps lies the reason you ten have so strived and struggled. Yours is the pursuit not of profit or of pleasure but of principle. Your purpose is yourselves and our tomorrows. Your desire is your very excellence. Your duty is the very success you have already achieved. You and your agonizing for perfection represent the very best that is this country. We are all in your eternal debt: this room, this government, this people, this land. Gentlemen of distinction, we commend you.

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Release No. 12

ADVANCE: FOR RELEASE 12:30 p.m., CST, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1962

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the Annual Meeting of the American Management Association
at the Palmer House, Chicago, Illinois
Friday, February 16, 1962

Mr. Chairman, Honored Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Let me thank you for your invitation to be with you today. I come full tide on the wings of enthusiasm. I am recently returned from Africa. I saw there with my own eyes the excitement and exhiliration of peoples anxious to leap into the second half of the 20th century. As for themselves, theirs is the legacy of hope after decades of dormancy. As for us, ours is the legacy of challenge after decades of neglect.

You have convened for what I am told is your mid-winter personnel conference. May I commend your concern and relate to you that we are partners in our anxiety over personnel. In my wanderings around West Africa few things impressed me more than that sometimes happy coincidence of the right man in the right job. The equation of personnel ambition corresponding to work challenge is as delicate as the human chemistry upon which it depends. There are instances in Africa when we have had the good fortune to solve that equation, and it is then exciting indeed to see a man involved in his work who in his work involves the men whom he daily contacts.

It was in Ghana, near the capital city of Accra, that I had my first experience with a "Mammy Wagon." These converted buses and trucks are part of the major system of transport in Ghana -- jammed with men or animals, produce and goods, crates and cartons. Whatever men have to carry is usually carried in the "Mammy Wagon." They take their character and color from inscriptions and mottos writ large on their side boards -- legends adorning them such as "lonely boy," "farewell my soul," "never trust a woman," "love snakes and fear women," "leave all matters to God," "man proposes but God disposes." But the motto that most appealed is the one that came close to stating man's modern dilemma: "The Lord is my Shepherd -- I know not why."

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So that peoples abroad cannot make the same complaint of not knowing about the United States is the reason for being of my Agency. I am told you wish to hear about "The Worker in Other Countries," what he learns about this land and how we communicate with him. To understand this you must know what my Agency is up to.

We use all the media of communication know to man: we broadcast radio; we produce television; we make movies; we print newspapers, magazines, pamphlets and posters; we distribute a wire service, photographs, comic strips and cartoons; we help publish books; we run libraries and information centers; we teach English; we stage exhibits; we administer student and educational exchanges; and as important as all of this, we engage in the all important face-to-face personal contact work with foreign cabinet ministers and government leaders, newspaper editors and writers, educators, and what can best be described as foreign opinion moulders.

Our aim: to tell them why we do what we do. We are in pursuit of men's minds and opinions. It is an elusive goal. You do not win them quickly or easily. Once won, they give you no commitment that they will stay won. They are people like you and me. They will change their minds as capriciously or as often as we do. They will judge us more by what we do than by what we say. A Cuban invasion can defame the name of this country in Latin America, just as an Alliance for Progress can do much to honor it.

Let me take a subject and show you how my Agency responds. It is a subject, incidentally, designed to appeal to, among other audiences, foreign workers. It is the subject of the American economy. How do we explain capitalism abroad?

Our television service has been able to inject the concepts and values of free enterprise and private ownership into many overseas programs. Beginning in 1956 we distributed the "Industry on Parade" series world-wide, produced by the National Association of Manufacturers and describing the high productivity, versatility and technical know-how of American industry. World-wide distribution also went to "Americans at Work," produced by the AFL-CIO, illustrating the role played by free labor in our capitalistic system.

Individual programs in the world-wide "Assignment USA" series likewise treated American capitalism. A show called "Small Business" described the concept of private ownership, initiative and drive. "The Education of Johnny Schnell" illustrated private ownership and initiative by describing such incidents as a boy's paper route, and his father's job with the Telephone Company where, as one of its employees, he owned stock as well as receiving a salary.

Our "Report from America" series in many language versions has depicted topics such as leisure time, supermarkets, farming, home building, shopping centers, suburban families, public schools, small farms, household appliances,

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motels, and summer theatres -- all reflecting America's private enterprise system.

In radio the Voice of America weekly broadcasts programs on economics illustrating the work, the achievements, and the problems of the free enterprise system. There is a bi-weekly program featuring the national economics editor of the New York Herald Tribune. Problems of economic growth have been discussed on the air by the chief economist and the president of the American Chamber of Commerce, by Leon Keyserling, former head of Truman's Council of Economic Advisers and Arthur Burns, who held the same position under Dwight Eisenhower. Labor problems have been discussed by former Secretary of Labor James Mitchell and present Secretary of Labor Arthur Goldberg.

Our broadcasts have emphasized that peaceful cooperation between labor and management in this country has displaced class conflict. Representatives of the Voice of America regularly cover meetings of economists and businessmen, such as this meeting of the American Management Association. We've carried excellent series on the history of capitalism, on economic crises, on the role of the stock exchange, and on sources of economic growth.

We've done series on big American corporations such as the Dow Chemical Company, the DuPont Company, American Telephone and Telegraph, The Atlantic and Pacific, the Travellers Insurance Company, the Story of Oil, the Story of Coal, and others. Our latest program involved the operations of Armco International in 23 countries and the benefits derived by nations where this firm does business.

I am told that in Moscow people discuss this country and its economic accomplishment in terms of envy. There is a story told of a Muscovite proud of his 3 sons, one of whom is a people's doctor in Leningrad and the other an engineer in Stalingrad -- now Volgograd. But the son of whom the old man is proudest is in America in Detroit. "He's unemployed now," says the old Russian, "but he gets money from the government since he is out of work. If it were not for the few dollars he sends us every month we would starve."

Our press service turns out pamphlets, columns, and news articles that get printed the world around. Note this sampling of the type of material featured: an article emphasizing the vitality of our system through the nation's progress in space research and exploration and the promise of greater things to come, at the same time illustrating the essentially civilian character of American society; another notes the strength of the U.S. economy compared to that of the USSR, showing the basic differences in approach and philosophy and the growing ability of our system to meet the needs and aspirations of the people as against the Soviet system; another explains the pre-eminence of the consumer in the American economy, showing that most of the national income goes to the workers; still another portrays the agricultural abundance and productivity of this land, comparing our

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striking success with the failure of the Communist agricultural practice and explaining the difference between the two systems that make this possible.

Our press people have also distributed some interesting picture layouts -- like the one called "Lunchbox Capitalists," showing steelworkers reading the Wall Street Journal on their lunch hour to check on the stocks in their own company that they have bought, or a Negro steelworkers who received a letter from his company president offering him stock options under a bonus plan. Or another lay-out entitled "Meet an American Ditchdigger," the story of Bill McVey, a guy who owns his own tractor, revels in being his own boss, does excavating and ditch work for people around Aurora, Missouri, and then returns to the close-knit family life of his wife and four kids.

A big part of translating the economy for the American worker abroad lies in our 176 USIS libraries and 128 Binational Centers abroad. These make available books, pamphlets, periodicals, and federal documents showing how our system works, as well as publications of private corporations such as annual reports to the public and stockholders. From college texts to Commerce Department reports to the Wall Street Journal -- they are all available to foreign readers. We also cooperate in meeting unusual needs by locating special collections of books for long-term loans to foreign universities, government officials and professional groups.

Examples may suffice: we've recommended to all USIS posts a new revision of Colm and Geiger's THE ECONOMY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, PROGRESS, PROBLEMS, PROSPECTS, published by the National Planning Association.

In our overseas translation program, which has run to over 60,000,000 copies, the first and second all-time most published titles are two vigorous defenses of American capitalism: THE BIG CHANGE by Frederick Lewis Allen and CAPITALISM IN AMERICA by Frederick Stern. Another much demanded volume has been USA: THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION by the Editors of Fortune. Taken together, these three books alone account for 80 foreign language printings.

To nations unlike ourselves who have not been raised in the full flush of publishing prosperity, a book can have extraordinary impact. Perhaps this story will illustrate. An American businessman in Honduras saw at a USIS book exhibit a Spanish language translation of PRIVATE INVESTMENT: KEY TO INTERNATIONAL INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT by James Daniel. After ordering copies for his company's foreign employees, he took a copy to read on the plane leaving Honduras. His seat companion, upon noticing the title of the book, stopped reading his own paperback detective novel and began reading over the American's shoulder. The American asked him if he would like to browse through the book for the rest of the flight. The stranger eagerly accepted. When the plane landed in Guatemala, the stranger expressed his sorrow at being unable to read the book more closely, whereupon the American offered to let him keep the volume. The stranger gratefully accepted and introduced himself: the Vice-Minister of Economy for

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Nicaragua, en route to a meeting of the Central American Commodity Market, where he felt this USIS book on private industrial development would be useful to him.

The American, of course, got another copy of "PRIVATE INVESTMENT."

A little more spectacular, perhaps, is this story of a class in special technical English oriented towards banking given by one of our Binational Centers in Brazil. During class discussion a bank sub-manager noted that Brazil had neither a national payments system nor a national clearing system. He was encouraged to do research on the subject. We supplied information from the Federal Reserve Board and other U. S. sources. Legal counsel was found. A study was written. The local Federation of Industries was so impressed with the study that it financed its publication and wide distribution. Rio Grande do Sul economists plan to take the idea to the National Congress and hope to incorporate it into legislation, thereby establishing a national payments and clearing system for the country. And all of this, mind you, stemming from a USIS sponsored technical English class.

We have over a dozen exhibits currently showing abroad on the subject of the U. S. Economic System. Note these examples: A New American Family -- showing the rapid adjustment of a Hungarian refugee family to life in our free enterprise society where the small wage earner can by hard work live in security and dignity. A Progressive Economy -- showing how Americans have achieved the highest standard of living in the world by means of a free enterprise system, disproving the Marxian prediction that under capitalism the rich would get richer and the poor poorer. How Americans Earn Their Living -- defining the content and characteristics of the U. S. labor force, showing methods and techniques that make it skilled and productive, showing results of this productivity and as a final aspect showing how Americans benefit from their labor.

All of this I have mentioned illustrates a phase of our Agency's work in the field of economics. Many of the examples, as you no doubt noted, are oriented to facets of life and labor in this country about which foreign working people would be curious. It is a trying task to describe something as enormously complex as the American economy to non-industrialized societies. Many of them have no remotely comparable experience and find it difficult to understand some of what is told them. Some of them do not even have a language capable of dealing with the subject. But it is a task in which I feel this Agency has had some degree of success.

If the "Worker In Other Countries" is your concern, then I must report to you a new direction my Agency is taking. It is a labor information program. Nine labor information specialists are being assigned in Latin America to Argentina, Venezuela, Bolivia, Peru, Mexico, Uruguay, Colombia, Brazil, and Chile.

Their job in Latin America is a most important one. Labor is a vital

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objective, both for ourselves and the Communists. It is the Latin American worker, in farm and factory, who possesses, in President Kennedy's words, the "unsatisfied aspiration for economic progress and social justice." And it is to the worker that Communism, if it is to triumph in this hemisphere, must prove its case and gain its victory. That is why, if the Latin American worker is not to be lost to the cause of freedom, our response in Latin America must be as bold and as big as the challenge we confront.

These labor information officers will work closely with local workers and their groups. They will encourage democratic workers' organizations and improvement of workers' living standards. They will stress the advantage of cooperation with democratic parties rather than with Castro-Communist movements. They will inform the more advanced trade unions about the basics of free democratic trade unionism -- such as organization, collective bargaining, grievance procedures, community responsibility, etc.

They will strive to increase understanding of the United States, its mixed economy, its domestic and foreign policy, and they will show that the advances and progress of the American labor movement such as social security unemployment insurance, guaranteed collective bargaining, etc -- all highly desirable in Latin American eyes -- are fruits of the United States political system.

They will promote friendly relations between Latin American and United States labor and promote a sense of joint participation in solving this hemisphere's problems.

They will expose the false claim of Communism to champion the world's workers. They will show Communism in its true light as exploiter of the working class. They will combat Communist infiltration of free labor unions and demonstrate that Communism is an international conspiracy against personal and national freedom working through captive labor movements to impose Communist world domination.

To do this, they will use a variety of methods: labor newspapers, labor radio shows, labor pamphlet programs, labor films and movies, labor book presentations, labor education centers, labor educational seminars, labor exchange of persons programs, labor exhibit programs, and special labor press and picture releases. All of this, of course, only supplements the most important element of all: the individual labor specialist himself, engaging in vital face-to-face confrontation in those places and with those persons to whom his appeal is addressed.

I am not so naive as to suggest that with what my Agency does we can win the world. But I am honest enough to acknowledge that quite spectacular results can be achieved. In Pakistan, for example, a strike in a local factory threatened unemployment for the workers in the area. The strike was avoided, and local authorities give credit for this to a most non-economic factor: a USIS film,

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"Union Local." Despite pressures from leftist leaders of the union to go on strike, the majority of workers decided that if workers in the United States could settle grievances through negotiations, they should make the same attempt. They had seen it in a USIS movie. The strike failed.

If a single film could do this, imagine what one man full time with the resources of a program at his command might hope to accomplish.

This concerted effort on labor that I mentioned in Latin America is part of my Agency's role in the Alliance for Progress.

It is in this context of the kind of war we are in that American business firms responded to the overseas information program I spoke of last November in Houston, Texas. There I stated that we were cooperating with 150 firms to supply material on crucial issues to their overseas American representatives through home offices. In the thirteen weeks since then, more than 180 additional firms have offered their cooperation. We estimate some 4,500 American business representatives abroad have been asked by their companies to study material on foreign policy issues. Thus when our overseas businessman discusses world affairs, particularly those issues in which America has a major stake, he speaks from greater knowledge. His conversation, without parroting the government line, can be a very helpful influence on his foreign friends, frequently people of considerable import and influence. Frequently, too, these associates are quite different from those of the official American diplomatic community.

The business world's response indicates that most firms are convinced that the Alliance must succeed if Latin America is going to remain in the Free World. If your own firms have representatives in Latin America or elsewhere overseas, and we have not asked for your help, we would appreciate hearing from you.

I bandy no empty emphasis when I say you this solemn thought: we cannot allow the Alliance to fail. Announced almost a year ago by President Kennedy, it is free society's response to poverty and pestilence, to ignorance and indolence. Should these efforts of free men fail, the lusty shouting in the offstage wings to Latin America by Castro and his cohorts would herald the inevitability that their solutions will be tried. The history of our day has recorded part of the price for the Castro-type solution. It has also recorded, alas, how difficult it is to remove such factors from the stage.

It is in pursuit of common goals from common concerns that we ask you to join us -- the defense of free men everywhere. As one of my colleagues is wont to say: come on in. The Cold War water is fine.

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Release No. 13

ADVANCE: FOR RELEASE 8 p.m. C.S.T. FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1962

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education
at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois
Friday, February 16, 1962

Mr. Chairman, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen:

Let me thank you for your gracious invitation to leave the frigid temperatures of a freezing Washington to come for a day of repose in calmer cooler climes here by the windswept shores of Lake Michigan. I trust this will not open me to heckling as happened to one of my USIA officers in India who from an audience one evening received this question: "Why is it in a great and prosperous country like the United States mental hospitals are filled with patients?" This could be embarrassing: what does one tell the Indians, that the leader of the free world is a nation of sick minds? This USIA officer summoned the ingenuity that I like to think is typical of all my foreign service people. He replied that it is because we are prosperous that we can afford to care for our mentally ill, and he then asked if India might want technical assistance in this regard. To which the questioner responded: "This isn't necessary. All the crazy people are already in institutions -- universities and the legislature."

I know that all the crazy people in this country are not in universities -- they occasionally let you visit conventions such as this one here in Chicago. I have also met an occasional one rumbling around the bountiful hallways of Washington. And if you are crazy let me welcome you to the comfort of the similarly afflicted like myself. We are all of us a bit "crazy" with the idea of ideas, with the moulding of a man's mind into a more perfect instrument, and with the feeling of awe that how we today labor will form tomorrow's leaders. If this be craziness, may its infection spread.

I note the theme of your annual meeting is stated as "Foundations for Excellence." May I commend your choice of emphasis? These are times of trial. This land has gone through crisis before, but it has never been faced with the ace of trump in the suit of nuclear clubs. These times demand excellence. Excellence cannot be willed or wished out of the past. Excellence is, alas, a function of foresight and hard work. This nation can have intellectual excellence

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only at a price. Our educational system can be as competent or as incompetent as we choose to pay for.

You train teachers. I disparage not the need for building and facility when I say that the forge of our excellence lies in the job you do. A school building is important, but a teacher is indispensable. If the quality of teaching is high, if the marking is tough, if the students are disciplined, and the teachers motivated and sufficiently paid, then the fertility of excellence will have been sown. To my knowledge a bad teacher has never yet moulded a good pupil.

A large part of this problem is, I know, a question of money. In 1946 more babies were born than in any other year in our history; that record has been surpassed every year since. Compounding this is the fact that a larger percentage of our larger population is now seeking higher education. College applications will double in 10 years. And I am told that already colleges are suffering from an acute shortage of teachers. In that same 10 years the percentage of Ph. D.s teaching will be cut in half. The ominous corollary of lower standards is clear to all.

I am aware, of course, that the teacher shortage is not accidental. It is the result of a cause. That cause is too little pay in our well paid land. If there is not more money first to pay more teachers more salary, then to me the proposition is sound that perhaps we can do with less new building.

Money will not, I know, solve all problems. Standards of training and employing teachers should be raised. One does not command greater excellence with less effort. Teacher tenure, while important, must not protect the decreasingly competent. But there can be no reason for a teacher earning less than a secretary or a dress model or a store salesman -- unless that reason is a reflective collective national decision that excellence is not our country's concern and that in an increasingly perilous world we maximize our safety by minimizing our talents and our brains. The jury on education, my friends, is still out.

I am new returned from Africa. Just over a fortnight ago I was on that continent marked by new-born countries wrapped in the swaddling clothes of enthusiasm. Theirs is a view of a brighter tomorrow, and it is a view which they will not be denied.

Yours is the task of education. You are engaged in instructing men how to instruct other men. It will, I am sure, come as no surprise when I say that this, too, is the task of Africa. New lands, gingerly testing new-found prerogatives and principles, have a bottomless capacity to absorb assistance from others. But what they universally feel they most need more of is education.

To these new lands the secrets of learning will unlock the doors of mystery. In a revolutionary age nothing is more revolutionary than education.

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There is about these peoples an obsession to explode headfirst into the second half of the 20th century.

Education for them is a signpost on the road up from feudalism. Enlightenment is the fruit of freedom, and these people long-starved hunger for those fruits. Education for them is the badge of their own self-respect. It is the hope that more men will live into their 30's, the promise that fewer babies will die in infancy. Education is a one-way route to success, to a lifetime free from squalor, to a livelihood free of leprosy. Education is the way toward a medical doctor and away from a witch doctor. It is better crops and full stomachs, it is well fed children and happy lives. It is a vast host of all the great hopes that are born on the magical day of independence. It is, in short, a shorthand symbol of all that they dare to dream.

We in America may smile at the naivete of such enthusiasm, but there is no gainsaying its existence. We each of us realize that one needs more to build a nation than the value of an alphabet and logic. But before you mark this as mere childish enthusiasm you would, I suggest, do well to regard our own meager beginnings as a nation. We too were naive, ingenuous, enthusiastic. And as for men such as Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Adams, Madison, who among us could say that education was not in the forefront of their minds?

One would be blind indeed if one did not see a parallel between this land and the emerging Africa.

It is a parallelism not lost on the African. This country has a birthright on revolution, and it is as a revolutionary power that we are best known. Our revolutionary documents are read and quoted world-wide. A small USIA library in Africa had more requests for the Federalist Papers in four weeks than the New York Public Library -- the nation's second largest -- had in a full year. Demonstrators rioting in another African land quoted in explanation of their conduct a passage from Thomas Jefferson. When Libya convened its Constitutional Convention every member of the convention received from my Agency on request a copy of the U.S. Constitution, each copy translated into Arabic. Without exaggeration, that shot fired "by the rude bridge that arched the flood" has been quite literally heard round the world. And its echoes continue to reverberate across lands like those I visited in Africa.

As you are educators, let me briefly tell you what my Agency does in the field of education. Apart from where politics and the Cold War dictate our policies, the core of our operations on the intellectual front is our libraries. Americans who regard libraries as quiet enclaves with musty shelves would be amazed at the vibrant activity that swarms around our overseas libraries and the extraordinary impact they can have.

Come with me, then, for a quick verbal tour of what goes on in USIS libraries overseas.

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In Hong Kong, for example, our library is asked: "Are public high schools free?"

In Teheran comes the query: "How many Americans follow Mohammed?"

From an eager youngster in Buenos Aires: "How big is Hollywood?"

And in Bombay from a village patriarch: "Do all old people in America get pensions?"

People, then, come to our libraries to ask questions, read, borrow books and periodicals, look at exhibits, listen to music, learn English, and participate in discussion and study groups. In short, they can learn about the United States, its policy and its plans, its principles and its practices, in a phrase -- what we stand for and what we are.

The Information Center and library service is the heart of our long-range cultural program in virtually all countries of the free world. They range from small units of one to two people at work to large units like the Amerika Haus in Berlin with some 2,000 people PER DAY using the building.

In this country we take the open shelf lending library for granted. Yet in many parts of the world our concept of a library as a place to drop in, browse, and check out books was unheard of until the USIA program was established.

The old idea of a library was of a few dark shelves in a building at the back of some university where scholars could go IF they could get in. The librarian was the conserver of the books. He was afraid some user of books would get to his volumes and tear them -- steal them -- soil them -- spoil them -- deface them. He did not want to let books out of his purvey of control. Letting ordinary people handle books, much less borrow them, was totally unthinkable. The difference this country stands for, in which we are unique artisans of ideas, is the public library system. We do everything possible to bring people and books together. Some countries are paying us the ultimate compliment -- they are converting their libraries to the American system: put the library in the most accessible spot, put in big window displays of attractive jackets and late books, promote the feeling of access, make it as easy as possible for people and books to come together.

The everyday activities in these libraries of ours are infinitely varied.

In Rangoon a school teacher came 18 miles -- partly on foot -- for a book on a subject her school class was studying. She saw related books on the subject and sighed aloud: if only she could stay for several days to read... She was told she could borrow them, and her incredulous stare of blank disbelief was broken only by the books being placed physically in her hands. In Burma, mark up one school teacher, an enthusiastic admirer of American education via books from the USIA library.

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In Pakistan a bookmobile climbs over near impassable roads to a village where its arrival is announced to all the countryside by the beat of heavy drums.

In Paris a listener for the first time to Walter Piston's 6th Symphony is so impressed that he requests a copy of the score to include the work in an upcoming concert. USIA services his request, as it did 36,000 others last year for musical material.

In Belgrade young Yugoslavs listen to a tape of "Abe Lincoln in Illinois" by Robert Sherwood, produced by our Voice of America in cooperation with the American National Theater Academy, starring Rod Steiger in the leading role of the Lincoln-Douglas debates. An effective medium, you will agree, to say a few things about this country's principles of democracy.

In Vietnam a newspaper makes a leading feature story out of an exhibit at the Information Center, observing that the exhibit reflects the beauty of free and independent livelihood.

In Indonesia a large crowd views one of our USIA films, this one on the atomic submarine NAUTILUS crossing under the polar ice cap and its 37 year old commander William Anderson returning for his Presidential citation.

In almost all of our libraries if you listen closely you can hear the chant of a class learning English, the teacher's solitary voice intoning: "Good morning today, how are you?" the throaty chorus of a hundred foreigners intoning back in a variety of their local accents: "Good morning today, how are you?" They learn as a language is taught from the very beginning -- by ear. And before you turn away you're liable to hear them burst into a chorus of "Oh my darlin', oh my darlin', oh my darlin' Clementine." For how better to learn a tongue than by playing your tongue over the tunes and rhythms of its folk songs?

There are exciting tales about our English teaching. In Latin America a boy registering for classes asked permission to attend barefooted. It was only much later that we learned he had sold his last pair of shoes to pay for the lessons. In Africa a group of tribal chieftains was told not to come for their first opening class as our furniture had not yet arrived. So they all showed up anyway -- each carrying his own chair. In Mexico City crowds for classes were so large that the night before registration police were called out to handle the throngs. The next morning when our doors opened who were the first ones in to register? The police themselves. This year we are teaching English in Mexico City to 7,500 people a day. In another African country the Prime Minister and most of his Cabinet are members of a USIA English class, and the chief executive of another has promised to be the first to enroll when we open English teaching there.

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Our libraries have become indeed the symbol of this free land abroad. When we open new ones, as we are now doing in Africa, the occasion becomes a ceremony of state with Cabinet level officials in attendance. Our first membership cards in recent locations have been to the Prime Ministers. And the former foreign minister of Mexico is reported to have said once: "The United States has done many fine things for Mexico. You spent fifty million dollars helping us eradicate hoof and mouth disease. You have constructed sewage systems in each of our towns along the border. You have helped us build health clinics and other public works throughout the country. But the finest single thing you have ever done for us, in my opinion, was the establishment of the Benjamin Franklin USIA Library."

One must agree: the USIS libraries are among the finest things we have done in many countries. We have 176 of them in 80 countries in the Free World, as well as 128 binational cultural centers in 35 countries.

Permit me now a transgression on my role as guest. I have spoken about my Agency. Let us speak briefly about you.

Our Agency has a big stake in education and cultural efforts abroad. In so doing, we only reflect the interests of not only the government but of you, its citizens. But as educators this should concern you even more directly. Ours is a joint task. What we do in the field of education is no better or no worse than the resources of education groups on whom we rely in this country. We shall thus reflect your excellence, or we shall as well be compelled to cope with your lack of it.

Let me mention a specific need: English teaching. I mentioned earlier that boy with no shoes, those policemen before the crowds in Mexico, the African chieftains with their chairs, the heads of state with their requests to teach their Cabinets. As the world would know of us, it would speak with us. We intend to train those tongues. Last year we taught over a quarter million people to speak English. We could double that number. The economist would say our demand is outracing our supply. I would say simply we need help. The tightest limitation we have on teaching foreigners to speak English is a lack of people to do the teaching, not simply teachers per se but teachers trained in the very special skill of teaching English to other peoples as a foreign or second language. This is a highly specialized technique of English instruction, unlike teaching English to native speakers of the language.

There are abundant opportunities in this country for such specialists. American universities have programs for teaching foreign students, there are adult education courses for the foreign born, and in some sections of the country regular school systems must teach English to students born of foreign language parents. American teacher training institutions could well encourage and promote teacher training in this specialized field of teaching.

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Knowing a little of my Agency, you can share with me the pleasure of a remark by this country's Ambassador to India. Kenneth Galbraith was talking of my Agency, USIA, when he said: "The United States maintains in India a rather substantial organization with the function among others of defending our society from its critics. The critics are mostly Americans."

Galbraith in jest has managed to anoint his subject with truth. We are a nation of critics -- as I have commented upon your weaknesses here today, so are you entitled to comment upon mine. This, after all, is the way of a democracy. The task, I submit, is not to silence the critics but to make better critics of us all, and perhaps even raise an occasional exceptional critic of our body politic.

The way of free choice is the way of promise, just as it is the way of danger. We are not compelled to our strength. We have equally the free choice of our weakness. Democracy in education does not mean equal treatment for all -- the bright as well as the dim -- but equal opportunity for all. We cannot let democracy stand for the levelling of everyone to the level of the average. That way we will make poor critics of us all. Education in a democracy, said Hyman Rickover, must not only be democratic. It must also be education.

Yours is the business of teaching the teachers to teach. Mine is the business of teaching the critics to think. We thus both march in the same ranks, in the same legions charged with the same tasks.

This generation stands naked with the spotlight of history focused on its deeds and misdeeds. Each generation is summoned to bear its own responsibilities. They may be frightening in dimension, awe-evoking in reflection. For our problems we have no one to blame but ourselves.

Each generation must win its own way and cannot rest on the progress of its ancestors. But as our blame is our own, so is our salvation.

If challenge be our charge, then let boldness be our epitaph. And let us all join together in creating for this minor planet a mode of living which, in the egoism of our hopes, may be the better for our having been here.

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Release No. 17

Text of Remarks by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
at the VOA 20th Anniversary Ceremony in the
HEW Auditorium, February 26, 1962

Honored Guests, and the mighty chorus of voices called The Voice of America:

We are in assembly convened for a moment partaking of both nostalgia and promise. It is the nostalgia of hard work well done. It is the promise of great effort still to come. The Voice of America is 20 years old.

Some here were present at its beginning. Others of us have joined it since. But no man among us can ever forget the circumstances attending its birth -- the hope of life, the sadness of death, the tragedy and travail of 1942 that still stalk the memories of that Second World War.

And in the grim days that then carried the epitaph of struggle I recall the words of the revered patriot of Czechoslovakia. Jan Masaryk said his war aim was simply this: "I want to go home."

Twenty years have passed. Others have tried to go home, but their lands are closed to them. Others have sought to make for themselves a new home -- some in lands foreign to their birth, some in lands new-born to their hopes. Yet all of us share the common tie that binds, the common base of modern man best called "hope."

It is this that the Voice of America, and indeed the entire U.S. Information Agency, holds out to the world. For all mankind, it is the legacy of tomorrow. It is the hope of a day dawning unclouded by the shadow of great tensions. It is the hope of a high tide of accomplishment on the long washed shores of great challenge, the hope that speaks the epitaph of this generation of struggle -- where men have the will to be free, they will be free.

The Voice of America mirrors this land to the rest of man. It expresses the belief that the common denominator of mankind is surely man himself. Ours is a country born amid revolution. Ours was the first nation self-forged on the hearth of our own high hopes. Ours is a diverse land. There are near as many

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strains of men in our land as there are men to trod our earth. Yet from this great diversity we raise a symphony of great unity.

There is in this, I suggest, a meaning for all men. To the rest of the globe, we submit that our way of diversity is the way of free choice. One seeks one's own forms. We have no orthodoxy of belief, no one creed to which all must conform. And if other forms of nationhood be different from ours, such dissent does not banish them from our councils. Our land was built upon great dissent.

It is our adversary that imposes great conformity. There is no room in his system for another form, for another way. To share at all you must share in his orthodoxy. For your dissent you will be banished from the councils of good hope.

It is this land's air of dissent, this freedom to choose, this seeking of one's own forms that the Voice of America sends to a world anxious to learn and eager for its future.

There is only one war we wage -- it is a war against pestilence and poverty, suffering and suspicion, disappointment and distrust. Ours is the war not to capture the minds of men, but to free them.

We seek not to seduce bright hopes, but to inspire them. Ours is the hope both of greater gains for today and of grander goals for tomorrow -- not for ourselves alone, but for all men together.

To accomplish this the Voice of America stands upon this above all: the truth shall be the guide. Truth may help us. It may hurt us. But helping us or hurting us we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that man can know us for what we are and can at least believe what we say.

The truth may not alone make us free. But we shall never be free without knowing the truth.

And for this the Voice of America is known by many, loved by some, hated by others. This radio and what it says has never been designed as a provocation to anyone. That there are those who find it so is a tribute to you, the way you do your job, the truth for which you stand.

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Release No. 18

FOR RELEASE AT 1:00 P.M., EST, FRIDAY, MARCH 2, 1962

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
Conference of the National Association of Broadcasters
Shoreham Hotel, Washington, March 2, 1962

I feel like an old friend returned to home. Broadcasting, I need not remind you, was once my daily bread. In a sense that is still true. But like many of you I now run an organization. And sometimes in the waning of those midmorning conferences I am wont to think back to the early days in broadcasting and the saga of that now immortal cub reporter sent to cover his first big story. It was the Johnstown flood. The height of the tragedy was fast approaching. The paper held out its lead beyond press time waiting for the cub's first reports, which finally arrived with the following cryptic message: "Chaos reigns. Nothing can be learned."

It is, I hope, true of my present work that chaos reigns rarely and there is much to be learned. It is this, in part, that gives chilling dimension to much of what my Agency does. The stake in our deliberations is not the success or failure of a good show but the rise or fall of a free world interest. You translate your efforts into ratings garnered or dollars lost. We translate ours into persons persuaded or diplomacy lost.

There are great challenges afoot on our globe today. The Soviet has chosen to engage us in a type of fateful competition, testing whether free men have the will to be free. There is a tendency in this country to drop the plumb line of measurement into our troubled diplomatic waters and calculate the extent of our success or failure: as of such a date, there are so many victories won, so many failures lost. Being a self-critical society, we chronicle the factors that some feel go against us:

- a lingering suspicion in some new countries of Western colonialism and capitalism;

- long-range intellectual leanings toward socialism;

- envy in some countries of the purported economic progress achieved under Communism, with little recognition of the

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fact that Western progress serves as the goal to which all aspire.

- a desire in some lands to maximize foreign aid from both camps;

- a basic naivete about the realities of Communism.

I suggest we misread the signs. Some matters we consider negative may not in fact be what they appear to be. The counsel of despair for the cause of democracy is the counsel of the ignorant. It may be that we are a nation poorly prepared for our global role. But if poorly cast are we, then higher striving must there be.

We are a pragmatic people. We test the validity of propositions by their practical results. This was a pioneer land built by a pioneer people. To physical challenge we responded with physical strength.

I suggest we are set in our ways of thinking, and it is a way ill-conceived for the complexities of this day. Consider this:

- From a history that has solved all problems we assume that if "problem" there be then "solution" we will find;

- From a history that has known no frustration we seek easy answers to difficult problems;

- From a history moulded on the rightness of our national virtue we seem self-assured that things will naturally go our way. We feel we are right and we are American and the world will surely see the right of our American way if it is simply explained to them; we are, in a sense, only an explanation away from total victory;

- From a history that has simplified our troubles into terms of "we" and "they" we assume there are only two sides to any question -- and not three or ten or 15 sides as there are in NATO, or 20 sides as there are in the Organization of American States, or 104 sides as there are in the United Nations;

- From a history that has taught us the values of "right" and "wrong" we leave no room for different descriptions of the same problem by different people. Thus Khrushchev calls Berlin a "bone in his throat" and a "cancer" while we term it a "showcase of freedom" and a "symbol of hope." Perhaps what is symbol to us is cancer to him, and that is exactly why it is a problem.

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Thus do some of the enthrallments of our nationhood poorly cast us for the role we must now play. We are a good people. We are loathe to use the whip and the gnout, the fist and its force. It may well be that while we grew up as a land, the world of our growth changed beyond all dimension. Difficult problems will only surrender to difficult solutions. Some problems may have no immediate solution at all. Our conception of right and wrong may not be right for the wrongs of others. The issues of the world are multi-sided and many-varied. They may not all be settled in our favor. As George Bernard Shaw said, "Do you think the laws of God will be suspended in favor of this country because you were born in it?"

It was the counsel of Abraham Lincoln that read: "We must disenthrall ourselves."

The fate of this land and this people will be decided by what we do on three fronts: the way we conduct ourselves here at home.... the way we conduct ourselves confronting the Communist foe....the way we conduct ourselves in the vast arena of marginal lands with multiplying people.

Our conduct at home is a matter of our common concern. Our conduct regarding the Soviets is a matter of our common defense. Our conduct regarding the new nations is a matter of our common effort. How we regard them all in concert is a matter of our common destiny. I, for one, would not wish to prejudge the issue in any arena.

But in this world of discomfiture where all of us live on the narrow margin between happiness and holocaust, it is well that we assess our position.

Communism came to power in Russia due to World War I. Communism came to power in China due to World War II. It has NEVER come to power in any nation not disrupted by war, by civil war, or by both. It has NEVER come to power but by the force of military might in being, in place, and without opposition. It has succeeded as a scavenger. It has failed as a leader.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union is challenged both within and without its own world. These years have seen rebellion in Budapest, uprisings in Poland, revolts in East Germany, repression throughout the satellite empire. There is a wall in Berlin damming the flood tide of fleeing humanity. There is dissension in Peiping and Tirana to add to that of Belgrade. Communist parties in Europe have shrunk drastically.

The Soviet Union, as a nation, is permanent come to the councils of world concern. But for a decade its foreign policy has failed to expand its control. It relies on the weapons of subversion, propaganda, infiltration, brute terror and naked force. But it has conspicuously failed. It has been frustrated by the United States, by its Allies, by the United Nations, by nations of other passions, and perhaps most of all by the determination that

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where men have the will to be free they will be free.

The catalogue of Soviet difficulties is an impressive one:

Their unity with China is in question.

There is cancer in the satellites.

Communist parties are doing less business.

There has been little sale on the ideology.

Neutrals will not be bought with guns and dams.

Capitalism's amazing vigor runs counter to their dogma.

The Alliance has not groaned but has grown.

Western Europe rises to new union.

The United Nations is slowly acquiring a capacity for world responsibility.

And in the words of Harlan Cleveland, the hard line boys in the Kremlin should be muttering about people who are "soft on capitalism."

There are cards in our hand that the Soviet can never hope to trump.

This land can manage the difficult and demanding task of free alliance with other sovereign nations. This the Soviet cannot do.

This land can cooperate and accommodate and even compromise in handling global problems. This the Soviet seem unwilling to do.

This land can live with the Charter of the United Nations. This the Soviet cannot do.

This land can identify its legitimate national hopes with the national hopes of other nations. This the Soviet cannot do.

Theirs is the way of orthodoxy. Theirs is the way of the creed without deviation, the dogma without dissent, the conformity to which all must adhere. If theirs be the world of coercion, then ours is the world of free

choice. To a globe now fumbling with new found freedoms, to lands now groping for their own place in the constellations of nations, this land, this people has much to offer. A Communist, I suggest, cannot look upon the future with sanguine confidence.

But this struggle is now not near ended. It is not likely to be resolved quickly...easily...cleanly...or simply. If gains we have garnered there are still tasks to be tried.

You, gentlemen, can share in this endeavor. I have suggested the three arenas where our fortunes lie: at home, against the Soviet, and in the new lands.

We must all join in the unfinished task of finishing the moulding of our land. This country was founded upon belief in great ideals. It is to the zealots that we owe our heritage -- our belief in education, in social justice, in the living wage, in freedom of speech with the right of dissent and the critique of conformity, in the import of all men as equal and kindred souls. But these are subjects unknown in some places, unwanted in others.

There are abroad on this planet great masses of people totally insulated from this country and what it believes only by the pall of their ignorance. It is the job of my Agency to try and reach those people. Reach them we will. But the U.S. Information Agency can only be as effective in reaching men's minds as the society it serves. Desirable or not, we shall reflect what we are. If we would have the world think better of us, then we must better ourselves.

Let me share with you this trade secret. Without speaking of running my Agency, this has in fact been a speech of how my Agency runs.

For USIA is the new dimension of the new diplomacy. We occupy the only battle line that engages this entire land. We seek to explain this country and all it does. Our goal is the minds of men. But the war we wage is not the war to capture men's minds; it is a war to free them.

The way of free men is the way of difficulty. If all may think, then all must be explained. If each may dissent, then each must be convinced.

We must talk of full stomachs to those who have known only hunger. We must speak of comfortable lives to those who have known only toil. We must talk of the future and its dream to those who have known only the past and its despair. And we must speak of freedom to men who have known only subjection.

We must tell unfree men that freedom in some places may be a sometime thing. And to those newly free we must caution against having left one

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form of control only to deliver themselves to a new and heavier yoke. It is difficult, this concept of freedom. But it is priceless, this dream we offer to share.

Share it we must. Share it we will. And we shall know that in laboring for our children and ourselves we labor in fact for all mankind. And all mankind will be in our debt if we but realize that our heritage is the heritage of hope. For with our hopes go the fate of free men everywhere.

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Journalism

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Release No. 20

FOR RELEASE AT 12:30 P.M., EST, SATURDAY, MARCH 17, 1962

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
Columbia University Scholastic Press Association
Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York
March 17, 1962

Mr. Chairman, Honored Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, and you future young lords of the press:

There was a time, not too long ago, when I would have counted myself one of you. As you know, I was once a journalist. And I will share with you the confidence that I have some present critics who rapidly would return me to that once occupied status. Though no longer a student, I like to think that I have never stopped learning and that I refrain from studying only when I find the voice to which I most listen is the voice of my own conversation.

If you are students of journalism I am curious what it is that you daily learn. I trust it is not just journalism alone. Headlines and print are important to a paper. But they are important only in that they have something to tell. It is not so much how the words are fashioned on the page -- important as that is -- but what those words have to say. The power of print is the power of ideas. If you would train yourself well for journalism, I suggest you would do well to train yourself in ideas.

What better illustration than that now immortal saga of the young cub reporter sent to cover his first big story -- the Johnstown flood. Impatiently the city room waited for his cabled report, holding open the presses far beyond their deadline.

It was with eager hands awaiting the news that they received their first communique from the young reporter. It read: "Nothing can be learned. All is chaos."

There is about journalism that element of chaos that lends it excitement. But the most important thing a journalist can learn is to keep in proper dimension the product he turns out. A friend of long acquaintance was speaking with a man in Europe who opined that of papers from Moscow, Berlin, Geneva, Rome, and New York, he thought a certain New York paper was best. When my friend

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remarked on his reading so many papers in so many languages every day, the man paused and then replied: "The best newspapers... who reads them...I use those that are best for rolling cigarettes."

As you are students of journalism I would tell you something of my agency, for journalism is one of our many daily concerns. We are in business to tell the world what manner of man it is that inhabits these shores of America. To do this we maintain 219 posts in 99 foreign countries. We use all the media known to modern communications to make the policy of this land everywhere intelligible and, wherever possible, palatable. We broadcast radio, make films, produce television, run a wire service, print newspapers, publish magazines, distribute books, operate information centers and libraries, teach English, sponsor exchanges, display exhibits, and assist educational institutions. We also seek out ministers and members of foreign governments, editors and educators, publishers and writers, foreign opinion leaders and policy makers. Our purpose is to engage them in the vital face-to-face confrontation where the purposes and ideals of this land can be spelled out in clear terms.

But let me be specific. Many of you, I am sure, were on hand to witness the orbiting of John Glenn. It was exciting and exhilirating. You saw and you knew it was history in the making. The art of the broadcast made you more than just an onlooker. To a degree you were participating with him; his success and his hopes were the success and the hopes of all of us. Each of us, as it were, was "present by proxy."

But we were not alone. Around this globe, in distant places and foreign climes, there were millions of other eyes and ears that clung to the fate of John Glenn. He was, in one sense, the figure of everyman. They, too, were "present by proxy."

Helping them to be present and to see what occurred was the role of my agency.

Let us then put John Glenn back in a capsule...Not the capsule of Friendship 7 in which he orbited, but the laboratory capsule of examination. We shall see, with John Glenn's flight as the focus, how USIA helped tell the world that America for the first time had sent a man spinning in flight around this minor planet.

In television we distributed through 67 USIA posts abroad a TV show "Focus Infinity" depicting Project Mercury. To make certain it was on hand in time it went out in January in multiple languages as well as in a blank version for local dubbing. Estimated audience: 125 million.

There were earlier TV background programs prepared. In December we did a show dealing with Glenn's training, and another spotlighting Glenn himself. There was also the program "Architects of Space" dealing with the

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Glenn shoot, as part of America's space achievements in general.

On the day of the event our TV cameras were busy. Footage of the actual event was air-expressed to 17 countries that do NOT normally receive commercial TV service. In Japan our Agency's bi-weekly TV program featured the Glenn shot to an estimated audience of 20 million. Our weekly Latin American program, Panorama Panamericano, showed the Glenn flight to 12 million viewers in 18 countries and the following week featured Glenn's reception in Washington.

Our press and publications people began their coverage with advance back-up material. A series of 12 articles by leading space authorities with 16 photos and 4 diagrams went to all USIA posts abroad. In late January a special kit went out of picture, feature and background stories. Heavy usage is reported world-wide on all these.

On the day of the flight our teletypes never stopped. A full running story went out across the globe. Receiving it were 22 of our stations in Latin America, 17 posts in Africa, 17 more in the Near East, 22 in Europe and 15 in the Far East.

But what did they receive? They got every detail of Glenn up, during, and down. They received 23,000 photographs, 75 color transparencies for use in local magazines, and special plastic plates for small papers without engraving facilities. They got special columns of comment and analysis. Our Mexico City plant turned out 30,000 pamphlets about Glenn in Spanish and Portuguese for Latin America and within days our regional plant in Lebanon had 83,000 pamphlets in Arabic, Turkish and French moving throughout the Middle East.

Our press effort had, of course, speciality material. For Africa there were special stories on the Nigerian and Zanzibar tracking stations. From the BBC came a request about Glenn's ancestry. USIA reached the astronaut's parents through a neighbor's phone in West Concord and London got its answer: John Glenn is Scots-Irish. One of our officers in Canberra came upon the story of a BOAC pilot who reported actually seeing Friendship 7 in flight over Queensland.

And for upcoming publications, our Russian language magazine, AMERIKA ILLUSTRATED, will carry the story of John Glenn, with the same format going into our Polish language edition of the same magazine. Our Arabic magazine, AL HAYAT, will feature John Glenn. And he is now a star in some of our cartoon features, a few of which are the most widely read cartoons in the world.

USIA's world-wide radio, the Voice of America, went on the air at seven A.M. with the shot and stayed with it for the next nine hours. Millions of listeners throughout the world thus followed John Glenn from countdown to pick-up.

At the moment of launch the Voice of America's Spanish, Armenian and

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Chinese Mandarin services were on the air telling of the flight. Minutes after launch our Russian service started broadcasting with news of the successful take-off and orbit. Others of the 37 languages in which we daily broadcast spread the story of the Glenn shot in the peak listening times in their areas. Special programs were fed in German to Austria and Germany for use by their national networks. We did special documentary broadcasts to African countries in English, Swahili, and French. Foreign correspondents used our Voice of America facilities in New York for reporting to their home countries: Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Israel, and Tunisia.

There was one amusing sidelight. When John Glenn returned to Washington our Russian language service planned to broadcast the ceremonies live. In the Capitol building our Russian commentator assigned to cover the joint session of the Congress found he had been placed in a cloak room. Being a good reporter, he picked up his microphone, walked down a hallway and through a doorway into the chamber of the House of Representatives where be began speaking Russian softly into his microphone. He continued for 10 minutes before a guard asked him to leave. Not knowing the reporter, it didn't seem right to the guard to have Russian being broadcast from the floor of the House of Representatives.

Our motion picture people were equally busy. Within 72 hours film sequences for newsreels went to 30 countries. Newsreel sequences with Spanish soundtrack went to 18 countries in Latin America. Special sequences with Arabic, French, and English narration went to 30 countries in Africa. In addition, our Agency produces a monthly newsreel, TODAY, which displayed John Glenn in over 700 movie houses throughout Africa.

By the end of a week USIA had completed a documentary film that went to 106 countries -- more countries, I might add, than the membership of the United Nations. We did narrations in 32 languages, 11 more languages are planned in the field for a total of 43 soundtracks for this film. We've reproduced it in over 1,500 separate prints. It has been placed with 4 distribution organizations having 730 theatres in Japan. It is showing throughout Yugoslavia. It was shown in our post to a select audience of national leaders in Cairo. Indonesian President Sukarno viewed it.

Our Information Centers around the world were ready with exhibit and display material on the Glenn flight, including a 7 panel full-color NASA exhibit shipped months in advance of the flight. The display, for example, went up after the flight in every public school in Singapore with captions in English, Chinese, and Malay. And perhaps in Sao Paulo we set a Brazilian record in teamwork. 70 seconds after John Glenn was picked up the display was unveiled in the center of town. The secret of the speedy efficiency: moving into position in advance, and then listening to the Voice of America for news of Glenn's safe return.

Needless to say, this country reaped great gains from the flight in the

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political field. Publicity and coverage around the world reached astonishing proportions. From Syria and Hong Kong, to select two separated places, came reports of the heaviest coverage given any American story in years.

Most countries commented on the flight closing the "space gap" between this country and Russia. A few comments in Egypt, Greece, and Cyprus put the U.S. ahead because, unlike the Soviet astronauts, Glenn was in control of his craft.

In Europe and the Far East it was viewed as a triumph for free men. Many regarded the flight as a morale booster for the non-Communist world.

Colonel Glenn was universally hailed for his courage and his competency. Even the postponements turned out to be a bonus in some countries; they interpreted it accurately as evidencing our concern for human life.

We were also praised because we used the flight for scientific achievement and not for political purposes. There was no threat or intimidation arising from the Glenn success. My own favorite comment was that of a Scandinavian paper which pointed out that whereas Yuri Gagarin and Gherman Titov both praised their flights as a success of the Socialist system John Glenn had made not one reference to the success of either the Democratic or Republican Parties.

Perhaps most important, however, was the demonstration of this as the open society. Some lands saw this as symbolic of the ultimate triumph of free society. For the way we conducted ourselves was vital for the continuation of democratic institutions. On every continent the approach of the open society was lauded. Or as one foreign news service put it: "By opening the Cape Canaveral base to all comers...they prove they have nothing to hide and are not afraid of reverses. It is the prerogative of the strong to have faith in themselves."

And this is a political gain near as important as the flight itself. This nation stared failure in the face. And we turned away smiling. We shouldered the risk of humiliation before the eyes of all the world. Our response was as it can and, indeed, must be: boldness. U.S. frankness and openness stood in the white hot glare of world attention compared starkly with Soviet secrecy. Secrecy had come off a poor second.

I have more than just a passing regard for you people and the goals to which you aspire. Journalism is a career to be commended to all of you. I spend a quarter century of my own life laboring in the vineyards of ripe reportage. My tools were the microphone and the airwaves. Others used the typewriter and the printed page. But the raw stuff with which all of us worked was at base the same: words and events, places and peoples, and overriding all, our concern for truth.

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Journalism is an honorable calling. Indeed, in a democratic society it is even a crucial one.

I am not yet so old that my own reminiscences have begun to fascinate me. But I have witnessed an episode or two in this maelstrom of events we call "our times." And if there be would-be professional journalists among you, I have a few brief thoughts that I would share at least with your ears.

You shall march out into a world not quite overwhelmed with your coming. You shall be asked to prove yourselves. And that proof must come in that most difficult of all arenas to excel in -- day-to-day accomplishment. But you at least have the consolation -- or is a better word challenge? -- that how you prove yourself is in large measure a function of how good you are.

Excellence is a full time pursuit. It is that unremitting total of all your merit that at the end of your efforts will make men look back upon you and your time and say to themselves, "Here, here was a man worth the knowing."

Excellence is not a sometime thing. Some are born with it. Others aspire to it. Many strive for it. Most profess it. A few approach it. You, by hard work, might attain it.

I have dwelled at some length on the aftermath of John Glenn's flight. Therein, I suggest it, lie lessons for all who aspire to the noble trade of telling man about himself.

There is much for you to learn. A whole new world is growing up out there. Its dark mysteries pose challenge, its unplotted paths pose opportunity. To those young minds eager to study and willing to learn, challenge and opportunity will bring a day of your own dimension. And I suggest that the key for you is in your own education.

The value of knowing an important influence on your life before it ends is in turning it to more fruitful purpose. Education is such an influence. I have never known a man who said he had too good an education. I have never known a man who said he had gotten enough from education. But I have known many men who said that into their education they had put not enough of their own work and effort.

Journalism, and all else in this world, is being remoulded under the impact of man's greater knowledge. More and more does success come to the man who knows well the field into which he delves. But journalism delves into all fields. If journalism then be your choice, then all fields of man become the subject of your learning.

You may specialize. You may generalize. But most of all must you learn to value and to judge. Science and languages, geography and economics,

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psychology and law -- the whole span of knowledge of man is your province, and your place in the province of man will be determined by your knowledge.

Pursue that knowledge. Learn it well. And learn to treasure above all else that precious commodity we call ideas. A fact once overlooked may someday be returned to, but an idea lost is gone forever.

Take onto your own shoulders the burden of your own self improvement. Know that what today you take time to learn tomorrow you will take time to do.

One of the marvels of this wondrous land is the promise it holds for the people it bears. No generation on earth has ever had quite your opportunity. No generation in history has ever had quite your challenge.

The advice I advance is the counsel of confidence. Stand in awe of today. But do not shrink from tomorrow. And know that what you now learn, and the leadership that may flow from the learning, will someday influence the destinies of us all.

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Release No. 23

FOR RELEASE AT 8 P.M., EST, THURSDAY, APRIL 5, 1962

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the Annual Conference of the American Association of Industrial Editors
Hotel Summit, New York
April 5, 1962

Mr. Chairman, honored guests, ladies and gentlemen.

It is with pleasure that I rise to greet you fellow practitioners of the communications art. As your association advances toward its quarter-century anniversary, you can take justified pride in your growth and expansion. The "chatterbox" house organs of several decades ago have grown into a 100 million dollar a year industry. Only rarely today does one of your editors serve in the capacity of reporter, photographer, writer, proofreader, typographer, make-up man, production chief and circulation manager. It was a good way to learn the business, but it was hard on the metabolism.

But it is as press people that you can share the consternation of that young cub reporter being broken in by the famed editor, William Dean Howells. The lad had been sent to cover his first story, and having returned was busily engaged in assaulting his typewriter keyboard. Howells noted the growing pile of papers pouring from the machine and strolled over to inquire how the assignment was progressing. The lad's eyes shone as he replied excitedly, "Fine, Mr. Howells, just fine. I'm already on page 14." Howells smiled: "That's good, sonny, very good. Keep at it. And, oh yes, when you put in the next sheet, number it page 2."

If brevity was not its chief virtue, at least those 14 pages must have had variety. But it was communications and a lack of variety that we are told was once the bane of the existence of Abraham Lincoln during the war years. Daily the dispatches poured in from the commanders. Invariably one would be signed, "General Hooker, commanding, Headquarters in the saddle." The next day another communique would appear with the same legend: "General Hooker, commanding, Headquarters in the saddle." It was after an endless number of these that Lincoln one morning exploded with his classic epithet: "General Hooker has his headquarters where his hindquarters ought to be."

As we are all communicators, let me tell you something of what my Agency does, for communications is our daily bread. We are in the business of telling

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the world what manner of man it is that resides here. To do this we maintain 219 posts in 99 foreign countries. We use all the media known to modern communications to make the policy of this land everywhere intelligible and, wherever possible, palatable. We broadcast radio, make films, produce television, run a wire service, print newspapers, publish magazines, distribute books, operate information centers and libraries, teach English, sponsor exchanges, display exhibits, and assist educational institutions. We also seek out ministers and members of foreign governments, editors and educators, publishers and writers, foreign opinion leaders and policy makers. Our purpose is to engage them in the vital face-to-face confrontation where the purposes and ideals of this land can be expounded.

I think you might enjoy an example. Many of you, I am sure, witnessed the orbiting of John Glenn. It was exciting and exhilarating. You saw and you knew it was history in the making. The art of the broadcast made you more than an onlooker. To a degree you participated with him; his success and his hopes were the success and the hopes of all of us. Each of us, as it were, was "present by proxy."

But we were not alone. Around this globe in distant places speaking many tongues there were millions of others whose eyes and ears clung to the fate of John Glenn. They, too, were "present by proxy."

Helping them to be present and to see what occurred was the role of my Agency. This is what we did.

In television we distributed through 67 USIA posts abroad a TV show "Focus Infinity" depicting Project Mercury. To make certain it was on hand in time it went out in January in multiple languages as well as in a blank version for local dubbing. Estimated audience: 125 million.

There were earlier TV background programs prepared. In December we did a show dealing with Glenn's training, and another interviewing Glenn himself. There was also the program "Architects of Space" dealing with the Glenn shoot, as part of America's space achievements in general.

On the day of the event out TV cameras were busy. Footage of the actual event was air-expressed to 17 countries that do not normally receive commercial TV service. In Japan our Agency's bi-weekly TV program featured the Glenn shot to an estimated audience of 20 million. Our weekly Latin American program, Panorama Panamericano, showed the Glenn flight to 12 million viewers in 18 countries and the following week featured Glenn's reception in Washington.

Our press and publications people began their coverage with advance back-up material. A series of 12 articles by leading space authorities with 16 photos and 4 diagrams went to all USIA posts abroad. In late January a special

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kit went out of picture, feature and background stories. Heavy usage is reported world-wide on all these.

On the day of the flight our teletypes never stopped. A full running story went out across the globe. Receiving it were 22 of our stations in Latin America, 17 posts in Africa, 17 more in the near East, 22 in Europe and 15 in the Far East.

But what did they receive? They got every detail of Glenn up, during, and down. They received 23,000 photographs, 75 color transparencies for use in local magazines, and special plastic plates for small papers without engraving facilities. They got special columns of comment and analysis. Our Mexico City plant turned out 30,000 pamphlets about Glenn in Spanish and Portuguese for Latin America and within days our regional plant in Lebanon had 83,000 pamphlets in Arabic, Turkish and French moving throughout the Middle East.

Our press effort had, of course, speciality material. For Africa there were special stories on the Nigerian and Zanzibar tracking stations. From the BBC came a request about Glenn's ancestry. USIA reached the astronaut's parents through a neighbor's phone in West Concord and London got its answer: John Glenn is Scots-Irish. One of our officers in Canberra reported that a BOAC pilot, having been alerted by the Voice of America, actually saw Friendship 7 in flight over Queensland.

And for upcoming publications, our Russian language magazine, AMERIKA ILLUSTRATED, will carry the story of John Glenn, with the same material going into our Polish language edition of the same magazine. Our Arabic magazine, AL HAYAT, will feature John Glenn. And he is now a star in some of our cartoon features, one of which is among the most widely read cartoons in the world.

USIA's radio network, the Voice of America, began reporting the event world-wide in English, at seven A.M. and stayed with it for the next nine hours. Millions of listeners throughout the world thus followed John Glenn from countdown to pick-up.

At the moment of launch the Voice of America's Spanish, Armenian and Chinese Mandarin services were on the air telling of the flight. Minutes after launch our Russian service started broadcasting with news of the successful take-off and orbit. Others of the 37 languages in which we daily broadcast spread the story of the Glenn shot at peak listening times in their areas. Special programs were fed in German to Austria and Germany for use by their national networks. We did special documentary broadcasts to African countries in English, Swahili, and French. Foreign correspondents used our Voice of America facilities in New York for reporting to their home countries: Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg, Israel, and Tunisia.

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Our motion picture people were equally busy. Within 72 hours film sequences for newsreels went to 30 countries. Newsreel sequences with Spanish soundtrack went to 18 countries in Latin America. Special sequences with Arabic, French, and English narration went to 30 countries in Africa. In addition, our Agency produces a monthly newsreel, TODAY, which displayed John Glenn in over 700 movie houses throughout Africa.

By the end of a week USIA had completed a documentary film that went to 106 countries -- more countries, I might add, than the membership of the United Nations. We did narrations in 32 languages, 11 more languages are planned in the field for a total of 43 soundtracks for this film. We've reproduced it in over 1,500 separate prints. It has been placed with 4 distribution organizations having 730 theaters in Japan. It is showing throughout Yugoslavia. It was shown to a select audience of national leaders in Cairo. Indonesian President Sukarno viewed it.

Our Information Centers around the world were ready with exhibit and display material on the Glenn flight, including a 7-panel full-color NASA exhibit shipped months in advance of the flight. The display, for example, went up after the flight in every public school in Singapore with captions in English, Chinese, and Malay. And perhaps in Sao Paulo we set a Brazilian record in teamwork. Seventy seconds after John Glenn was picked up the display was unveiled in the center of town. The secret of the speedy efficiency: moving into position in advance, and then listening to the Voice of America for news of Glenn's safe return.

Needless to say, this country reaped great gains from the flight in the political field. Publicity and coverage around the world reached astonishing proportions. From Syria and Hong Kong, to select two separated places, came reports of the heaviest coverage given any American story in years.

Most countries commented on the flight closing the "space gap" between this country and Russia. A few comments in Egypt, Greece, and Cyprus put the U.S. ahead because, unlike the Soviet astronauts, Glenn was in control of his craft.

In Europe and the Far East it was viewed as a triumph for free men. Many regarded the flight as a morale booster for the non-Communists world.

Colonel Glenn was universally hailed for his courage and his competency. Even the postponements turned out to be a bonus in some countries; they interpreted it accurately as evidencing our concern for human life.

We were also praised because we used the flight for scientific achievement and not for political purposes. There was no threat or intimidation arising from the Glenn success. My own favorite comment was that of a Scandinavian paper which pointed out that whereas Yuri Gagarin and Gherman

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Titov both praised their flights as a success of the Socialist system, John Glenn had made not one reference to the success of either the Democratic or Republican Parties.

Perhaps most important, however, was the demonstration of this as the open society. Some lands saw this as symbolic of the ultimate triumph of free society. For the way we conducted ourselves was vital for the continuation of democratic institutions. On every continent the approach of the open society was lauded. Or as one foreign news service put it: "By opening the Cape Canaveral base to all comers...they prove they have nothing to hide and are not afraid of reverses. It is the pererogative of the strong to have faith in themselves."

And this is a political gain near as important as the flight itself. This nation stared failure in the face. And we turned away smiling. We shouldered the risk of humilitation before the eyes of all the world. Our response was as it can and, indeed, must be: boldness. U.S. frankness and openness stood in the white hot glare of world attention and was compared starkly with Soviet secrecy. Secrecy came off a poor second.

This, then, is a microcosm of what we in USIA do and the chilling dimension within which we work. We take the story of this land and this people wherever men have eyes to see and ears to hear. Our foreign service officers man posts in teeming jungles and bustling cities, in mountain country and in desert. We travel by mule-back and auto, by river raft and helicopter, by camel train and diesel train, all in pursuit of our objective of informing others who we are and what we believe.

You will have noted more than a casual resemblence between what both of us do. We both seek to inform, you in the world of industrial relations, my Agency in the world of foreign relations. There is a useful corollary in this. For the idea I suggest is the idea that both of us should meld our forces in communicating ideas abroad.

Let me be specific.

Many of you print industrial magazines. Without your necessarily being aware of it, some of those publications distributed in this country could be of great use abroad, particularly if you publish subject matter with scientific implications. Our posts overseas are in touch with important groups, leadership elements, opinion moulders, young scientists, and the like where some of the product you produce could be enlisted in the cause of this country.

Others of you publish magazines which already circulate overseas. I am thinking, to choose an example at random, of an auto parts manufacturer who produces a periodical in Spanish and Portuguese for distribution

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throughout Latin America. The purpose of the magazine is to carry service information to auto owners, garage managers, and mechanic users. But to insure the magazine being read, articles of a general nature are run. With this particular magazine we have a contact for carrying a series of articles about the Alliance for Progress in Latin America.

We wish more contact with you industrial editors who have overseas circulation. You have carved out audiences for yourself that may best be reached only through your publications. We can furnish you material which will add an additional dimension to your publications. You can help us to reach population groups which would otherwise be difficult of access. We would welcome the opportunity to work with you in our mutual interest.

Further, my Agency has its own media output which could usefully exploit information and knowledge about you and your companies. Let me take an example -- our Television service and a program called "Science Report." This show describes to the rest of the world what the United States and its industries are doing in technical and scientific research fields. The subjects run four to six minutes. They are tailored for lay audiences in non-technical language for use on a "man in the street" level.

The thread, of course, is how the peaceful use and application of science and technology can benefit all mankind. What new modes of transportation, for example, give new access to deserts, mountains, and swamps; new methods of agricultural techniques applied to common problems; new developments in communications, medicine, chemistry, and many other fields. Whatever you people are doing in your businesses that is new and exciting is probably new and exciting to others as well. My Agency, with your help, would tell what you do to a world curious about this land and how it works for a better life.

There is much that we can do in concert. I have brought with me a colleague who handles our Agency's cooperative efforts with private business. Mr. Sanford Marlowe will be contacting many of you in time to come. I hope you will give him your heartiest cooperation.

There is a great world growing up beyond the shores of this country. Huge masses of people long dormant and docile are becoming eager and enthusiastic. They who have dwelled in hovel and hut and grovelled in dirt and disease are at long last learning that life need not always be a burden. It can as well be a benefit.

The privileges of existence cannot be confined to the privileged few. It must as well be brought to the impatient many. It was the historian Arnold Toynbee who said: "The 20th Century will be remembered as the period when the benefits of civilization will have become available to the whole human race."

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Toynbee went on to draw a conclusion that is here highly relevant. "The idea of the common welfare for all people," he concluded, "has come initially from early America."

It is this about this country that sparks so much of the curiosity abroad about America. People would know of us. They would inquire about us. They would learn from us.

For this land is viewed in part as the repository of that knowledge for material progress that so much of our world seeks. Look at the roster of names that make up but a casual list of bright eminences: Eli Whitney and his pieces of wire and wood in a gin separating seed from cotton, Robert Fulton's steamboat, Samuel F. B. Morse's telegraph, Elias Howe's sewing machine, Richard Hoe's printing press, Alexander Graham Bell's telephone, Cyrus McCormick's reaper, Thomas Edison's phonograph and incandescent lamp, George Westinghouse's air brake, the Wright brothers' airplane, and if you will forgive what may seem like an excursion into the somewhat trivial, those utilitarian gems of creativity such as King Gillettes safety razor, Whitcomb Judson's zipper, and Walter Hunt's safety pin.

Each was in his own way a giant, because in an assault on a problem a sometimes great human need was satisfied. And that is the circumstance of so much of this globe -- problems and needs. It is this to which this land must address itself abroad. People must be placed in a position where they have confidence that tomorrow will be not quite so dismal as today, and that the day after may be even better still.

It is a large task. No government agency can hope to do it alone. It requires that degree of cooperation which is both the mystery and the secret of the success of our way of life.

You may regard yourselves as publishing only trade journals, but you are also communicating ideas. What is a trade journal to you may be a revolutionary thought abroad. You are exploiting not just appetites for goods and services but appetites for a way of life that makes it possible for people to share in freedom the benefits of industrial progress.

I suggest this imposes a new dimension of responsibility upon what you do. It is a responsibility that we shirk only at our peril. I suggest that we share this responsibility with collective efforts for our mutual betterment.

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Education/Purpose of University

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Anna Putterman Memorial Lecture by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
Bucknell University
Lewisburg, Pennsylvania
April 23, 1962

I am indeed honored that you have invited me to inaugurate the Anna Putterman Memorial Lectures.

Bucknell is a University highly esteemed in the counsels of both my Agency and the Department of State. The reason, of course, is your extraordinary concern with the international dimension of education.

There is your Summer Institute for Asian Studies, the Bucknell Institute for Foreign Students now in its 15th year, and your Burma-Bucknell Weekend bringing together Burmese students in this country with officials of their country and student hosts from your university.

Yours, then, is a new-born tradition of international concern with education. But even the new has traces of the old. The very first Burmese student to study in the United States arrived 114 years ago here on the Bucknell campus, the great grandson of the King of Mayawaddy. He graduated from medical school and rejected a court post to practice as a physician. In 1929 he died, at the venerable age of 91.

Your university, then, symbolizes this country's educational tie with the people of Burma. The Fulbright exchange program is in its 15th year in Burma, making it the oldest continuous Fulbright program in the world. It is thus that I note with great regret the Burmese government's recent curtailment of educational exchange programs with the United States.

This is particularly regrettable in view of the past success of the programs to both countries. The executive officers of the Fulbright program have been outstanding Burmese educators who have established one of the smoothest running Fulbright programs in the world. The incumbent director, Dr. Hla Bu, has been most effective in his post and gained the wide respect of American scholarship with his eminent lectures in comparative theology at Union Theological Seminary in

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1959-60.

Our disappointment is heightened as the requests for Fulbright scholars came from Burmese institutions which had found the past services extremely useful, especially in English teaching. And this suspension in turn will reduce the number of American scholars who, on their return to this country, can serve as friendly interpreters of Burma and the Burmese people to the United States.

Conversely, Burmese scholars in this country can, we trust, learn professions and skills most needed in the development of Burma. At the same time, they provide our scholars and people with first hand knowledge of Burma that we can gain in no other way.

I recall with favor the recent remark of President Kennedy that Fulbright scholars give more to the United States than they take away. This is a measure of how much we value these ties. This is the reason we deplore any action which tends to limit such ties.

Such scholars from other lands provide a bridge between the past and the future. Theirs is a difficult task, but in fulfilling their responsibilities they do their countries a necessary service of essential patriotism.

And this need is common to much of this changing globe. We hope this and other programs of international education will be renewed. Education is indeed the wave of the future. And the United States even anticipates the time when Burma and other nations independent shortly after World War II will provide more educational assistance to the very new independent nations of Africa. This the Burmese can do in assuming their role in world leadership for attacking problems on an international scale. We trust that American-educated Burmese can help their land assume their rightful role in the councils of nations.

We do not deny the sovereign right of Burma to review foreign activities in its own land. But the ties between us in the past have been many and close. We hope the time will come when they will and, indeed, must be renewed.

I wish that we could be inaugurating this series of lectures in more tranquil times. It is the unfortunate destiny of this generation to live amid turmoil. We are engaged in a great competition with an implacable foe. Moves are daily made with political pawns everywhere on our global board. The gambits in many areas seem like established patterns of play. And everywhere harsh dilemmas and difficult decisions checkmate our hopes. The tower of our dreams seems destined to become the castle of our frustrations.

What I suggest is that these troubles are not alone the concern of troubled men in Washington. Government no longer lives in splendid isolation

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from its citizenry. If isolation there be, we are all of us isolated together in harsh company with our fears and our anxieties.

And this, I suggest, concerns you of the academic world as much as us of the political world. You who dwell in the towers of academia share with us all the towers of anxiety. The American university is caught in a rush of events that tests its traditions, that summons its scholarship, that questions its very ability to grow and adapt.

In the best of university traditions, yours is a contribution that no other institution can hope to make: to enlarge our horizons as a free society, to help educate our leaders, to help train our society for its role in the new world.

But in the world in which we live, your function inward takes on the duality of a function outward. You must as well help educate the leaders of foreign lands, help build the educational institutions of new countries, and aid in moulding the educational sinews of other peoples in order to create a free international society.

What I am articulating in the realm of education is the breadth of a new international dimension to what you do.

It begins with first principles and base values. Though I know the argument is rife in academic circles, let me assume the mantle of interloper and tell you what I think a university should be and do.

The university in American life has, I submit, a public purpose. That purpose in part is developing the spirit of free inquiry. The purpose in part is banishment of ignorance. The purpose in part is the advancement of human welfare through communicating what knowledge you possess.

In so doing you will of course free individual minds to pursue the higher life. You will widen the horizon of the nation's judgment. You will supply the skills essential to the nation's tasks. And in company with your colleagues of scholarship, there is the not unrealistic hope that by enlarging man's understanding of the world you will promote the welfare of that world in which man lives.

This, I am ready to admit, is an ideal. Ideals are that to which all of us perhaps aspire but only some of us probably attain. I am not certain American universities have as yet attained it. "The fault," as Cassius put it to Brutus, lies "not in our stars, but in ourselves, that we are underlings." It is not so much that universities have failed as it is that the world has changed. To respond to that change is the challenge of this generation of academicians.

American universities, in a modern age, tend to be somewhat parochial.

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They have been concerned with developing American civilization. The "American experiment" needed nurturing, and nurture it they did, and rightly so. Our civilization is far from finished, and American universities must concern themselves with its more perfect striving. But American universities must also turn to the new dimension of the international. American education has taken note of the new internationalism. You have had due regard for our Western heritage and European antecedents. We have all been aware of the international implications of science and learning and even of the universal scope of the principles of a free society. There are, as you yourselves bear witness, universities and colleges with strong international influences in programs and emphases. Nevertheless, the predominant nature of American education has been domestic in scope and character. You have been developing the American dream. Today, a solely domestic orientation is no longer enough. No University can afford to maintain so obsolescent a posture and still postulate itself as university.

The problems of this day demand a broader conception of education's role. Problems which an earlier generation conceived as local have today become global. The familiar landscapes of North America and Western Europe no longer suffice. We must as well view the other older cultures and newer nations.

Europe is our ancestor. Yet history teaches that the knowledge of Western Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries underwent great fulminations of change due to the great voyages of discovery. Their discovery of the so-called "new world" is paralleled today by our rediscovery of the rest of our world. I here note my commendation of words spoken by the President of the University of Rochester: "...To a degree we do not yet recognize, with an unparalleled speed, we are discovering a new world... Our educational habits and practices have of necessity been deeply influenced by Western Europe... Yet there must be room in general education...for the opportunity to bring into focus the new world..."

This, then, is the great new dimension confronting our universities: American affairs are now world affairs, and world affairs are now those of America.

I would make brief digression here to banish an objection before it gains currency. I am sensitive to the increasing role that government is coming to play in university life. There may be those who, feeling a sense of national urgency, would have government tell the university how it would best serve these new pressing needs in world affairs. It is true that the federal administration has come to rely on universities to help meet the nation's needs in world affairs. From this stems government support and participation in much that universities do. But the relations between government and universities must remain confined to the role appropriate for each. Government participation is justified and proper. But government must make careful determination as to how government itself participates. Universities cannot become mere agents

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of government. Universities must retain their autonomy. But universities themselves must acknowledge that the major educational resource upon which the nation depends is, in fact, the universities themselves.

That educational resource must, in turn, be resourceful. Universities will, of course, determine their own individual programs. But they in turn will need to consider nationwide needs and opportunities.

We are a pluralistic society. A healthy pluralism would dictate not only diversity within each individual university but diversity among universities as well. This means that some must assume tasks -- such as teaching little used exotic languages or special programs for foreigners -- which are genuinely educational but lie outside your own self-determined interests.

We could begin by saying that a first class education in this half of the 20th century cannot exist by definition without an effective international component. Some courses should be reorganized, others perhaps eliminated altogether or combined to give place to world affairs.

This, I suggest, is especially true in those heavy-traffic courses of the freshman and sophomore years. I deem it near indispensable that every student as an undergraduate should have at least introductory acquaintance with a culture other than his own.

This will come hard, for I know there is a reluctance to modify or give up traditional fields. But I think my friends in the humanities and social sciences might well learn from a concept well established in the physical sciences: the obsolescence of curriculum. I have heard this best described as the "phenomena of emergence." In time of profound change the physical sciences are not alone in their revolutionary growth. The humanities must deal with a chaotic body of new material instead of dealing mostly with a large body of material already well organized.

The development of Area Studies could serve our nation splendidly. Some universities have already undertaken such ventures, but they are in the minority. I have seen a report that there are only five area programs on the Near East, only five on the Soviet Union and East Europe, only three area programs each on South Asia and Africa, and but two on Southeast Asia. It is to the discredit of this country that, and I now quote a Ford Foundation Report, "Latin Americanists in the United States have not as yet generated area study centers of the quality and depth of, say, centers on East Asia and on Russia at Harvard and Columbia." Going further, specific countries themselves have been poorly dealt with: Korea, Southeast Asian nations, Pakistan, Afghanistan and North African countries, to mention several.

Area Study programs need encouragement, then, to consider areas receiving little or no attention presently. Area programs currently underway

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must round out their competence by including disciplines now under-represented --such as economics and sociology, law and psychology.

Problem-oriented programs in some universities can be a great benefit. Universities that bring several disciplines to focus on problem subjects such as population, economic development, social and political change, and foreign policy can gain rich insights not only into the problems themselves but into the nature of American and foreign societies.

Professional schools, too, should have international focus. Professional schools provide in some cases mere vocational training. They train students to practice a particular profession in our country, and frequently even only in a particular state. This has been dated by America's growing involvement with the world. Professional graduates in law, education, public administration, medicine, public health, engineering may find part of their careers in foreign areas. If their professional training lacks an international affairs aspect, it is due to the default of our own better judgment.

I cannot overlook the obvious and growing need for language training. The tourist phrase runs, "English is spoken everywhere." But the problems of Americans who have lived and worked abroad without knowing local tongues cannot blind us to the crucial inadequacy of American competence in foreign languages.

A generation ago we concentrated on the major tongues of West Europe. Even now we do not speak them either well enough or widely enough. But today our needs change. My Agency's radio arm, the Voice of America, broadcasts on regular schedule 37 languages daily, and for special events, up to 62 languages. Tongues that were once exotic have now become standard. Russian, Chinese, Arabic, Hindi -- these and others are becoming languages of modern discourse, and our land stands in need of those who can discourse in them.

Of large import is the need of the American university to cope with the foreign student -- particularly those from outside North America and Western Europe. Courses may need redesigning. Special preparation, both in English and their chosen fields, may be necessary. The principle paramount to me is that foreign students must not be isolated in either course work or extra-curricular life.

Foreign students may not be numerous -- 50,000 in this country make them only 1 1/2 percent of total college enrollment. But they are far more important than just their numbers alone. I recently visited nine countries in Africa -- two of the chief executives, Nkrumah of Ghana and Azikewe of Nigeria, were products of American universities.

Many foreign students are elite representatives of their societies. Many come from the most modern elements. Many will be called to positions of high responsibility in their native lands. For American universities to treat them poorly in the present places the burden of a heavy mortgage upon discharging our responsibilities in the future.

I have made but bare mention of education needs in the United States. Education needs abroad are staggering. In Africa and Asia, in Europe and the Americas, as never before in history, societies are awakening to the relevance of education to the realities of life.

There was a time when nationhood concerned itself with politics and armies. This century we have added economics, and this decade we have added education. For the councils of nationhood now concern themselves with all four: Politics, Armies, Economics, and Education. And it is not the education of individuals nor the discourse of scholars that concern them, important as that may be. It has risen now to a new level of dimension. It is now the education of entire nations.

As we have long suspected, and as they are fast learning, education is the catalyst for the success of nationhood. It will determine technological expansion, it will influence political development, it will even contribute to economic growth.

But for nations who as much lack scholars as they do skills, they cannot do it alone. They will turn to our land for our minds as much as for our machines. The education of a nation will depend today in large measure on what it can learn from educators of other countries. If they cannot learn from the universities of America, they will learn from others in our stead. And who can say but that the lessons they learn will return to haunt us.

I do not mean to propel universities into the midst of the Cold War. But I do mean to imply that the judgments of a nation are shaped as much by the scholar as by the statesman. In a time of tranquility the university is free to pursue its private aims in accord with the leisure of its tradition. But in time of stress, private aims become public concersn. In days of turbulence universities in a free society must meet their responsibilities and press forward into new knowledge and fresh concern. The universities do it not because they are commanded or directed. No man has yet found a way to command the unwilling mind. Universities do it because it is in their nature to pursue their principles. They do it because it is the best and the only way to protect the land they love and the life they lead.

Ralph Waldo Emerson said, "It is the eye which makes the horizon." In a free society, it is the university which makes the eye.

Modern man has been catapulted into times of great change. There is much to lead us to the belief that human welfare everywhere may possibly depend upon our peculiar combination of technological power and democratic freedom. Without that technology, men become slaves to nature; without that freedom, slaves to one another. Both, I suggest, depend upon the university. For neither technology nor freedom is possible without education.

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Statement by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee
Subcommittee on Communications
April 24, 1962

Mr. Chairman:

Let me thank you for the invitation to appear before the learned members of your committee today.

There has been much recent discussion on complex issues relating to ultimate ownership of the first space satellite system. As you well know, those discussions are currently moving forward. I thought you would be interested today in NASA's planning for the first experiments in transoceanic communications by active repeater satellite, my Agency's involvement and responsibilities in those experiments and some comments on the operation of whatever the final satellite system may be.

Some of what I will tell you may sound familiar. But I think for the sake of completeness it is best to run the risk of redundancy.

As you have already been informed, NASA plans to launch several communication satellite projects starting about midyear. The first communications satellite that is scheduled is Project Telstar. This is the experiment undertaken with the American Telephone and Telegraph Company.

Under a cooperative agreement, NASA will establish the environmental standards for the satellite, will provide the launch vehicle, will launch the satellite, and will obtain orbital data from tracking stations after launch. AT & T will reimburse NASA for the costs involved. AT & T has constructed and designed the satellite, and built the ground station facilities involved. Both organizations will share in the knowledge and data gleaned from the experiment.

Pursuant to this, AT & T is rapidly completing a very large installation in Andover, Maine, for use in this first Telstar experiment. Later this year the facility will be used for communications experiments with the NASA Relay satellite under a contractual agreement.

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But a televised satellite experiment, to be international, must by definition involve other countries. Therefore, NASA last year completed negotiations whereby England and France would provide ground stations for experimental purposes in connection with Projects Telstar and Relay. Similar arrangements were made with Germany and Brazil, and a later negotiation was undertaken with Italy. Facilities in all these countries are being built. We hope that the facility in England will be ready by mid-year for the first Telstar experiment. We fully anticipate that the end of this year will see completed facilities for testing communication satellites in England, France, and Brazil, and in 1963 facilities will be completed in Germany and Italy.

Project Telstar is planned for launching around mid-year. Immediately after launch a period of experimentation will ensue. Sometime during these early weeks of testing, AT & T and NASA hope it will be technically possible to demonstrate a live television experiment within the United States. If such a demonstration occurs, it will be a relay of a television signal from the AT & T sending station at Andover, Maine, to Telstar for relay to the Bell system station at Holmdel, New Jersey. If the satellite continues to operate successfully, it may be possible to conduct the following international experiments:

A. a live experimental television program from the United States to Europe;

B. a live experimental television program from Europe to the United States;

C. a telephone demonstration with conversations between cities in the United States and Europe;

D. a telephone demonstration with Brazil via the Relay satellite may be possible later, with transmission and reception by the International Telephone and Telegraph station at Nutley, New Jersey.

E. a speed mail facsimile, and photo demonstration.

Both of the television experiments will be 10 minutes only in duration. I am told that these experiments probably will occur in the order mentioned.

Some weeks ago NASA created a Government steering committee which would concern itself with administering the problems of these first public demonstration experiments with Projects Telstar and Relay. Represented on that committee are NASA, the U.S. Information Agency, the Department of State, and the Federal Communications Commission.

That committee and NASA itself delegated certain responsibilities to my Agency:

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A. Responsibility for developing and proposing to the committee program content of the first transatlantic experimental telecast demonstration, including responsibility for coordinating all arrangements with the domestic television industry of this country.

B. Responsibility for liaison with the program representatives of the European countries concerned regarding receipt of our experimental program in Europe and formation of their experimental program to come here.

C. Responsibility for coordinating telephone demonstrations both in Europe and Brazil.

D. Responsibility for contacts with other U.S. Government agencies regarding program matters.

E. Responsibility for exploitation and explanation worldwide by all the many media of USIA regarding this latest manifestation of a peaceful use of outer space.

To superintendthese Agency responsibilities I assigned the discharge of them to my Special Assistant, Robert Mayer Evans, working personally out of my office. He returned two weeks ago from a meeting of the European Broadcasting Union at Seville where the space demonstrations were discussed. He was in New York last week to discuss plans for the American program with the three networks.

Because much of this work is still in progress, I cannot make final report to you on all issues. But I am able to report to you how my Agency has discharged our responsibilities up to this moment.

Let me take the simplest first.

Regarding world-wide explanation by USIA media, projects and plans are underway for appropriate programming by television -- by motion pictures -- by press wire and photo services, magazines and newspapers -- by radio -- and by exhibits, displays and lectures.

Regarding other government agencies, they are of course kept informed and problems discussed when dictated by circumstances.

Regarding the first American program to be televised to Europe in the satellite experiment, our Agency early decided that on behalf of this country we must exploit the best creative minds available to render a 1962 version of Samuel F. B. Morse's century-old first historic message: "What hath God wrought?"

Several weeks ago I therefore met with representatives of the Columbia

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Broadcasting System, the National Broadcasting Company, and the American Broadcasting Company. The subject of that meeting was how we might best pool our mutual efforts to discharge the programming function that the steering committee had asked USIA to undertake. From our discussions emerged agreement that the networks would be voluntarily undertake this programming function in cooperation with us and that a network planning committee would be appointed to do so. The network committee is composed of Fred Friendly of C.B.S., Irving Gitlin of N.B.C., and Ted Fetter of A.B.C.

As I mentioned earlier, my Special Assistant was in New York last week to discuss program plans with the network planning committee. Those plans are still in their formative stage. It would not, however, be presumption or injustice to the networks to generalize on program plans with this sole comment:

The excitement of satellite television is the infinite increase it gives to the range of television. It gives us intercontinental linkage of ground terminals in a way not hitherto possible. It means the medium will no longer be restricted only to a line-of-sight signal from tower to horizon. It will mean television instantaneous and simultaneous from mountain to desert, from river to ocean, from one seacoast to the other, all across a huge land having not one but four time zones, and then relayed across the ocean by orbiting satellite. It will be the new communication, sub-divided only by our own imagination, and dramatizing a glimpse of our future across the dimension of geography and through the dimension of time.

The details of this, the sites and locales to be broadcast, and the settlement of arrangements and problems are currently under consideration, and will continue to be for the months ahead.

So much for the American aspect of the program.

What of the European program?

My office was represented at the recent meetings of the European Broadcasting Union in Seville. The General Post Office of England's representative on the Ground Station Committee has not as yet designated officially a programming organization for the European program. It is the general assumption on both sides of the Atlantic that the British Broadcasting Corporation will be that programming organization, and that they will in turn avail themselves of the facilities of the European Broadcasting Union. This meeting of the E.B.U. had as part of its agenda a discussion of their common problems of both sending and receiving a satellite program.

The BBC had drawn up a conception of a program format for the experimental telecast. I think it is fair to describe their initial program concept as similar to the comment I made above. They will attempt to set the limits of Europe from the Arctic Circle to the Mediterranean, they will include

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the mountains of Europe, the rivers of Europe, and some of the better known capital cities.

Their program, too, will span the dimension of geography through the dimension of time.

The European problems are of a different order from our own. There are, for example, 21 political entitles in the European Broadcasting Union. Obviously all of them cannot participate in a broadcast of 10 minutes.

On a technical level, there are problems of different European line standards and electrical systems that must go through conversion before transmission.

And on both sides there are mutual problems to be worked out. The day of the week for the broadcast is not yet known, nor is the hour of the day. A major problem is the difference of time. When it is evening in Paris and London, it is afternoon in New York. The six hour difference in time is a major obstacle in choosing the optimum time for broadcast.

For advance planning, we are limited to program preparation. All else must wait the launching and technical determination of whether the public demonstrations are, in fact, feasible. The decision must be made by technical experts of A T & T, NASA and the participating countries. The orbit achieved will determine the date, time and duration.

I should add the technical observation that this will be a relay of television signal between ground terminals. This satellite will not enable direct broadcast to be made to home receivers. Recent studies show that formidable technical problems remain to be solved before such direct broadcasting becomes feasible. I am informed such a development may not be possible in the foreseeable future.

As we are interested and involved in the programming experiment and its impact abroad, so are we interested and will, I hope, be involved in the long range use of the Space Communications System. In this connection I would like to make just a few comments on the legislation before your Committee:

Our Agency wants to use the System. We think the national interest demands that we do so. Suffice to reflect upon the impact around the world of simultaneous live television coverage of the Glenn orbital shot -- and of his reception in Washington, in New York and in New Concord, Ohio. We must inform your Committee of our deep concern that we may not be able to afford to use the System. May I cite the following example: Were we to have seven television circuits, one each to Latin America, the Near East, Far East, Southeast Asia, South Asia, West Europe and Africa, and use them each an average of 1 1/2 hours a day, the cost to us of relaying by means of the Space

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System at comparable current rates would be $900,000,000 a year. (Our complete budget for Salaries and Expenses in fiscal 1962 is $111,500,000 which covers television, radio, press, publications, personnel salaries, exhibits -- and all the other myriad activities in which we engage.)

I think we can agree that however the ownership question is ultimately resolved, the national investment in the System has been great. We believe and urge strongly that affordable rates for our Agency's usage is an appropriate partial repayment of that national investment. Under the Administration bill direct negotiation with the owning corporation is possible, thereby permitting some possible reduction in rate, subject of course to FCC regulation. If, however, as has been proposed, ground stations were not to be included in the System owned by the corporation, we would have to deal with the common carriers owning the ground stations as well as the corporation, or conceivably with the common carrier alone. Under that circumstance, assuming current practices are followed, no reduction in rate would be possible. Only in severe emergencies do we use existing submarine cables for our radio broadcasts. We cannot afford it.

We earnestly hope the Congress will include in the legislation, authorization for the corporation to own ground stations. This makes sense economically and also, I'm informed, technically.

It is a fair appraisal of my Agency to say that we are involved in communications with the rest of the world. We are in business to satisfy that incessant and insatiable curiosity about this land and its people, and we further engage in the difficult and delicate art of explaining abroad the policies and practices of this government.

I mention this because we have more than a mere parochial interest in the cost of international communications. If the cost of using the satellite system is high, it will have the same disadvantage of other present systems. The high cost of communications reduces the volume of communications. Our interest, and I suggest the interest of this country, is in maximizing communications with other lands and other peoples. Our concern is with the maximum flow of information at a minimum cost. How this will be reflected in the satellite system is still moot.

An example in closing: my Agency has opened a foreign correspondents center in New York City as this is where the majority of correspondents from abroad are stationed. I recently spoke to a group of them, and the first question put to me was on the cost of their communications. The rates for sending material to their native lands are high. They asked if there was something that could be done to help them lessen the burden of the sheer cost of technical communications.

There is much they would tell their native lands about our land if

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communications were easier. No outsider can ever have a fraction of the credibility of a native correspondent writing for his own native media and telling them about America. Absolute statements are never absolute, but I think it is near absolute certainty that more written home about America by foreign correspondents stationed in America could not help but be in our unquestioned national interest.

Perhaps, then, I should readdress their query to this committee: Is there not something we could do that would help lessen the cost of communicating for foreign correspondents stationed in this country?

Their costs and my Agency's costs are issues deserving national consideration.

In closing, let me state that we support the concept of broadly based ownership of the System for space communications. A dynamic economy, free of monopoly, is a major message we convey to the world. The Administration bill, as amended, is consistent with that message.

Thank you.

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Release No. 28

FOR RELEASE AT 4 P.M., E.D.T., SUNDAY, MAY 6, 1962

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the Polish Constitution Day Celebration
at Humboldt Park, Chicago, Illinois
May 6, 1962

Mr. Chairman, Honored Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Let me say you my thanks for your kind invitation to share these moments of celebration with you. Each May 3rd you celebrate the anniversary of the Polish Constitution, a document that partakes of the same spirit of liberty as does the American Constitution. And as between Poland and America, therein surely lies one of the many ties that bind.

Our Constitutions date from identical eras -- the American Constitution adopted in 1789, the Polish Constitution two years later in 1791. From these both there springs a common heritage. History relates there is love of liberty in both our lands.

As I read passages from the Polish Constitution, I was struck by their similarity to passages from our own early papers. Note these coincidences of language and intent, beginning with the Preamble to the United States Constitution:

> "We the People of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

Listen nowto the Preamble of the Polish Constitution in all its similitude of language and intent:

> "Persuaded that our common fate depends entirely upon establishing and rendering perfect a national constitution; convinced by a long train of experience of many defects in

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> our government and willing to profit by the present circumstances of Europe, and by the favorable moment which has restored us to ourselves; free from the disgraceful shackles of foreign influence; prizing more than life, and every personal consideration, the political existence, external independence and internal liberty of the nation, whose care is entrusted to us; desirous, moreover, to deserve the blessing and gratitude, not only of our contemporaries, but also of future generations; for the sake of the public good, for securing our liberty, and maintaining our kingdom and our possessions; in order to exert our natural rights with zeal and firmness, we do solemnly establish the present constitution..."

Those words are Polish. They could as well be American. That they are one and not the other is due only to accident of location. Across the distance of time and continent, both content and intent are the same. And each of these is testimony to the testament that belongs to people both here and there.

For both our lands, those constitutions were an end and a beginning. An end in the sense of peoples determining to end their native land's domination by foreigners, a beginning in the sense of hopes new-born and high-held for reform of living and betterment of future.

That it was short-lived in Poland made no less an indelible impression on peoples there. In but four short years it came to tragic end when Russian and Prussian soldiers set upon that land so new-found in freedom.

If the American Constitution did not come to so ignominious an end, it was due in some measure to the contribution of Poles to this land. The name of Kosciuszko is known to all -- the Polish patriot revered by countrymen here for his role in gaining independence for those 13 lonely colonies.

But though everyone knows the role he played, I wonder how many know the birthday he shares with another revered American. Both Thaddeus Kosciuszko and Abraham Lincoln were born on February 12. They share more than a mere calendar. As they were born on the same date, so did they each die in the same spirit. For Kosciuszko's last will named his close friend, Thomas Jefferson, as his executor and instructed Jefferson to buy as many slaves as Kosciuszko's estate could pay for. Once bought, those slaves were to be set free. More than half a century later Abraham Lincoln was to give his life in the same cause of free men.

In times more recent America and Poland were joined again in pursuit of the fruits of liberty. Those older among you will recall the moving days of World War I, the magnificent work for his country of the Polish master of the piano, Ignace Paderewski, his friendship with Woodrow Wilson, and even the 13th of Wilson's famous 14 points -- an independent Poland with an

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outlet to the sea and an international guarantee of its independence and integrity.

The Poland that was hoped for was born after the War. It was not a perfect state; few states of men ever are. But there was at least the hope then of fulfilling that promise of the Constitution of 1791.

And then came the days when news from Europe became as dark as the dread foreboding they portended. The years of depression began their slow blend into the fears of aggression. And the shadow of the swastika was seen on the land.

As a reporter it was my sad privilege to be onlooker to the lights of Europe that flickered, then faded. No man walks among us who does not carry on his soul the brand of those days. Humanity, so it seemed, had fled the habitation of we mere mortals.

On September 1 the war began. It was Poland that felt the first weight of Hitler's might. On September 19 Soviet troops marched into Eastern Poland. As in 1795, the Russian and the Prussian had extinguished the light of liberty in Poland.

In company with those soon to join the cause of struggle, we then sat in London. In those few brutal days the punishment of Poland was bitter to bear. The defense of the Polish coast -- Oksywie, Hel, Westerplatte -- these will stand in gold among the battle honors of Poland. Those last eight square kilometres of Polish-held coast, Gdynia evacuated, bombardment from the sea, anti-aircraft guns silenced, the Luftwaffe attacking at treetop height, ammunition exhausted, men collapsing, the end hovering near, and from Colonel Dabek that immortal Polish order of the day: "We have nothing left to defend but our honour; we shall always be able to defend that single-handed."

Single-handed was the last flight and fight of the near legendary Polish submarine, Orzel. It was privilege then to meet her officers and crew in England; it is privilege now to recall their deed.

Gallantry they possessed; daring they invoked; heroism they undertook. While the Orzel fought, Poland was cracking under the crash of Panzers from the West. While the Orzel fought, Russia invaded from the East. While the Orzel fought, Warsaw fell. The Orzel possessed all that men need to engage in battle for defense of homeland, all, that is, save that one quality men best call hope.

The Orzel first guarded the coast of Poland. Under orders she put to sea into what by then had become enemy waters. Attacked and hunted, she pulled into the then neutral Estonia for repair.

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Entitled to time for repairs under laws of neutrality, she was virtually seized. Armed parties removed from the Orzel ammunition, rifles, gun breeches, charts, equipment, and torpedoes. Disarmed and with only six torpedoes left, the crew kidnapped their guards, cut mooring cables and wires, and sought freedom.

They had no charts. They were in strange waters. They grounded on shoals. Through shells and gunfire, they made their escape to wind and sea. For 16 days they patrolled the Baltic. With fuel running out, with water almost gone, they determined to make for England.

To do so they had to traverse the rocky Swedish coast and the Sound between Copenhagen and Sweden. Some areas were too shallow to submerge. Other sections mere periscope depth would put the craft on the bottom. With pencilled recollections of seamarkers and buoys, with her crew on deck with life belts at ready, for they dare not submerge in shallows, the Orzel crept along. They were spotted once, found deep water and submerged, and for 20 hours listened to the thrash of propeller blades above searching for them. With darkness they surfaced, and almost collided with their searchers. They crash dived, came up again and were seen, and again dived. In desperation they waited till drawn and, being able to see their enemy, they prepared to surface and fight -- and this with a submarine largely dismantled and disarmed in Estonia. With the dawn they came to the air, and the sea was empty.

They cleared the Skaggerak and in a North Sea gale they made England. They went on to fight as they had escaped -- with courage and cunning, with daring and success. I met them and admired them. They were Polish and I was American, but in that epic struggle we were all our fathers' sons.

And then on 11 June, 1940, came this cryptic communique from the Admiralty in London:

> "Owing to lack of information, and being long overdue, the Polish submarine Orzel is presumed lost."

The Orzel was never heard from again. A chapter of Polish bravery had come to an end.

The years have passed. An uneasy "peace" lies over Europe. All of us are a little older. Our burdens have been borne a little longer. The Orzel and her crew and the Polish fighter pilots who fought and with such grim gayety during the Battle of Britain are gone but not forgotten.

Polish gallantry and Polish determination are qualities we admire and we hope we share, as well as our love of our countries and our dedication to the principles for which both countries have so often struggled.

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These were the principles that prompted the Polish Constitution of 1791. These were the principles for which the Poles fought so nobly in man's last great world war, and these are the principles which all of us are confident will continue to be held by the Polish people as stubbornly as we hold them here.

I am told that Poland today is in a ferment of activity. Cafes buzz with the exchange of ideas. Western culture is in evidence. Plays from this country and others are translated and performed. Western books are permitted entry. Young intellectuals, artists, and students argue over technique and method. Architects emerge. Philosophers debate.

This is the area of my Agency's concern with Poland. The U.S. Information Agency is in the business of contacting people abroad to tell them about this country, its people and its policies, its ideas and its ideals. To do this, we broadcast radio, produce television, make motion pictures, print magazines, newspapers, and pamphlets, publish books, produce travelling exhibits, run libraries and information centers, teach English, administer educational and student exchanges, and stage lectures, cultural and artistic events.

We carry on these programs in countries around the globe. Some of these activities are carried on in Poland. For example, we broadcast in the Polish language on the Voice of America radio. We print and distribute a Polish language edition of our magazine called "Ameryka." We participate in the trade fair at Poznan. We occasionally have exhibits in the country. We are involved with scholarships and cultural exchanges. We administer the International Media Guarantee program for American commercial films, books, and magazines.

We do this because we have high regard for humanity and for the Polish people. It was no mere accident that in President Kennedy's first State of the Union message he mentioned Poland by name and expressed "...our abiding friendship for and interest in the people of Poland." And, I suggest, it is no mere accident that in the forefront of that expression of friendship for the people of Poland lies the work of the U.S. Information Agency.

I have in my mind a vivid recollection of a description of Poland written several years ago by the Englishman, James Morris. He describes how in the old and beautiful Polish city of Krakow from the belfry of the church of St. Mary the Virgin a trumpeter on the stroke of every hour blows an ancient martial call.

Bold and clear and beautiful the call rings across the market square. Morris describes it as ringing from the tumbled houses to the broad frozen Vistula and the high ramparts of the castle where the old kings of Poland once lived in tapestried splendor. Then in midphrase the trumpeter stops. The

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music dies. Four times he tries, turning north, south, east, and west. Four times he fails, his fanfare never completed.

As many of you know, the trumpeter blows this way because in the dim history of Polish centuries a trumpeter rousing Krakow to a Tartar invasion was shot in the back. An enemy arrow interrupted his summons. His fanfare, died with him. To this day the call is never finished, and the heart-rending interruption is broadcast every day at noon by the Polish state radio.

Somehow that trumpeter from Krakow symbolizes Poland. He symbolizes the difficulties that country's troubled history has always known and he symbolizes the determination with which the Poles have always faced those difficulties.

James Morris remarked in closing comment on his visit to Poland: "Young or old, successful or awash, in all their eyes there lurked, I thought, that most affecting of the qualities, pathos. The Poles are pathos personified, 30 million brave souls of brave pathos, through whose affairs there runs, like some distant plucking melody, an unbroken thread of sadness."

In Polish history it has frequently been that the very act of life has been an act of hope. We understand the character and the hope of the Polish people. We feel, as they feel, the strong bonds between our two peoples. We do not overlook these bonds, and forget them we cannot. We are certain that the Polish people share our confidence that these bonds grow stronger in pursuit of those principles that we and the Polish people will never abandon. For the cause of the Polish people, as well as ours, is the cause of free men everywhere who live for the love of liberty.

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Release No. 33

ADVANCE: FOR RELEASE 1:00 p.m. THURSDAY, MAY 17, 1962

Remarks by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the Educational Press Association, at the
National Education Association, Washington, D.C.

It is a pleasure of a different order of magnitude to stand here before an educational press meeting. By coincidence you encompass both my pre-government preoccupations. Like every man who ever learned to write and read, I owe what I am in goodly measure to my education. In younger days I worked in educational pursuits. And as one who plied his trade in broadcast journalism I feel a most natural affinity to members of the press.

I find most people are largely ignorant about what the U.S. Information Agency does. This is understandable. Our product is invisible. Our goals are intangible. By Congressional mandate we operate from the shores of this country outward. Whatever we do is for export only.

We are engaged in that difficult task of telling America's story abroad. We seek to turn politics into understanding. What we endeavor is to reflect with fidelity to our Allies, to uncommitted nations, and to ourselves not only our policy but our ideals.

To accomplish this we use all the media of communication: radio, television, motion pictures, newspapers, magazines, wireless files, books, pamphlets, exhibits, trade fairs, the arts, teaching and education, and face to face conversation with ministers and members of foreign governments and societies.

We must therefore speak in many languages to many peoples of vastly differing cultures. Our media must talk to peons and professors, to Asian illiterates and Israeli intellectuals, to Congolese natives, to Muslim shopkeepers and to Indian Hindus, to the Filipino merchant and the Japanese scholar.

This means we approach them in their own country, whatever its climate or terrain -- in their own language, whatever its dialect or difficulty -- in their level of comprehension, whatever its depth. We must deal with the realities of their fears, their concerns, their stereotypes of the product we promote: the

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hopes and actions of the United States Government.

I shall not burden you with details of most of our operations. Our radio, the Voice of America, broadcasts up to 64 languages and is on the air 107 hours a day -- more air time, I might add, than the major commercial networks in this country combined. Our television services station in 57 countries. Our motion pictures reach a monthly film audience of about 600 million people. Our wireless news file sends out some 10,000 words a day to each of five major world areas. We turn out 68 magazines in 28 languages. We print over 12 million pamphlets and some 25 newspapers, wall posters, and periodicals in 14 languages. We have in circulation 150 travelling exhibits.

But you are interested in education, and education abroad is one of the areas that most concerns our 219 overseas posts in 99 foreign countries.

The heart of our operations on the intellectual front abroad is our libraries. To call them simply libraries is misleading. They do stock over 2,250,000 volumes that reached about 26 million persons last year; that's a lot of circulation for books, magazines, newspapers, other periodicals. But these locales of ours do so much more than lend books that they can only be described by a catch-all phrase, "Cultural Center." They show documentary films, display exhibits, stage concerts and lectures, organize seminars and study groups, provide special activities for children and youth groups, place programs on local radio and television.

A former Mexican Foreign Minister is reported to have said to an American diplomat: "The United States has done many fine things for Mexico. You spent fifty million dollars helping us eradicate hoof-and-mouth disease. You have constructed sewage systems in each of our towns along the border. You have helped us build health clinics and other public works throughout the country. But the finest single thing you have ever done for us, in my opinion, was the establishment of the Benjamin Franklin Library."

One must agree with the foreign minister that our USIS libraries are one of the finest things we have done in many countries. We have 176 of them, along with 85 reading rooms, in 80 Free World countries.

It is perhaps a paradoxical comment upon our success that USIS centers and libraries are usually the first objects of rioting mobs and demonstrators. Our libraries have been pillaged in Bogota, Baghdad, Athens, Beirut, Algiers, Calcutta, Taipei, Cyprus and, to a lesser degree, in half a dozen other places. Yet often the rioters themselves return to use our facilities; our attendance does not slacken after such demonstrations. Local citizenry quite often pitch in to help with the clean-up and repair. Once in Athens the cadets in the Greek Naval Academy began a campaign to raise funds for repairs, and even carried the campaign into the public schools.

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Attackers assail our libraries for many reasons. Some are nationalist outbursts; others are admittedly Communist fomented. But their very concentration upon our posts shows the enhanced position of the United States in world affairs and the potency of the ideas and ideals we have to offer.

I find it equally interesting to note that when we have decided to close a library or cultural center -- for budgetary or other reasons -- local townspeople almost invariably petition us to keep it open. In Germany some cities have even built new buildings and offered them free of charge to keep libraries from closing.

In lands with few cities but many people we take our culture and books to the people. By truck and caravan we plumb the depths of the jungle and the foothills of the Andes. By raft and riverboat we navigate the Indus and the Amazon to take the culture of our country wherever men have eyes to see and ears to hear.

In many countries, locally sponsored institutions are also serving in the cause of our country's culture. We call them Binational Centers. They are locally formed by the people of the area in cooperation with the United States. Their purpose is to promote the ties that bind the host country and the United States. Each center is indigenous, non-political, non-profit, nonsectarian. We supply services, top personnel, facilities and books. But their very strength is in their local autonomy, their local roots, their local participation. There are 128 of these binational centers today, many of them in South America.

We participate quite heavily in the pioneering spade work of building education in lands emerging from illiteracy. These lands have an urgent desire to absorb as much as they can as fast as they can. Carbon copies of educational systems and practices in this country are of little avail. But our experience is of great use, and this we parcel out liberally for the local people to adapt to their own needs.

For example, we gave the Nepal Government College of Education a collection of 250 books on education to use both for present training and as models for developing texts for Nepal schools. In Pakistan, the Ministry of Education is using a set of our textbooks to guide them in the writing of history texts for secondary schools in Pakistan.

We also have had an active role in encouraging the establishment of American studies courses in overseas universities. In India, for example, by judicious placement of book presentations American studies programs are underway at universities in Calcutta, Bombay, New Delhi, and Madras. The trend is spreading to Japan and Brazil, and has its greatest momentum in Western Europe -- England, Germany, and Italy.

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Just as much of the world would share our knowledge and emulate our machine age productivity, so would they speak our language. Teaching the English tongue is high on our list of activities. Last year over a quarter million people in 55 countries took instruction in English. We ran some 87 seminars for over 5,000 local teachers of English who will in turn reach over a million students. We are distributing a television series, "Let's Learn English," now running on 34 stations in 20 countries. Seven other countries have requested the series. Its success augurs well for its expanded use abroad.

I could amaze you with tales of the impact of English in foreign lands. There is a man in Latin America who rides all day and all night on horseback to get to his weekly English lesson, then returns home the same distance. In Africa a group of chieftains was told that English lessons would have to be postponed because there were no chairs in the newly built USIA building. So they showed up anyway -- each carrying his own chair. In Central America a small boy barely large enough to reach the counter came to pay tuition for English lessons. He asked shyly if it was all right for him to come barefoot. He was told yes, and it was only much later that we discovered he had sold his only pair of shoes to pay for the lessons. In Mexico City the announcement of English lessons drew such a crowd a day in advance that special police were called to stand guard through the night. And the next morning when USIA opened who were the first ones through the doors to register? The special police. Seven thousand five hundred people a day are now studying English in Mexico City alone.

In Africa we number among our English pupils several Prime Ministers plus Cabinet ministers and high officials too numerous to catalogue. In one country we even laid on English lessons for the entire Cabinet -- at the special request of the country's Chief Executive.

Parallelling this interest in speaking in our tongue is the passion for reading of our knowledge. And so USIA promotes the publication of books -- 6,000,000 of them published overseas last year, in English and in other languages. By assisting foreign publishers and encouraging translations of American books, the average output has been around 6,000,000 books a year over the last decade -- and this in 50 languages. We last year also distributed some 3,500,000 books and magazines contributed by voluntary collections. And we have specialty programs as well -- low price paperback editions that sell for the equivalent of 10 to 15 cents, special ladder editions of books for those with limited English facility, done in vocabularies of 1,000, 2,000, and 3,000 words.

One of the more encouraging aspects of our book program is the use of our textbooks in foreign educational systems. Burma, Indonesia, India, Israel, Pakistan, Poland, Yugoslavia, and the United Arab Republic are all training part of their youth on educational texts obtained through this country.

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And let me tell you of another aspect of this unremitting war we wage for the wits of men. On the publishing front we are out-gunned by the competition. Last year alone, Russian books distributed to non-Communist countries rose by 30% to a high of 40 million volumes. It will come as no surprise when I add that the greatest increase came in underdeveloped countries. Furthermore, the Communists added seven new languages last year, all of them South Asian or African.

It is obvious that what they peddle is not ideas but ideology. There is not near so much Tolstoy, Dostoevski and Turgenev as there is Marx, Engels and Lenin. And it is equally well to note that my figure of 40 million was for books produced in Russia alone; there is at least twice this amount of Communist publishing done outside the USSR and Red China.

It was inevitable, I suppose, that any discussion of USIA's educational role abroad would drift onto the shoals of the present great political confrontation. It would be trite to say that we live in what could be a watershed of history. If this nation could have its "druthers" some might counsel a wish to live in a time of crisis less burdensome than the present. It is far less strain to read of the stormy fortunes of nationhood in history books than it is to live through them in anxiety.

For my own part, I would, I think, choose no other time than now. Peril there is, and in great abundance. But there is opportunity as well. And challenge. And hope. And these too are with us in great abundance.

It would be misleading of me to describe our fate as other than one of great struggle. We are in combat -- but combat of a different order. That the sound of shot and powder is only rarely in our ear does not make it less a struggle. If any thing, it increases the mortality of danger. Everyone knows to resist when attacked. But our decisions today are not easy ones like resistance to invasion. There is threat abroad but its danger is more indirect, and for that reason more insidious.

And if this is our fate, then victory is our goal. But as our combat is of different order, so must be our victory. We as a nation are accustomed to clearly drawn lines and quickly gained triumphs. But the victory we seek will not be so easily recognized. It may not even come in our lifetime. It may fall to our heirs to finish these tasks.

This victory will see no ticker tape parades down broad avenues. There will be no bands, no extras on the newsstands, no climactic battles, no holidays proclaimed, no burst of enthusiasm on that suddenly arrived date.

It will be a victory which will take years, perhaps decades, of hard work. And each year will be composed of months of anxiety. It will take the

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combined efforts of many to achieve it. It will not be a victory of the United States over the Soviet Union. It will not be a victory of capitalism over socialism.

It will be a victory of revolutions realized -- but revolution without violence. It will be the victory of men and nations standing straight and standing for their individuality as nations. It will be the victory of hope over despair, of accomplishment over frustration, of action over apathy. It will be the victory of freedom in the world as men have the right to know it and demand it.

We believe this victory will come -- and on both sides of the Iron Curtain. To believe any less is to be untrue to ourselves. And in a forum of educators, what man would dare suggest untruth as his premise?

But truth, like the proverbial night, has a thousand eyes. Many will view this truth with jaundiced eye and querulous gaze. We must try to see our truth in its right perspective, and to know that in the fullness of time we marshalled that truth and our power in the better service of all mankind.

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Release No. 34

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
at the National Newspaper Awards Dinner
Toronto, Canada
May 19, 1962

Mr. Chairman, Honored Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am on alien soil...and yet I am home also. Canada for me is not truly foreign. I was raised in the logging country of the Pacific northwest where I came to know the Canadian as worker. I passed the sorrowing years of war in England where I came to know the Canadian as warrior. I have in years gone by been witness to events of our world in company with your newspapermen and broadcasters where I have come to know the Canadian as journalist. And, being among friends, I must confess that in spending the all-too-rare evenings of friendship with you I have come to know the Canadian as imbiber.

But I am at home as well because I repose this evening with toilers of the press. There was a time when I counted my own crumpled countenance as one of your own. It was in those days that I learned what writing truly was: putting little words between big words. But like any man who ever earned his keep by orchestrating the sound of the key board, I also learned Oscar Wilde's difference between journalism and literature: journalism is unreadable; literature isn't read at all. My sympathies are with you still, save that now I am on the other side of the interview and am become more aware how much simpler it is to ask questions than to supply answers.

I am witness this evening to awards for exemplary achievement in Canadian journalism. I am grateful to you all for your gracious invitation to join in an evening of award and commendation. I confess that being miles away in Washington I have far too little opportunity to peruse your press product at first hand. There are compliments due the Canadian press, but discretion suggests that I limit their mention. Even compliments between friends are dangerous lest they be misunderstood.

What better example of misunderstood compliment than that of a young lad taking his first date to a high school prom and being told that the most important thing to do was to compliment the young lady at every opportunity. Tell her she

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looks lovely. Tell her she is wearing a beautiful dress. Tell her she dances divinely. Tell her what a light lovely laughter she has. Hours passed. The boy returned home beaten and battered and torn and tattered. His incredulous parents, horrified, asked what had happened. "I paid her a compliment," he answered. "I told her that for a girl so overweight she didn't sweat much at all."

Compliments, then, are not my intention this evening. Rather would I prefer to share with you some thoughts about this seldom gay, often grim world in which we live and how the politics of change are slowly changing the politics of nations.

Those politics and changes intimately involve the work of the Agency I head. The U.S. Information Agency is engaged in the task of making the policy of our country everywhere intelligible and, wherever possible, palatable. We seek to tell others what manner of man it is that resides upon our shores.

To do this we use every form of communication known to modern man -- radio; television; motion pictures; newspapers and magazines, books, libraries, and information centers; traveling exhibits; educational, cultural, and artistic exchanges; teaching, and the vital face to face confrontation with foreign leaders and opinion moulders.

Ours is the permanent pursuit -- the inquiring mind of curious men. There is a great world foreign to the way of life of the North American continent. It is their curiosities we would engage, their intellectual appetites we would satisfy, their need for knowledge we would serve. By river raft and pack train, on horseback and on foot, our foreign service officers around the world take the story of our land and our people to wherever men have eyes to see and ears to hear.

Label it virtue or vice, it is an aspect of Washington that there is scant leisure for reflection. It is, after all, the tranquility of repose that lends savor to our labors. It is perhaps commentary upon our times that mere mention of tranquility seems in discord with reality.

As newsmen you are chroniclers of history. When I labored as one of you I was ever sobered by the knowledge that copy for today's readers would inevitably become research for tomorrow's historians.

I will here burden you with no incantations of fidelity to the truth. You are journalists. If you be worthy of that title, it is because truth is part of the rubric of your lexicon. If adherence to truth is not true of you, no exhortation will sway your morality.

It is rather history upon which I would dwell tonight. We fancy our

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lives as part of the scientific age. But we live as well -- including the scientists -- in an historical age.

I am aware that men have often imputed to their time of life the ultimate crisis of mankind. Our problems are perhaps no worse or no better than many that have gone before. We simply have the misfortune of having to live with ours. It is of course untrue that past generations lived with the single minded devotion of producing the unenviable situation we share today. Histories yet to be written may regard 1962 as looming no larger than 1806, or 1674, or 1523 or scratch your head for any other year about which you remember nothing in particular. Yet there is something about what is now happening to encourage the belief that these times are of more than fleeting inconsequence.

History is not a succession of one long continuum with no points of emphasis. It was H. J. Randall who said: "The historian who treated the Norman conquest of England as a mere incident in a continuous development would be as guilty of false emphasis as one who contended that it changed everything." All of history was not born free and equal. There are indeed great moments of history that divert the destinies of men. This would be true of 1776 for the United States, 1789 for France, 1867 for Canada, 1917 for Russia, and even the early 1940's for all this world and this generation.

And this may be part of the difficulty. I trust none will dissent if I postulate the Western world as being at base a moral world. But our age became the age of upheaval as men were slaughtered in such numbers as to make their meaning as men near meaningless to other men. It is possible, perhaps, to judge Charlemagne, Genghis Khan, or Napoleon without regard to their massacres. But what poor churl would attempt to judge Hitler or Stalin without regard for the measure of their misery.

Ours was truly a generation of morality that saw morality forsaken. And when we bore tortured witness to morality being pitchforked out of politics, I suggest it was indeed an excruciating moment of history.

The history of those days would appear to be, in J. B. Bury's pungent phrase, "the dossier of an incompetent Providence." I acknowledge the pitfall of regarding what is nearest in time as heaviest in import. Those days are still close. The mind of many of us is still seared by the scorch of memory.

But setting aside the emotions of memories, there seems sad relevance in the comment of the historian R. G. Collingwood, who wrote: "The only thing that a shrewd and critical Greek like Herodotus would say about the divine power that ordains the course of history is that...it rejoices in upsetting and disturbing things."

"Upsetting and disturbing" is the apt epitaph of much of this century. But I would be unfair to events if I assert that the legacy of our days is the counsel of darkness. Surely we shall bear to our posterity good omens of more

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than just the bitter taste of tears and torment.

I would share with you this evening one of those portents of tomorrow's hope. It is quiet and unobtrusive, as portents are wont to be. Little noticed, rarely discussed, seldom acknowledged, it is of near revolutionary portent.

Dwelling as we are in an historical vein, I trust I will offend no sensibilities if I borrow two historical terms to describe this new portent: Renaissance and Reformation. We are truly amid a Renaissance of the physical sciences. New postulates, new perimeters, new pioneers -- physical knowledge is quite literally exploding into outer space.

But the Reformation has also set in -- not in physical science but in political science. It is the concept of sovereignty and the nation state that is changing, changing so radically that the future chronicler of today's politics will not help but pause over our days to reflect on what now transpires.

Look how history has positioned us.

It was the famed British legal historian Sir Henry Maine who long ago noted that the duties of a nation state were but two: internal order, external security. Outside this, its position was one of sovereign equality. Other states might be its peer. None could be pre-eminent.

Sovereignty, though rooted in antiquity, has been developed in modernity. Again an Englishman defined our terms and his definitions today vie for immutability. John Austin viewed law as the command of the sovereign personifying the power of the nation. Sovereignty was a duality -- one could make law for internal groups, one could be free from command by other sovereigns of other lands.

Austinian jurisprudence is viable today. It is still the core of that concept of ultimate political power.

But between the days our grandfathers lived and our children were born, a revolution occurred. Philosophies changed. Governments differed. Attitudes altered. The basic role of governments -- once passive in nature -- became active in practice.

There is now concern for the individual. Personal freedoms must be protected. Individual security must be provided. Economic growth must be guaranteed. We seek to uplift the poor and employ the idle. Sickness and work are no longer the problem of one man, alone among many. The welfare of one has become the concern of all.

What a far cry indeed this is from Henry Maine's denomination of a

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state as concerning itself only with internal order. Sovereignty has indeed been altered. Passivity is gone. Activity reigns. And the maturity of the modern state is calibrated along the measuring rod of how fair will its citizenry fare.

More important still, how stands sovereignty internationally?

The philosophers of yore would stand agape at how stands modern sovereignty. Sir Henry's principle of solely "external security" has been foresworn and forgotten.

Independence from outside influence was the hallmark of that classical sovereignty. Today this is gone. Today there is immersion and involvement in world affairs. Events in one country may become the concern of many countries. What occurs in one place may be strongly influenced by the concerns of many foreign countries. Sovereignty in its traditional sense is fading. It is a fledgling genius labelled national responsibility that now stalks the councils of nations.

Consider, if you will, these examples:

The American balance-of-payments was a subject of concern in all of West Europe. And all West Europe consulted about how best to champion the cause of the U.S. dollar.

Economic assistance to the poverty-rows of the world has been in the forefront of national policy. And my country has issued call to the industrialized West to devote economic efforts to this end.

The Marshall Plan of postwar recovery was still again a marshalling of efforts in discharge of responsibilities that transcended issues of sovereignty.

There is no such thing in traditional sovereignty as external national responsibility. The very idea is outside formal structures of governments. In its way it is as revolutionary as guns or grenades. History has perhaps now come full tilt. The concert of nations is no longer based on sovereignty -- it is now based on the concept of responsibility. What happens in other nations is our concern. And what happens in our nation is the concern of others. Between one and all, there is a mutuality of responsibility.

It was Walter Landor who said, "In diplomacy we often talk on principle and act on interest." We have, then, a new principle based on national self-interest. It is the new national responsibility that has given rise to the demise of sovereignty.

Sovereignty, then, is not what it was. Its change is due not to new weapons or to the fact that, in Senghor's happy phrase, our oceans have become

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rivers. It is primarily due to a coalition of powers reaching common conclusion that they want to live in the same kind of world, and recognizing also that unless they engage in common external action their world will not long endure. That world is predicated on a view of man and state -- that the state exists for man, not man for the state.

Man will continue. But it is still moot as to how this continent will mould the image in which man will be cast. The story of man is the chronicle of history. And if history chronicles any one lesson it is surely that maximum challenge is never surmounted by minimum effort, that battles once won must oftimes be fought again, that merely being in opposition is not enough if your society has nothing of merit to offer in its own name.

The chronicle of history is saddened with the sagas of nations once mighty who were admonished by destiny under the stress of their times. Necessity can become the midwife of inspiration and change.

This may, indeed, be history's last best charge to the peoples that populate both our lands. This new science of the new sovereignty is but another way of denominating how our fortunes will cohere to our standards of interdependence. Ill fortune or good, we are bound to our higher mutuality.

If it be true that our youth is our oldest excuse for our shortcomings, then our two nations share not only our youth but the fact that we have both come into our full inheritance at a tender age. We do not always agree. We cannot explain away our disagreements with the excuse that we are separated by oceans or mountains or language barriers. Perhaps we understand each other too well, although I doubt that this is possible. Sometimes we appear to view each other with the same fascinated frustration that caused some anonymous but perceptive reporter to remark that a woman who is beautiful cannot be faithful and if faithful, she must not be beautiful.

We should, I suppose, do our best to disagree agreeably but the act of disagreement and the right to express it forcefully is part or our heritage and it should remain our habit. Both of us, I suspect, are becoming increasingly aware that we want to live in pretty much the same kind of world and that a major part of the responsibility for maintaining and improving that world rests upon both of us. Let us blackguard each other as little as possible while arguing how to do it. Let us talk to each other with candor tinged with a little compassion, being always conscious that, as Thoreau once remarked, "It takes two to speak the truth -- one to speak and another to hear."

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US/Communism

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Release No. 35

FOR RELEASE AT NOON EDST, SUNDAY, JUNE 3, 1962

Text of Commencement Address
by Edward R. Murrow
Director, U.S. Information Agency
at Washington State University
Pullman, Washington

Mr. President, Honored Guests, Faculty and Students of Washington State University, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am home again. Washington state was the site of my youth. Washington State was the site of my education. It seems in retrospect almost as long ago as it was in fact that I sat in those same chairs where now you sit and regarded a commencement occasion.

I am, Sir, indeed grateful for those economiums of praise in your "Distinguished Alumnus Award." "Alumnus" you are compelled to acknowledge, for I hold the University degree. "Distinguished" is a more moot appellation. Reasonable minds might differ, as in the advice I recall from Homer's Iliad: "Praise from a friend, or censure from a foe, are lost on hearers that our merits know." The eminent words of the President of the Board of Regents are undoubtedly an illustration of those other words in the Notebooks of Samuel Butler: "Life is the art of drawing sufficient conclusions from insufficient premises."

I am grateful for your welcoming me back to Washington State. Those were happy years spent here. A man is a product of his education, his work, his travel, his reading, all his experience. But first among these mentioned is education. It was here that I found the contagious spark that is curiosity, the ravenous excitement that devours ideas, the emanating wisdom that hopefully opens the pathway of logic bypassing fancy and leading to fact.

I trust that as students you have less levity of spirit than that woeful student who regarded as gospel the nostrum of knowledge from Butler, "A hen is only an egg's way of making another egg." Butler, I am told, was wont to finish off audiences that regarded his remarks with sober and serious mien with his parting sally: "How holy people look when they are sea sick."

I departed these portals some thirty years past. The world of my departure

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bears little resemblance to the world of my return. In the interim the extremity of man's excesses have washed high on the sands of time. We are not, I think, handmaidens to but an incompetent Providence. But it would take only the greatest act of faith to believe that what humans have done in these decades has all been done in the name of humankind. "We live," commented William Dean Howells, "but a world has passed away, with the years that perished to make us men."

We are engaged in great confrontation with an implacable foe. It is both the refuge and the frustration of the academician to observe that the ultimate decision will be made upon the playing field of politics. Politics has often been called a game. But it was Bertrand de Jouvenel who pointed out the essential distinction. In a game man is free to play or not as he chooses. No such option is open to this generation of Americans.

If men play, they are free to limit their stakes. No such limitation is ours today. The old parties of the Weimar Republic never agreed to stake all their liberties and the lives of European Jews on a game of chance with Hitler. But this, in fact, was the stake they lost.

More disturbing still, it is not even necessary to know what is at stake. The rules of the game are simple: Play we must. And if we lose, only then in the goodness of time will be know what stake we have lost. Our game is in deadly earnest, for the stakes in our game of nationhood are indeed life as we live it.

If this world were tranquil our composure could be comforting. But tranquility has been now banished from the counsels of our calculations. Though this land is but 180 years young, we live still amid a revolutionary age.

We do not live alone. Around this globe, across these continents there are others who at long last have turned their battered countenance to the windward side of history. This, in large measure, is partly our own doing. In Henry Steele Commager's happy words, we are the oldest of the new nations. Ours was the first of the great world revolutions. It was no stroke of chance that a rioter arrested in front of a U.S. Information Agency library in Africa responded to questions with the phrase: "The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants." He was quoting a U.S. book in continual circulation by an author named Thomas Jefferson.

Our revolutionary age has multiplied; there are not one but many revolutions: the political revolution of new nations, the economic revolution of new wants, the biological revolution of exploding populations, the scientific revolution of new knowledge.

The path of the future lies shrouded in the dynamic of change.

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Though no man of rational wit would dare predict, it seems reasonable to conclude that that change and that future may be even more significant. And I suggest in all seriousness that anyone who believes that the future will be easier than the past is mad.

The chronicle of modern times has been the dominance of the North European nations. Even in this country we like to think that recent history has been moulded in our image. If that be the burden of your reflection, then savor well the poverty of your recollection.

America's day of one land among the many is ebbing. New centers of power arise from old ashes in Asia. By century's end China and India will be industrialized, and China's population will be close to one billion souls. Europe in its infant clothes of new born unity will in short time grow to the restiveness of rebellious adolescence. And who among us could doubt that regional unity will in its day come to Latin America and Africa?

The Atlantic civilization has not lost its focus, but the light of civilization will no longer be focused on the Atlantic. History is changing from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and to the Indian Ocean as well.

This is not the beginning of the American century. Nor is it the beginning of anyone else's century, certainly not the Communists'. And if there are other actors advancing onto the stage of life, it behooves us to acknowledge the reality that America will not be alone at center stage, and that modesty is never in ill grace.

It would also be unreal of us not to acknowledge that great advantage in these circumstances lies with the Communists. Revolution is predicated upon change. When the ordered society is in a state of change, the marketplace of ferment gives premium to the wares of Communism's deceit and hypocrisy. But let us not misread these events.

Communism did not invent the world's revolutions. Every one of them -- political, economic, biological, and scientific -- had their origins in our way of life. Wittingly or not, the West launched them all. It is Communism that takes advantage of the momentum we generated. They exploit the momentum with anti-imperialist jargon and proclaim their false brotherhood of Communist man. The debasement of their people, the fallacy of their promises, the abandonment of their principles, the humiliation of their leaders -- all this bears witness to the falsity of their creed. But it is to our everlasting shame that in the years since World War II we have given them by default the initiative that was our birth right.

There is irony in the belief that the struggle in this bi-polar world polarizes around the twin poles of "capitalism" and "Communism." The capitalism of Karl Marx is as dated here as the feudalism of the Czars is dated

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there. Marxist ideology suggests that there exists outside the Communist orbit a static and basic condition. They call it capitalism, and they assume that since the lifetime of Marx in the last century it has undergone no change. Anyone who has seen the world around us would acknowledge how false this is.

Our society today is the society of the middle way. It is the mixed society. We have proven to our peers that it is possible for the state to evolve social security and economic growth without banishing political and civil freedom. Far from being unstable and doomed as Marx predicted, our society has shown that the society functions best which functions on a basis of personal liberty and social concern.

And it happens elsewhere as well. There is today not one social and economic system outside the Communist orbit. There are near as many systems as there are countries. And some of them in their democratic economics are even closer to the ideals which Marx conceived as the good society than they are to the laissez faire capitalism of Marx's day.

Capitalism in its traditional sense exists in only one place today. It exists in Communist orthodoxy, in the minds and the mouthings of the Communist idealogue who spares his own belief the test of relevance to reality. Aware of it or not, the world has passed these poor souls by and left them whirling in violent backcurrents quite detached from the mainstream of real life.

But economic jargon all but obscures the main issue. The disagreement between Moscow and the West is not really a disagreement over which form of social system is most productive. It is rather a disagreement about what is most important in the first place in the lives of peoples. It is not capitalism versus Communism. It is at base the right of man to make his own choice free of the strictures of the state, and not the right of the state to pre-determine those choices for him. It is freedom versus coercion.

It has always been the privilege of this land to regard its future as sustained by the belief of optimism. We have always regarded our future as indestructible, compatible, malleable, even benign in the portent of its hope. But the agent forces of history no longer circumscribe us in so complacement a comfort. If one thing is certain it is that the consolation of our past will be sorely called to task, that forces are abroad today totally unlike anything that has gone before, and that if our yesterdays were sheltered our tomorrows will stand naked to our challenge.

I do not belittle that optimism. But I do suggest that our optimism has on occasion misled us.

It has, I suggest, given us a false degree of confidence as to how free we have been to mould history. When our success in history has coincided with

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the movement of history, it has led us to believe that history is the product of our own effort. It has not made realists of us when history runs not with, but counter to, our designs. It has made it not a sign of wisdom but a suspicion of weakness to think of what is impossible.

Optimism has done one thing further. It has given us an oversimplified idea of what is history. The forces that we have harnessed, placed in another environment, might give a totally different outcome. Our optimism conceives of technical progress as only enlarging productive powers. What, then, of technology having social repercussions quite different from productivity alone? Our optimism conceives of political hope as leading naturally to popular democracy, as it did in the cradle of our own country. What, then of politics in lands where the conditions of western democracy have never existed? Our optimism conceives of economic advance as an end and goal in itself, as it was in our grandfather's century of insufficiency. What, then, of the new problems of organization and values that come with the growth of abundance?

Optimism is not to be abandoned. But it is perhaps wisdom that it be tempered. This century has seen extraordinary attempts to reshape the running forces of history. Some men by force of will and wills of force have even imposed their will on history. But the toll for humanity has been near catastrophic.

Invariably, too, those changes successfully inaugurated have usually been in accord with the drift and direction of world history. I know of no successful revolution against the forces of technology and against popular political aspirations. No revolution has been able to preach anti-industrialism, the inequality of classes, or the ideas of classical and outdated capitalism. Even Mahatma Ghandi -- he who so disliked advancing technology and had the adoration of his people -- could not keep India closed to advancing modern technology. Those nations who have insisted on resisting the tide are noted best today for their stagnation. They have had no subsequent history that has been of world import.

The fact that history runs too deeply to be turned aside does not mean that our future is pre-determined. But it does mean our future will be moulded with scant comfort to those who shun challenge. To what ultimate end historic forces will carry us none can know. Who among us can gainsay what will be the final impact of science and technology, the end effect of egalitarian political ideals, the concluding results of collectivism, the outcome of social conscience. We only know that these influences are firmly mounted in the saddle of history. Short of the profoundest change in the character of civilization, or an incalculable redirection of events, these will dominate the environment that will be our future.

"The scene changes," said Vannevar Bush, "but the aspirations of men of good will persist." You are those future men of good will. The dilemmas and difficulties that my colleagues and I ponder in Washington will set the pattern

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of the problems that you in your day will confront.

If you are dissatisfied with the world your elders have moulded and regard the mess of porridge we leave as unpalatable, be not too harsh in your judgment of us. Marcus Connelly has a play, "The Green Pastures," in which the angel Gabriel turns to the character of God and says, "How about cleanin' up de whole mess of 'em and sta'tin all over ag'in wid some new kind of animal?" And God replies: "An' admit I'm licked?"

Ours is a land and a people built for great challenge. Those who regard their future with misgiving are the ones willing to give little to their future. And history will deal harshly with those who confront challenge with complancy.

But the legacy that we elders pass on will not be bereft of truths. This generation will have shown that heroes are not all dead. We will have shown that courage lives on. We will have restored the belief that faith and loyalty can lift common men to greatness.

And upon this you, the youth, will build. And you will build it well for you will have no other choice. We are all, in the phrase of Rabelais, going now to seek our great perhaps.

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Release No. 37

FOR RELEASE AT 1:00 P.M. EDT WEDNESDAY, JUNE 13, 1962

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the 21st Annual Conference
International Council of Industrial Editors
Pick-Carter Hotel
Cleveland, Ohio

Let me say you my thanks for the honor you do me with this award. I noted in your monthly magazine that the page mentioning this designation to me was preceded by an article with an arresting title: "We Had Created A Monster. What next?" One turned the page and the "what next" was the crinkled visage of Ed Murrow staring out.

I attach only a random significance to this.

I am grateful for your designation as "Communicator of the Year." For though I have left private broadcasting it is as a communicator that I still expend my efforts.

The U.S. Information Agency is in the business of communicating America's story abroad. To do so we use all forms of communication -- television, radio, motion pictures, books, newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, exhibits, exchanges, libraries. Wherever you will find men with eyes to see and ears to hear, there will you find U.S.I.A. telling our story.

But as I am among private communicators I would here mention an area of private communication that has been of great value to my Agency and this country. The magazine industry of this country has been a greater help in our information program than some of its members realize. They have given us permission to draw upon their store of product -- from requests for one-time reprinting to requests for permission to translate into multiple languages and distribute throughout the world for republication. Trade publications, house organs, mass circulation and special interest magazines, scholarly journals -- they have all provided part of the canvas upon which we paint this nation abroad. And to all of them we say our thanks.

All of us as well will owe a debt of thanks to the three major television net-

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works. As many of you no doubt know, the first experiment in space communications will be launched bare weeks from now. We have asked the networks to devise what it is that this country will say to the world when man for the first time speaks from a star of his own making. The networks harbor minds of great talent and ability. They will create the new symbols of new ideas to excite the imagination of men. They will determine and supervise the content of this first experiment in space. It is the beginning of a new era in communication. None can fail to be excited by it.

But it is another future I would discuss with you today. It is a subject with prospect more foreboding, with challenge more demanding, with necessity more insistent. Some of you may feel only marginally affected by the advent of satellite television. But no man can feel quite so marginal about nuclear arms and disarmament. That margin is narrow. We share it together. Common anxieties about nuclear war have now become the common property of all we common people in this land. For on the face of this land mass there is literally no place to hide.

Since the end of World War II we have had a peace that has brought not peace but an armistice of arms. Our fancies have fled into a nightmare of technology, and we have responded with flight into ever more devious means of devising men's death.

We are in danger of using our energies not to enrich humanity but to destroy it. Ever growing opportunities for the betterment of man have been sacrificed to the ever growing stocks of weapons for the banishment of life.

The burdens we carry are no longer solely our own. History for the first time has become truly global. Classical history was confined to the shores of the Mediterranean. In the Middle Ages Europe conducted its affairs in virtual isolation from Asian kingdoms. Even when European power became truly global in the last few centuries, Asian states were passive, and European powers ran their domains as but extensions of European affairs.

But our world has changed. Temperaments and technologies are different. And great masses of humanity are turning their faces to the windward side of change. In this ferment now garbed in the robes of modernity, any decision and any move conjures up global consequences.

Man is no longer alone. Civiliation has now been thrown together. Man has made his world a near prison of uncertainty. We now are the possessors of a stewardship we did not seek, a responsibility we cannot shirk. This government and its efforts have become the unwilling custodians of the hopes and fears of all mankind.

And it is this that impels us to our goal of disarmament. We have no choice but to work and to plan and to hope for progress on disarmament.

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This country has a tradition of peace and disarmament little noted and widely ignored abroad. It is the Communists who are new-come to the pursuit of disarmament. The story of America has been the story of revulsion to war.

In 1815 peace societies arose in this land as well as in Europe.

In 1817 we entered an agreement to limit our naval forces on the Great Lakes and Lake Champlain.

In the 1840's those peace societies convened congresses that passed disarmament resolutions. In the latter part of the century the societies merged into a world-wide Peace movement.

Early this century we elected a President on a platform of peace and a promise to keep the nation out of war -- the President: Woodrow Wilson; the war: World War I.

We went into World War I naked in armament with only a bare minimum of fighting force.

Even before that war ended the fourth of Wilson's Fourteen Points sought "adequate guarantees...that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety."

After that war we began disarming.

In 1921 this nation called the Washington Disarmament Conference resulting in the first successful attempt to reduce and restrict armaments.

In 1928 the United States was a prime mover in the Kellogg-Briand Pact renouncing and outlawing war as an instrument of national policy. The Pact was even named in part for U.S. Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg.

In 1932 the United States went to the World Disarmament Conference in Geneva with a proposal for abolishing all offensive armaments, and continued in the deliberations of the Conference for the next two years.

The storm clouds began to gather over Europe.

This country in 1935, 36, and 37 passed Neutrality Acts intended to keep the United States out of war and to prohibit the sale and export of armaments to warring powers. It may not have been to our ultimate credit so to have conducted ourselves. But it was this country's aversion to war and desire for peace that brought our early abstention from the rising conflict in Europe.

The war clouds darkened, and in 1938 President Roosevelt proposed a

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world conference to reduce armaments and ameliorate the more inhumane aspects of war.

The last months before war were replete with intercessions by Roosevelt for peaceful solutions of issues, and asking for assurances against attack on 31 nations in Europe and the Middle East.

Even as the great war began, this country tried to stay neutral. Not until we were attacked did we enter the lists.

And when that occurred, we again entered naked of armaments. What man among us does not recall our training of troops with no uniforms, with wooden sticks for guns, with bags of white flour for bombs, with trucks labelled "TANK" for armor.

But fight we did. Even at the height of the battle, we planned for peace. In the Department of State a special task force began planning the United Nations.

Today two major powers control the outcome of agreement on the control of power. Since the end of World War II, what has been the record of the United States and Russia on attempts at disarmament?

Compare the following chronology of the two great powers:

The United States in 1945 -- the first year of the bomb -- announced our willingness to share atomic energy information with the world and recommended a special United Nations commission. Thus in 1946 the U.N. unanimously approved a resolution establishing the Atomic Energy Commission.

That same year we presented the Baruch Plan to control atomic weapons through an international authority. Three times the United Nations approved the plan. But the Russians opposed it.

The United States then helped promote a resolution for establishing a U.N. Commission for Conventional Armaments. It came into being in 1947. In 1950 the Soviets walked out of the Commission and never returned.

At the suggestion of President Truman, the United Nations in 1952 created the Disarmament Commission. The Soviets protested its creation. In its six years of operation a subcommittee held 157 meetings. The Soviets never consented to any agreement.

At Geneva in 1955 the United States presented its "open skies" proposals to provide against surprise attack and lessen international tension. The Russians finally rejected the plan two years later.

By 1957 Western proposals on disarmament were endorsed by the

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General Assembly. The Soviets responded: they avoided agreement with a charge that membership in the Disarmament Commission was unrepresentative.

In 1958, after voluntary suspension of nuclear testing, negotiations began in Geneva for a permanent test ban. For two and a half years we negotiated, and the Soviets agreed to a preamble, 17 articles, and two annexes of a draft treaty. After a recess the West offered further concessions to break a deadlock. But these were the talks destined to be ruptured by the Soviet's secretly prepared test series of last fall.

In 1960 a 10-nation conference resumed disarmament negotiations in Geneva. Communist bloc delegates suddenly and without warning walked out of the conference. The U.S. proposals were presented to empty seats, and the meeting collapsed.

Then in 1961 came the Soviets' wanton resumption of nuclear testing in September at the very time they sat in Geneva discussing a test ban with the United States. Three days later President Kennedy and Prime Minister Macmillan urged the USSR to reconsider. The Soviets were undeterred. The United States announced it was compelled to resume underground nuclear tests.

And it was then that the United States became the first government in history to establish a full time permanent staff of the government to concern itself with disarming our fears by disarming our weapons. President Kennedy announced to the U.N. his intention of establishing the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, an arm of government unparalleled in any other nation.

After some 50 Russian tests last fall the Russians, in response to U.S. initiative, agreed to resume test ban talks in November. Futile weeks of conversations followed; the talks adjourned in deadlock in January of this year.

Note, then, this Soviet record of participation in the search for a safer sanity:

The Russians rejected the Baruch Plan, approved three times over by the United Nations.

The Russians walked out of the U.N. Commission for Conventional Armaments.

The Russians protested creation of the U.N. Disarmament Commission.

The Russians resisted the United States "open skies" proposal.

The Russians rejected Western proposals for disarmament in the

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Disarmament Commission, and they did so without any study or consideration.

The Russians boycotted the Disarmament Commission.

The Russians again walked out of disarmament talks in Geneva in 1960.

The Russians broke the test moratorium even while they talked of not testing.

Having urged the merger of test ban and disarmament talks, the Russians turned down Western agreement to do so.

The shadow of the mounting arms race looms over all nations, great and small. The anxiety of one has become the concern of all. The survival of our planet is at stake, and the hour is advancing.

And thus we have come to 1962, where the scene last March was set at the Palais des Nations in Geneva for the disarmament talks now underway.

Two matters have occurred this year which seem to make the prospect of disarmament more real. We now know a good deal of what would happen if agreement were reached. Where there was once confusion, there is now clarity.

The first event was a United Nations report on what would be the impact of disarmament. Nine U.N. members, including this country, Russia and Poland, now unanimously agree that disarmament will NOT cause economic depression or large unemployment if proper preventive planning is done by government. This is a major change in Communist doctrine. They who once decreed the collapse of capitalism without the prop of war have now reversed themselves.

The other event was the U.S. draft of an arms agreement presented at Geneva in April. This was a milestone because never has a document so specific and comprehensive been prepared. We now know the possible shape of the future.

The goal is general and complete disarmament -- disbanding all armed forces and destroying all arms save those needed for domestic order and for a United Nations Peace Force.

Two principles are paramount: The disarming process would be balanced to prevent any state from gaining a military advantage. The aim is to insure greater security for all nations. There would be no advantage to increasing insecurity for an increase in insecurity means an increase in incentive to attack.

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The second principle is that compliance with all obligations would be verified. Without this we face a double dilemma: As Henry Kissinger points out, either we must rely on the Soviets to keep their word on what they destroy, or we must try and hold-back enough of our own weapons to offset what we think the Russians may be holding back. If we rely on the Soviets' word, we will be relying on the word of those who executed the leaders of the Hungarian Revolution while they were under a Soviet guarantee of safe passage. If we hold back some of our own weapons from destruction, we will have substituted a secret race for an open arms race. As both courses are unpalatable, verification becomes imperative.

The process of disarmament would be done in three stages -- the first to take three years, the second three years, and the third as soon thereafter as possible. Transition from stage to stage would occur when the U.N. had verified that the last stage had been completed and preparations for the next stage were completed.

All the steps in the U.S. treaty can be grouped in three equally important categories: First, arms reductions; second, reduction of the risk of war; third, peacekeeping by the United Nations. Each stage includes actions in each category.

Most categories of arms would be reduced by 30% in stage I, by 50% of what remains in stage II, and eliminated in stage III. Nuclear weapons would go through similar reductions to elimination, as would manpower reductions save only those needed to keep internal order. International peacekeeping would be taken over by the United Nations.

The second category is reducing the risks of war. In stage I some measures could be taken immediately to cut the risk of war by accident or miscalculation, such as advance notification about major troop movements to prevent surprise attacks and avoid misinterpretation of routine activities; establishment of observation posts at ports, road and rail centers, and air fields to report any unusual troop movements or concentrations; exchange of military missions to improve communications and promote understanding. An international commission would be established to study further measures to prevent war.

The third category is United Nations Peacekeeping. In stage I preparations would be made for setting up a U.N. Peace Force. A Peace Observation Corps would be established to check on possible conflicts. In stage II the U.N. Peace Force would come into being and would be progressively strengthened. Parties would agree to accept Rules of Conduct which would go into effect after circulation to all parties unless a majority objected. Stage III would see the U.N. Peace Force reaching such strength that no single nation could challenge it.

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This new U.S. "total approach" offers disarmament not for its own sake, but as a major tool, first, to make war less likely and then, in time, to abolish it altogether. To do this, actual disarmament --arms reduction -- is only part of the treaty. The other two parts, neither of which gets more than lip service in the Soviet plan, are United Nations peacekeeping and steps to reduce the risk of war.

A world without war is not easy to imagine. But it is far easier than imagining a world after war.

These plans are not, as some charge, irrational utopianism. They are practical, they are possible. For the first time since the end of the war, this is their great merit.

Some wrongly think of disarmament as a sign of weakness. On the contrary, it is a sign of strength. Disarmament is the way of the strong ensuring their survival by disciplining their individual strength into the collective strength of a world rule of law.

We will not disarm until a system of checks is agreed and all nations move to the same goal. We will not throw away our strength in mere reliance on the gratuitous vow of another. We will not with meek impotence await our destruction at an aggressor's whim.

Strength is important in another way. No nation ever won a worthwhile treaty by leading from weakness. Strength brings others to the bargaining table. When both sides can inflict punishment, both have reason to persevere in seeking an agreement. This is the great fallacy of those urging unilateral disarmament, for unilateral action would discard our means of getting others to negotiate.

We can and will pursue both strength and disarmament, in the words of the President, "at the same time and with equal energy."

It is stablity in the long run that we seek. The arms race is inherently unstable. It may in the end destroy us. Disarmament is inherently more stable. We hope in the end it will protect us.

All of this will take time, much time, to realize. Agreement will not come this year or the next, or perhaps not even in the year after. We must be neither frantic nor urgent, but rather patient and perservering.

Do we have the time?

We must make the time. Our past suggests it. Our present requires it. Our future demands it.

For those who despair of the burden of these responsibilities, there is

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naught for their discomfort. The counsel of hope and the counsel of patience is no longer the counsel of disillusionment. The press of our fate is everywhere around us, but there is more cause for hope today than in any recent year.

All of history must not now be brought to focus on a solitary moment of destruction. No other item on the agenda of humanity has higher priority. We in this world who are divided in ideology are now united in concern. Our infinite vulnerability only seems infinitely unanswerable.

The answer lies in a nation confident of its strength but tempered in application of it, resolute in its hopes but patient in its efforts, aware of a sense of urgency but no longer the prisoner of haste, confident in the cause of peace but tolerant of its fragility, assured of its rightness and possessed now of the conviction that this matter we are determined to see to its ultimate triumph.

No nation can ask more of history than to be worthy of its fate. The last recorded words of Franklin Roosevelt before death, written but never spoken, were these: "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today...Let us move forward with strong and active faith."

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Release No. 47

FOR RELEASE AT 2:30 P.M., EDST, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 23, 1962

Convocation Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
Williams College, Williamstown, Massachusetts
September 23, 1962

I am in your debt for this honor you now bestow, and may I say you my heartfelt thanks for such kindness to me.

It is pleasant indeed to pass this fall afternoon in so lovely a corner of Massachusetts as Williamstown. It was perhaps on similar days of coloring leaves and cooling winds that Henry David Thoreau made his travels into the New England woods and penned his random comment about places looming large on the map but small on the journey. No man journeying across the map of American education could help but notice that Williams College, though small on the map, is indeed large on the journey. For here is found that rare combination of talent and taste that educated men best call quality.

President Sawyer has been a most genial host. He has planned my stay and this convocation to care for the unforeseen before it occurs. I am grateful for his thoughtfulness. He is, perhaps, like the possessed racing driver hurtling down the highway who, when asked by a frightened passenger to slow down before the unforeseen occurred, turned and said: "There ain't gonna be no unforeseen. I'm looking in both directions."

Looking in all directions here I see we are convened to recognize the expanding activities of the Roper Center of Public Opinion Research. Your Center is now international in scope, having added materials from more than twenty countries to its extensive American holdings.

Public opinion research is one manner of finding how people have made their choice of alternatives. I well recall the tale of the late Sir Thomas Beecham when one morning his principal oboeist arrived late for rehearsal after a heavy night of Bacchanalia. He was still pale and bleary-eyed, but Beecham greeted him affably: "Good morning, good morning. Now that you have safely found us, perhaps you would be kind enough to give the orchestra your A note;

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then we can get on with our rehearsal." The oboeist gingerly put his oboe into a dry, sour mouth and blew. A tone crackled and wobbled and oscillated, and after it had gratefully perished into silence Beecham turned accommodatingly to the orchestra saying, "Gentlemen, take your choice."

If I be granted choice as to what note I contribute to your convocation, it would be to mention opinion polling of a type unfamiliar to most of you. How is Public Opinion research used in the Soviet Union?

You know, of course, that in Russia they who have created the monolithic state hold public opinion in contempt. With their giant propaganda apparatus, their concern with public opinion has been not to measure but to mould it. There is no dilemma of the state having to reflect public opinion in making decisions. Indeed, since they define their government as of the people, there would be no difference between government and public opinion. Where one pulse beats for all, one mind thinks for all, such matters are irrelevant.

But of recent date they have begun to make use of opinion sampling. The techniques may be crude, the polls may be controlled, the conclusion may be contorted, but at least the effort and the interest is there.

My colleagues pass on to me a fascinating partial explanation for the Soviet use of these devices. Its purpose is propaganda -- but propaganda directed to us in the West as much as to themselves at home. The reason becomes apparent on reflection.

In an opinion poll different views can be pictured. They can manufacture a similitude of debate and dissent if many people can be shown to hold different opinions. But the many tones can also be muted into unanimous support of the regime policies and programs.

Inconsistent? Perhaps so. If there were debate and dissent there would hardly be unanimous support. Useful? Decidedly so. And that is why they are beginning to employ them.

But in fairness to the Soviet efforts, it must be noted that some recent Soviet questionnaires indicate the Soviets are genuinely interested in getting actual information.

The Soviets began in May, 1960, with questionnaires to people living along the 30th meridian, an area very hard hit by the Germans in World War II. They chose an appropriate subject: the prevention of war.

The results published showed that 97% of people polled believed mankind would succeed in preventing war. And when they were asked the follow-up question, "On what do you base your belief?", some replied, "On man's

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inherent love of peace." But the answer given with striking frequency was: "On the military power of the Soviet Union." Further, over half based affirmative answers on the movement of workers in all countries for peace in the world.

The Institute doing the polling added that only two or three Soviets did not have suggestions for preventing war. They took great pride in this, claiming that "the Soviet people not only passionately want peace and are convinced of its possibility, but they also see paths leading mankind to the elimination of war."

And they drew their obvious conclusions from the survey. They noted the similarity between the people's suggestions and the Party's policies. This implied not only that the party therefore knew what was best for the people but that the Soviet people undividedly supported the foreign policy of the Soviet Government and the Communist Party. They carefully picked some corroborating examples, and noted that large numbers of questionnaires supported Khrushchev's disarmament plan as well as his proposal for solution of the German question.

Their second poll was more genuinely interested in information than in propaganda. In October, 1960 they surveyed attitudes about the standard of living in Russia. On 65 trains leaving Moscow one day conductors handed out questionnaires to one car on each train. They got fourteen hundred responses. 73% of the respondents indicated a rise in standard of living; 20% reported no change. Even those who indicated no change in their living conditions felt that beneficial changes had occurred for the country as a whole. Thus the number of people who had experienced "a deep change in (their) society" stands at 93%. The Institute concluded that the government's increasing prosperity had affected all levels of Soviet population without exception and that every individual in the country was benefiting from the rise in production.

Some defects in Soviet life were mentioned. Housing was the most frequent. It is scarce and substandard. But as most of the people mentioning it were soldiers, students and engineers, the Institute concluded that the workers of this paradise were better off than ever before.

The second most frequent complaint was the demand for higher wages. Many different approaches were mentioned -- raise salaries, lower prices, raise professional pay, even cut the bureaucracy -- but the Institute concluded that the mass of the people wholeheartedly supported the Communist Party's plans for wage adjustment.

The Soviets have done a third survey on Russian youth, but whatever they found they are keeping to themselves. Only selected questionnaires have been published. Some of them reveal the expected conduct encouraged by the regime: be a good worker, be a good collectivist, be a good comrade. A few others

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show surprising personal ambitions, including one militia man who wants to be a painter, and who reasons that if Russian artists of the 19th Century could achieve greatness under the evil reign of the tsars, how much greater are his chances in this, the best of all possible worlds.

There have been a few other polls conducted in Russia of recent date. They tend to focus on youth. From what little we know of them they indicate that the system that spawned a Sputnik and is warped by a Wall has as well created "heretics," "demagogues," "nihilists," and "revisionists." That the youth of Russia are changing none would deny, least of all the Soviets. The real question is not whether we regard the Soviet polls as either good or bad, but rather whether the Soviet regime will learn more from these polls in the future than what has been released thus far in their public prints.

A similar type research of course plays a significant role in our own operations in the U. S. Information Agency. We inquire into the basic motivation and attitudes of peoples, particularly in the new developed areas. We inspect their preoccupations, their hopes and their fears. We try to define and then refine the key audiences and the influence they wield in countries of interest to us. We then try to tailor our communications channels and techniques to reach the right audience with the right message. We concentrate on areas where knowledge is needed, seeking basic insights into the values and aspirations of emerging peoples and investigating the competing appeals of communism versus democracy.

What, for example, will be the reaction to Soviet resumption of nuclear testing? What reaction to our resumption? Just how influential is Castro in Latin America? Are Voice of America broadcasts attracting listeners and conveying the right theme?

It is here that I note what to me is the most important aspect of opinion surveying. No survey is in itself the end product. A survey is only a tool. Its purpose is to shed light on a problem and, hopefully, aid in pointing the way to a solution. That solution is the end product, and a poll is valid to the degree that it facilitates that end.

The purpose it serves in the U. S. Information Agency is the mission we are charged to fulfill. That mission is to carry the story of America abroad. We must explain the policies and the practices of this land and its government wherever men have, in the Biblical phrase, "the eye... not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing."

And our Agency does literally cover the earth. We have some 800 foreign service officers. They man 223 posts in over 100 foreign lands. Supported by the Agency in Washington, they broadcast radio, produce television, make movies, print books and newspapers, publish magazines and pamphlets, run a wireless news service, manage travelling exhibits, operate libraries and

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information centers, sponsor education and cultural exchanges abroad. More important, they engaged in vital face-to-face confrontation with cabinet ministers, leaders, and opinion makers.

Because you are educators, it is well you should realize that you and I are allies in the burdens we bear. Just as you seek to educate America about the world around us, we seek to educate the world around us about America.

Our libraries have over 2 and 1/2 million books, about one third in the language of the host country. A library may be a place of study to you in America. To us who work abroad, it is a place quite literally of excitement. Who among you, for example, would imagine the opening of a library becoming an occasion of state attended by cabinet officials of the foreign land? It happens to USIA abroad. In several African countries the first member of our library was the chief executive of the country. In Morocco people so swarmed over our library that sheer weight of numbers forced us to issue cards of 7 different colors, one color for each day of the week, and to restrict use of the library to once a week for each card holder. In another African country a leading official identified in a courtroom the wallet he had lost to a pickpocket with the comment, "In it you'll find my USIA library card."

In Africa last year almost 2 million people trafficked through our libraries. As some of those libraries have less than 3,000 books, that means many of their shelves were borrowed bare of everything, including most reference books. Around the world last year, there were almost 28 million persons that used our libraries.

And rather than wait always for people to come to the books, we take books to the people. Into the hinterland, to villages and farms, over mountains and through jungles, by bookmobile, by truck or bus or jeep, by camelback or llama train or even on foot, we take books, exhibits and films to those who by distance or terrain cannot come to us.

But we even go beyond books and actively help establish American studies programs. In India, for example, we have brought together professors and teachers for seminars that created interest enough for those attending to return home and establish courses in American subjects in their schools. There are now full fledged American studies programs in Calcutta, Bombay, New Delhi, and Madras. We carry on support of such burgeoning growth by continuing counsel and donation of book support.

Around the world teachers and educators turn to USIA for advice and help, either on their own research or on the establishment of curricula. What could be more useful or long lasting than helping, as we did recently in Pakistan, the Ministry of Education in writing history texts for the country's secondary schools?

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An officer of USIA has just returned from the Far East and related to me his trip on an airplane carrying 43 Cambodian students. They were bound for this country. They would study for four years here and return home to educate others. They had never left the confines of village and family, yet they were leaving for a land and a people and a life they had never seen. For a country that numbers few college graduates, the return of 43 such educated Cambodians can have a catalytic effect. USIA worked with them for six intensive months of English and orientation to western life. We saw them off. And we shall see them return. And in time they may near remake the face of Cambodia.

And so it is in many places around our globe. Where men are curious and minds are seeking, where desires are eager and dreams are near bursting, there will you find the men and women of this Agency. If any part of American life has been entrusted with tomorrow, surely it is the job we try to do. We work with the future, and seek to implant upon the hilltop of challenge the imprimatur of what is best in these United States.

Are you not then, gentlemen and ladies of Williams College, joined in partnership with the U. S. Information Agency? Education is our province. The mind is our tool. The future is our goal. And this be true for both of us.

Bertrand Russell once said that more than any other class teachers are the guardians of civilization. Most of us, as well as most of the world, regard civilization as the auto, the bathroom, the television, the trappings of woven finery. But none would disagree that it is also much more.

Civilization is a thing of the mind. Civilization is knowledge, and civilization is emotion.

It is knowledge not only of the inconspicuous dimension of this minor planet called Earth. It is also knowledge that our country is not only our home but is also only one among many countries of the world, each calling itself home.

It is the emotion that men are sometimes happy and sometimes not. . . that some men are generous and others are grasping, that some men are heroic and some servile, that some men have been inspired by love of mankind, some by supreme intellect, and some by extreme sensitivity. From these have come the best of the fruits of what men call civilization. Standing opposed to the hatred that is cruelty, to the distrust that is oppression, to the passion that is superstition, it is civilization that holds out the hope of life rising to a rank far better than the brief turbulence of savagery.

This is the road the world would follow. This is the road we would offer. And this is the charge that falls upon all of us in this world which daily swirls around us.

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Release No. 60

FOR RELEASE AT 12:30 P.M., EST, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 6, 1962

Text of Address by Edward R. Murrow
Director of the U. S. Information Agency
at the Washington-Bangkok Sister City Celebration
Statler Hilton Hotel, Washington, D. C.
Thursday, December 6, 1962

Thank you for your generous introduction. And to everyone here assembled let me welcome you in a spirit mingled of gratefulness and pride -- grateful that so many of you are with us to celebrate this bond with a brother nation and a sister city, proud because this program is one of the better things that this government and this people undertake and that the Agency I represent has some role in.

This is essentially a meeting of friendship. We have dined together, and that is good. Friendship in countless cultures is sealed with food and good fellowship. Full stomachs, sayeth the muse, know no enemies. And was it not Voltaire who said: "Thought depends absolutely on the stomach, but in spite of that, those who have the best stomachs are not the best thinkers."

If then fault you should find with the words I speak, pray attribute it not to fault of mind so much as fullness of fare.

We are here today to honor a nation and to salute a city. That nation has a long record of association with the United States. It was the first nation in Asia with which this country ever had a treaty relationship. Since 1833 we have passed through more than a century of being friends and allies. It was one of the first nations of the world actively to support the United Nations and the United States in Korea when the Free World stood up to open aggression. Theirs has been a land of progress and of change, best symbolized by their change of name from Siam to Thailand -- an adaptation from Prathet Thai: Free Nation. And among all the lands of Southeast Asia, only theirs has maintained its independence through centuries of growth.

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Today it lies in a troubled corner of the globe. And as allies we have been, allies do we now remain. Through the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization we have pledged our mutual fortunes to a common destiny: that where free men have the will to be free, they will be free.

Thailand shares 1,000 miles of common border with disturbed Laos. It was last May that the Thai government asked the United States to send troops in response to the Communist threat in Laos. And the world witnessed a spectacle but rarely seen today: troops of one country, invited to another country in time of need, remaining until the need had passed, and then voluntarily and by mutual consent leaving that country, the independence of that country not impaired, the strength of one land added to the other so that in freedom both might be stronger.

This, I submit, is cooperation between nations near unparalleled in history. The power of the United States is committed not to domination but to liberation. Would that our adversary had the same absence of pretension to empire. The world we live in would be a far different place.

And the world is a different place from that day a century ago in 1856 when the first American plenipotentiary to the King of Siam said: "A new state of the American Union, California, has sprung into existence, from which the voyage of Siam can be made in one month... This is a strong reason for uniting the two nations." That month has now become mere days, and the days hours, and the time that once separated our two lands now binds us closer together.

What better symbolism of this than the exhibit of art from Thailand now on display at the Smithsonian Institute. Some of those objects were sent to the United States over 100 years ago. These involved two great leaders of our two countries. As a gift they came from King Mongkut, King of Siam from 1851 to 1868 and one of the great Asians of the 19th Century. He had corresponded with President Franklin Pierce, sent the gifts to the "Chief Ruler" President James Buchanan, and when Abraham Lincoln succeeded Buchanan as "Chief Ruler" of the United States two great names in the history of two distant countries came together. It was Lincoln, the representative of what we like to call best in these United States, who wrote to King Mongkut: "the gifts will be placed among the archives of the Government, where they will remain perpetually as tokens of mutual esteem and pacific dispositions more honorable to both nations than any trophies of conquest could be... I shall have occasion... to transmit to Your Majesty some token of indication of the high sense which this Government entertains of Your Majesty's friendship."

And from that day to this, exactly one century later, those objects have been cared for and stored in the archives of this nation. On this very

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day one century later they stand for the unity of our two people as spoken 100 years ago by King Mongkut and President Lincoln.

Dedicated to strengthening the ties that bind two nations is the U. S. Information Agency. Ours is the task of uniting the random spirits of men. We seek to explain to the world what manner of man it is that resides in these United States. We use all the arts of modern communications. In cities and in villages, to men of both high estate and low, we seek to show what it is like to be an American and how it is that Americans have an interest in and concern for the problems of other peoples.

We are educators as well. We publish books. We run libraries. We aid school systems.

We administer exchanges of teachers and students, with Thai and American students numbering in the hundreds that have travelled between our two lands.

We administer the leader and specialist grant programs. And it is gratifying that of the hundreds we have sent to the United States many have risen to high positions in the Thai government, two grantees being now Cabinet ministers and a score more directors general of government departments.

Such a USIA emphasis on education in what it does in Thailand comes with most accustomed grace to that country where more of the national budget is spent on education than on military defense.

We teach English -- recalling as we do that King Mongkut was proud of the English he spoke. But we heed as well the dictum of Aristotle: "Think like a wise man but communicate in the language of the people." May I note with satisfaction that 19 of the 24 USIA staff members in Thailand either speak or are studying the Thai language.

Another example of our common interests are the discussions presently underway in Bangkok between the United States and the Royal Thai Government regarding the possible joint use of a megawatt radio transmitter to be built in Thailand.

But it is to serve the cause of a Bangkok-Washington Sister City relationship that we here gather. A sister city affiliation is as simple to understand as is the art of conversation. Communication needs two things: one to speak, another to listen. What we seek is a dialogue. To have the people of one town speak directly to the people of another, and from that initial contact, to grow and to experience and to learn.

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Curiosity is its spark. Human imagination is its fuel. The variety of human nature is its boundary.

We have found a quality which our way of life has always suspected of existing. The humble people of the world's countless small places, both in our country and in yours, are willing to accept each other in friendship and respect. They but need a common meeting ground. The ground upon which many meet is the City Affiliation Program.

And today 224 American towns representing 35 American states are twinned with foreign towns in 50 countries. New York City is a sister city; it has near 10 million people. Oakland, Nebraska, is a sister city; it has near 15 hundred people.

Washington and Bangkok have such a relationship. We are in a sense gathered at its second anniversary. It was in December,1960 that the Lord Mayor of Bangkok, Dr. Chamnan Yuvapurna, opened negotiations for becoming a sister city. That January Dr. Chamnan selected Washington as his choice for a sister city, and in June of 1961 the D. C. Board of Commissioners passed a resolution adopting Bangkok as the sister city of Washington. One year ago in December, Minister Bhusana Krairiksh of the Thai Embassy presented Washington the flag of Bangkok which was placed on the wall of the public meeting room in the District Building so that all who came to public hearings would see this emblem of sister cities.

It is this same flag that at this very hour flies over the Federal Triangle in honor of the birthday of His Majesty King Bhumibol of Thailand, serving as a high point of this city's two week "Salute to Bangkok."

What greater indication could there be of how highly we regard sister cities than the fact that honorary chairman of the organization of which sister cities are a part is John F. Kennedy and head of the Board of Trustees is Dwight D. Eisenhower.

And what have sister cities done?

Brest, France, has a children's health clinic built by funds from Denver, Colorado.

Medford, Oregon, has a kindergarten for deaf children because Alba, Italy, sent over dolls hand-made in Italian homes to be sold in America.

Coral Gables, Florida, sent a truck to Cartagena, Columbia, and the truck now delivers lunches to children in 25 schools.

In Villaviciosa, Philippines, a five year old boy is walking because Forest Heights, Maryland, helped send medical care for his crippled legs.

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Schools and libraries in Seattle, Washington, received hundreds of books on the Orient from Yokahoma, Japan.

Hagerstown, Maryland, had severe unemployment in 1960, so Wesel, Germany, offered financial help.

When an earthquake rocked Vina del Mar, Chile, Sausalito, California, sent several thousand dollars and vital antibiotics.

But the best exchange is probably people.

So municipal officials from Kobe came to work in Seattle to study local government.

A New York City traffic engineer went to work in Tokyo.

Graz, Austria, sends medical interns to train in Montclair, New Jersey.

The fire chief of Jakobstad, Finland, fought fires with the fire chief of Jamestown, New York.

Newspaper reporters, trained workers, professional people -- they have all changed places, all have benefited from the change, and all of this has been done by sister cities.

Such exchanges as we honor here today have a simple principle. In a shrinking world poised on the knife edge balance between peace and war, our need for understanding is great. City affiliations seek to make that contribution of understanding. Conan Doyle once said: "Men scorn what they don't understand."

There are those who would suggest that in the magnitude of our cataclysmic anxiety, linking two cities may seem only a little contribution. But a man's horizon extends as far as his own vision. As Anatole France put it, "It is better to understand a little, than to misunderstand a lot."

A People-to-People executive once expressed a convenient thought when he said that in medieval times the city itself was a world, but in modern times the world itself has become one big city. The corollary of this is that we are all bound together in our mutual fates. For the pursuit of our common anxieties, never has a world so large been suddenly shrunk so small.

We have not yet reached the end of history, though that is a possibility not beyond occurrence. But we have reached a point in time where man now faces a collective decision over the technology of life.

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Weapons and knowledge obviously represent power. Power can destroy. It can also create. Perhaps our collective problem is how to turn the instruments of power into the incidence of control by world law. It then is the hope that our collective concern will cut across man's tribalisms and reach all the way to man's humanity.

If this be so, we may need what Max Lerner calls an incredibily creative leap. But there have been other leaps in man's history: the discovery of fire, the invention of the wheel, the genius of language, the miracle of writing, the idea of law, the concept of freedom. These have all been challenges to man. To call them forth, there was needed extraordinary amounts of creative collectivity.

And so again we face the collective decision. I for one recall no past time in history when man was faced with so great a leap across the chasm of possible chaos. Man may not make that leap. But he is invariably bound to attempt it.

To the taking of that collective decision does the city affiliation program commend itself. The contribution made by each may not in itself be the determining one. But what is done by each alone or in concert is far from insignificant.

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Books USIA

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Release No. 62

FOR RELEASE AT 3:00 P.M., EST, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 14, 1962

Statement by Edward R. Murrow
Director of the U. S. Information Agency
at press conference of U.S. book publishers
Overseas Press Club, New York City

I am here today to applaud the paperback book publishing industry. As you know, the United States Information Agency is charged with explaining our national policies and our way of life to the peoples of foreign nations. In this effort, USIA makes use of all the techniques of modern mass communications--press, radio, film, television, libraries, exhibits, the arts and the personal contact of our foreign service officers who serve as spokesmen for America in some 100 countries around the world.

Our officers represent the American people abroad in expressing our nation's aspirations and cultural achievements. Their task is an unending one and they need every assistance possible.

The action of the paperback book publishing industry announced today is tremendously heartening. You publishers, of your own volition, have produced a plan whereby American citizens, as individuals, will be in a position to send abroad great quantities of books.

Most Americans take books for granted. Books are available to us in the classroom, in our splendid libraries, in bookstores and elsewhere where we can buy them for pennies. Few of us, I am sure, ever bother to speculate on what life would be like if suddenly books were to disappear. The world around us would quickly seem bare and empty.

Yet millions of men, women and children around the globe suffer the emptiness of life without books. Books are capsules of knowledge. The hunger of people abroad for knowledge is insatiable.

Our Information Agency seeks to satisfy that hunger not only through electronic communications and personal contact but through books. Last year alone we distributed six million books to foreign libraries, institutions, research centers and individuals. Of these, 3.5 million were foreign-language books published overseas and 2.8 million were low-cost paperbacks. In addition, we added a quarter million books to our USIS libraries.

Despite these efforts, the need for books is far greater than we can meet. Nor should we ignore the fact that the communist bloc has overwhelmed us in some areas of the world by sheer quantity. We welcome, therefore, any assistance we can get in stepping up the flow of books from America to foreign lands.

I am pleased and gratified that the paperback industry has now joined us in a campaign to meet this challenge.

Under a plan called BOOKS USA, the five largest publishers of paperbacks have made up packets of representative American books, in cooperation with the U.S. Information Agency, which they will offer for sale to the public at no profit. For the first time now, those who wish to help close the book gap can send, for a few dollars, a BOOKS USA packet to a school or library in a foreign country of their choice. Each packet purchased will be distributed overseas in the name of the donor by our Information Agency. We urge the support of all those who feel, as we do, that books are the tools of truth and freedom.

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on Radio

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Release No. 4

FOR RELEASE AT 11:00 A.M., EST, FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1963

Remarks by Edward R. Murrow
Director of the U.S. Information Agency
at the dedication of the Voice of America's
Relay Station at Greenville, North Carolina
Friday, February 8, 1963

I stand here as the spokesman of many heads and hands and hearts. What you see around you is the culmination of three years of arduous effort and twice as many years of dreaming and planning. For those who have spent the endless and tireless hours of piloting and sweating this ground station to completion, theirs is the reward of accomplishment. For us, the citizens of this state and this country, ours is the reward of benefit.

For this radio is designed for no parochial purpose. The Voice of America is not lightly named. This voice speaks in the name of the people of this land. It speaks to the many other peoples of other lands. It talks in their languages. It speaks of their dreams. It dwells on our ideals. And it says and will say that together in the service of peace all men share that happy horizon of bright hopes for tomorrow.

The Voice of America is the radio arm of the United States Information Agency. This Agency is in the delicate but difficult art of telling America's story to the world. We seek to make the policy of this land everywhere

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intelligible and, wherever possible, palatable. Further, we seek to convey to an eager and curious world some conception of who it is that lives here.

To do this we use all the media of modern communication. Radio is one of our most important. Americans insulated by two vast oceans, have difficulty understanding the importance of international radio. On many continents political boundaries are not state lines but international borders. In a world plagued with mass illiteracy, those who cannot read can listen.

And the arithmetic of international radio is impressive. In 1950 there were some 5,000 hours of international broadcasting. Today there are over 17,000 hours. In 1950 there were 80 million radio receivers in the world. Today there are over 200 million receivers. And the figure is rising rapidly.

In my travels abroad I have been witness to the impact of the small transistor in the small village. To an area where no road nor cable exists, a radio can still speak. It can mould the unity of a people. It can create confidence. It can stir to violence. Some perceptive future historian may one day observe that the advent of the transistor radio was one of the most significant steps in the chronology of communications.

This new Greenville facility will double our shortwave power. In places where once our voice was dim, it will now be strong; in places where our voice is jammed, it will now be clearer. This represents the greatest single unit of our new expansion, but it is only the first of a new series of transmitters being built around the world. Their purpose is to enable the ear of the world to catch the sound of the Voice of America.

Yet let us make no mistake about where we stand against our competition in this implacable war we wage. We are still third behind Radio Peking and

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the distant lead of Radio Moscow. But this imbalance we shall redress.

The heritage of this broadcast voice, and of the entire U. S. Information Agency, is the heritage of freedom. This radio speaks the creed that of all principles which a principled people can muster, the greatest surely is truth. This is one of the greater virtues we have to offer a world sorely in need of great virtues. And it is upon truth that this land, and the U. S. Information Agency as well, have built their striving for more perfect performance.

Communications systems are neutral. They have neither conscience nor morality, only a history. They will broadcast truth or falsehood with equal facility. Man communicating with man poses not the problem of how to say it, but more fundamentally, what is he to say?

The task of the Voice of America has been the task of saying to the world what manner of man it is that resides on these shores. As we are not perfect, so does this radio reflect our imperfection. As we are idealistic, so does this radio reflect our ideals. As we are a diverse nation unified in common cause, so does this radio reflect our unity. And as we are a free people, so does this radio reflect our freedom.

But it is a freedom not shared by much of the world. Our posterity will record that in this generation our planet was governed not everywhere by men of good will. There are those who would debase mankind, defame truth, and brutalize the very name of humanity.

For them, communications are an instrument of power. To live, they use it to propagate dogma and to disseminate un-truths. To survive, they must smother information and truth. They can never stand the full light of fair

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disclosure. Theirs is the society of the monolith. They have only one goal: power. They have only one instrument: control. They have only one means: repression.

Power -- Control -- Repression. This is the fate of truth in the halls of the untruthful. State power defines truth. State control is paramount over its dissemination. State repression awaits those who question.

We seek only to speak our point of view. We seek to suggest new ideas, to offer competing thoughts, to reflect on competitive values. This, our adversary fears. A new idea may insult his power. A competing thought may weaken his control. A competitive value may question his repression. To survive in his present form our adversary has no alternative but to debase truth.

The world can have but one conclusion to this fear of truth: any government that fears its people judging the truth must necessarily fear the judgment of its people.

Truth will go wherever the air of curiosity beckons it. And so, in fact, will radio. Practitioners of the broadcast art at least share this in common with truth: national borders are no barrier.

The Voice of America thus carries a mortal responsibility. Its burden of truth is not easy to bear. It must interpret to a curious and sometimes suspicious world why we are what we are. It must tell them of our belief in man, of our regard for right, of our reverence for truth.

We are willing to test our democratic truths against the dogmas of political forces and nations who contend their way is virtue and our way is vice. But such a test is not welcomed by the closed society.

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This generation has an opportunity of awesome dimension to share its knowledge. We seek to share with all. And those who impede the free flow of ideas work to the detriment of all mankind.

We live amid a time of ideas. For the many around this globe who seek to elevate their lives from a crushing way of existence, these ideas can light their tomorrows. Theirs is the generation of change; ours is the generation of challenge.

If challenge be our charge, then let boldness be our guide. And if the spotlight of history is focused on this land, let us say with pride that when free ideas were under assault we took our stand on the side of truth.

And to this noble charge and high calling do we hereby dedicate this new instrument of the United States Information Agency.

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on Radio

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Release No. 5

FOR RELEASE AT 7:00 P.M., EST, MONDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1963

Address by
Edward R. Murrow
Director, U.S. Information Agency
at the 23rd Annual Distinguished Service Award Banquet
Kinston Junior Chamber of Commerce, Kinston, N.C.
Monday, February 11, 1963

It was a bare 72 hours ago that, along with members of the North Carolina Congressional delegation and other national leaders from Washington, I stood in the clay flatlands of Pitt County to dedicate new transmitters for the Voice of America. This new transmitter complex is the largest and most powerful broadcast station in the world.

It sits upon three sites totalling over 6,000 acres near Greenville, North Carolina. With 22 transmitters and 93 antennas, it will generate 4.8 million watts of power. This is more power than generated by almost 100 U.S. top-strength commercial radio stations.

The site was selected after studying some 30 possible locations in the United States. North Carolina was our choice, and into it we have put 23 million dollars and 3 years of effort and sweat.

This new development will give us a stronger signal into Europe and let us ride harder over Communist efforts to jam us. This will give us a loud clear voice in parts of Africa and the Middle East heretofore not reached. It will cover Latin America to the southern-most reaches of that vital Continent. It gives us a flexible relay system to overseas bases. It provides an emergency communications system for times of unpredictable need.

And this is all only part of our basic plan to eliminate deficiencies in radio coverage and boost our signal strength where the competition is thickest. We are improving our facilities in England. We are moving facilities in the Mediterranean from ship to shore. Plans are underway for additional transmitters in the Far East. A new large relay station at Liberia in Africa will go on the air this year. Relay stations in this country are being modernized and

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improved. New air transportable transmitters are at this hour broadcasting to Cuba and Africa. We have a Science Advisory Group lending their skills and knowledge on new techniques in radio technology. We are active participants in space communications to take advantage of this new dimension of the world of tomorrow.

That tomorrow gives every promise of literally bursting with communications. The growth of international radio alone is astounding. In 1950 there were approximately 5,000 hours broadcast on international air. Today that 5,000 has swelled to 17,000 hours. In 1950 there were 80 million receivers in the world. Today there are over 200 million receivers. And the figure is rapidly rising.

Americans, insulated by two vast oceans, have difficulty comprehending the import of international radio. On many continents political boundaries are not state lines but international borders. Foreign languages associate across those borders as freely as people in a marketplace. In a world with millions burdened by mass illiteracy, those who cannot read can listen.

I have seen abroad the impact of a small transistor in a small village. In an area of the world where no road or cable exists, a radio can still speak. It can mould unity. It can create confidence. It can stir to violence.

And so it is that the Voice of America speaks abroad on behalf of the people of this country. It is on the air 107 hours a day every day of the year. It speaks regularly in 36 languages. For special events we move to broadcasting in over 60 languages. Around the world we make placement of over 8,000 hours every week on local stations in the local languages of the people.

We know that our average listener is 31 years old, somewhat older in Latin America, somewhat younger in Arabic countries. Our youngest audience is in world-wide English, ages 15 to 24, the students of today who will be the leaders of tomorrow.

The basic premise of the Voice of America is truth. We report the good as well as the bad, or as Oliver Cromwell used to say of his portrait, "warts and all." This means that just as we have broadcast the name of John Glenn and the mesmerizing race for space so have we also broadcast the name of James Meredith and the Mississippi race disgrace.

There are some who question why taxpayers' dollars must support our telling the world the bad things about our way of life. The answer is simple. Ours is an open society. Others are free to come and see us if they choose. If we do not report our faults ourselves, others will report them for us, and to our discredit. If the world does not hear the truth upon our airwaves, we become little better than our adversary and people have little reason to believe anything we say.

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Thus it is that we operate under our charter of truth. And thus will it continue with the Voice of America. The truth will help make us believable. Without credibility we can achieve nothing. With it, we may achieve everything.

And in fairness to our performance I must add that part of the reason for telling the saga of James Meredith is to put it in the proper context of explanation, to show the positive virtues of a bad vice, to indicate that its very isolation highlights the progress this land is making.

People listen to the Voice of America for two very good reasons. First, it speaks for the United States Government. The same radio broadcasting from some tiny country in Asia or Africa would achieve far less audience. Second, our reliance upon truth has given us the reputation of honesty. This is vital in so many lands where the average person distrusts and suspects his own radio and press. He will hungrily turn to our radio to satisfy his appetite to know what in fact occurs in the world.

From this we draw two corollaries that differentiate us from commercial broadcasters. Ours is a long range strategic concern. Over a significant period of time we may be able directly to influence the attitudes and actions of people if we establish a source of information upon which they can rely. Second, speed is the important ingredient in commercial broadcasting; with us, accuracy of information is more important. For example, we would not as a government radio report the occurrence of a revolution on first receipt of rumors. We must make absolutely certain that what we say has in fact taken place, for our voice carries the imprimatur abroad of the United States Government.

And are we effective with our broadcasts? The question is as difficult to answer as it is easy to ask. In some countries the host governments will not allow us direct free contact with their people. In others, we are prohibited from circulating around the countryside polling people on their opinions.

Even if we could, what would we discover? We are not in the business of selling merchandise. No cash register rings a sale when a man's mind is changed. No balance sheet reflects how many millions have belief or disbelief. And often progress can be counted with the mere encouragement of doubt or dispelling of reservation. Again, no tables or statistics reflect it.

But we do have some indication of success. It is measured in numbers both big and small. Big numbers, like the 35,000 letters from a transistor giveaway contest in Spanish language broadcasts to Latin America -- including, by the way, more than 1,000 letters smuggled out of Cuba, more than double a previous response in spite of increased surveillance there. Big numbers, like the over 100,000 letters from behind the Berlin wall when our radio in West Berlin -- RIAS -- opened a service for reuniting missing refugees and families. There are small numbers, too, like the one boy in the Philippines who works in a village general store and draws his pay not in money but in listening time to the Voice of

America over the store owner's radio. Small numbers, like the owner of a theatre in South America asking that VOA broadcasts not go on during certain hours as it cuts attendance at his movie house.

Effective? Who knows, for proof does not and cannot exist. But then, there was never much proof for George Washington's belief in the future of 13 small but revolting colonies. John Stuart Mill's liberty is not reducible to the canons of evidence. To make a poor paraphrase of philosophy, some things exist because they are. I have seen people who listen to the Voice of America. I know what they tell me. Without a statistical abstract to prove my opinion, I believe in its value.

Radio, of course, is only one aspect of the U. S. Information Agency. We utilize every means of communication known to modern men. We make movies, we produce television, we run a world-wide wireless news file, we print magazines and newspapers, we have a world-wide photo service and run cartoon features, we publish books, operate libraries and information centers, teach English, mount exhibits and displays, administer the overseas exchange of teachers and students and of cultural, educational, and artistic groups. Perhaps most important of all, we engage in that vital face-to-face contact work with foreign cabinet ministers and leaders, educators, editors, publishers, writers, and opinion moulders.

All of this effort is designed to focus on a single function: we will convey something of substance about this country and its people, this government and its aims, this land and its heritage. We will show the world what manner of man it is that lives in these United States. And we shall try so to identify our aims and goals with theirs that all will realize that we truly seek not power but peace. We shall say to a world increasingly encumbered by the lust of want and a taste for haste that the way of the despot is not the sole design for satisfying desire. The frankness of free men can as well attain the fruits of ambition.

Our society is imperfect, but then so is man. We have in our imperfection made resolution between need and nature. And yet we have still preserved the will of free men. In this there may be lesson and learning for others.

We will impose it upon none but offer it to all. And in making this choice there is the high happy hope that man will find the goal of his desire not in the maelstrom of evil malice but in the dream of human dignity.

To this end is our Agency dedicated.

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Africa

STATEMENT BY

EDWARD R. MURROW, DIRECTOR U. S. INFORMATION AGENCY
BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON AFRICA
COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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MARCH 5, 1963

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for your kind invitation to appear here this morning. My knowledge of Africa is not that of an expert. I have made but one trip of approximately one month to the west of Africa in my capacity as Director of USIA. Recently, the Deputy Director of the Agency, Donald M. Wilson, visited 8 countries and USIS posts in northern and eastern Africa. I have taken the liberty of suggesting that he accompany me to share with you some of his impressions from that journey. With me also is our Director of USIA activities in Africa, Mr. Edward V. Roberts. He accompanied Mr. Wilson on his trip and is our prime advisor in all things African.

I believe your interest lies in a report of the U. S. Advisory Commission on Information to the Congress on operations of the Agency during calendar 1962. A portion of that report dealt with Agency operations in Africa and was written after a trip to that continent by the chairman of our commission, Mr. J. Leonard Reinsch. I shall comment upon that report.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, I should like also to render a type of progress report on matters discussed between us when last I appeared before you in February, 1962. Following the remarks I make, Mr. Wilson will take a brief time for his comments, and then Mr. Roberts, Mr. Wilson, and

myself will be glad to try to answer any queries you and the committee wish to raise.

The basic purpose of our information effort in Africa is to provide the African people with the opportunity to understand the United States and its people, our government and its policies. As the African continent explodes into the second half of the 20th century it is important to the security of the free world that our interest in Africa be clearly understood. The African people need to know that we wish for them and their governments their freedom and their independence. We support their desires for economic and social advancement and political stability.

We recognize that Africa has its own rich cultural heritage and established social customs and institutions. We respect its pride in its achievements. We know that although Africa is eager to learn about the United States, it wishes also to avoid being overwhelmed by alien cultures.

Our information program acknowledges that Africa is concerned first of all with its own vast problems of education and development and that the African people are interested in the United States and our position on world issues largely in terms of Africa's own needs, interests and attitudes. We identify with these African concerns and portray America and our policies in terms of what they mean to that continent as well as to ourselves.

Specifically we seek:

To present an image of the U. S. reflecting sympathy and understanding of the difficulty Africans face as they try to achieve rapid development.

To indicate the U. S. in no way wishes to see the nations of Africa become pawns in the cold war.

To encourage without pressure or implied threat an understanding by Africans of the democratic bases of American society and life.

To correct African impressions in the face of hostile misinformation about the United States, including the progress and achievements of the Negro in American society and to remind Africans that 19 million American citizens are Negroes.

To describe the American experience in building a land and a people as relevant to the African need for growth and development, showing that in our own mutual beginnings we are all children of our own revolutions.

To give special emphasis to the youth of Africa in achieving all of these objectives.

To show that the U. S. favors African unity.

To show that the U. S. favors self-determination.

The Chairman of our Advisory Commission travelled to Africa in the summer of 1962. He visited 10 countries. Before his trip our African area rendered extensive briefings on the countries he would visit and the problems we faced in those countries. It is indeed gratifying to have the Chairman of the Advisory Commission visit Africa and then confirm the Agency's judgment by endorsing policies being implemented by the Agency.

Let me briefly mention the aspects of the Commission's report dealing with Africa.

First was the comment of erroneous application of European techniques

to the new continent of Africa. The Agency, Mr. Chairman, agrees. It is a problem that has engaged the concern of the Agency for almost two years, a concern that we shared with the Advisory Commission Chairman before he made his visit to Africa.

Our position regarding new techniques in Africa is much improved. But the problem remains. Our African area representatives are still absorbed by how better to reach the new Africa.

Part of the difficulty is due to incredible growth, as this committee well knows. There are today 35 countries on the continent; six years ago there were only 11.

The concomitant for us is a rapid growth of need for good staff. Experience in Africa is in short supply. That is a drawback only time can remedy. Our corps of African officers is growing. They are better today -- and far more numerous -- than they were when I assumed this office two years ago. Two years hence, they will be even better.

In addition, we engage a number of local employees -- citizens of the country -- to aid in our work. We have an intensive program of training that goes far beyond mere indoctrination and routine matters. This past year we had eight workshops in different parts of Africa to give practical specialist training to our African local employees: two workshops in films and equipment, one in press equipment, two in library science, two in exhibits and one in administration. Our next such workshop is scheduled for radio techniques and equipment in April. By such efforts we improve our techniques of reaching Africans.

To improve our foreign service staff of native Americans who work abroad, we have a junior officer trainee program for young people up to age 32. In the last few years the caliber of persons recruited by the Agency has risen markedly. I have seen and talked with many of these incoming officers. They are splendid young Americans -- officers of university student bodies, editors of college newspapers and scholastic leaders of classes, able young journalists and writers, with a general language proficiency that is gratifying. We give these "JOT's," as they are called, nine months field experience before they are given permanent assignment as a foreign service officer. 1963 will see 18 of these young officers infusing our Africa operation with the best of new young American blood.

Further, the gradual development of officers with African experience means that each of our varied media operating out of Washington now has African experience assigned to it. No longer are media products fashioned without exposure to officers who have been with target audiences in Africa. As our experienced African officers increase, this circumstance will become progressively better.

It is worth commenting briefly here upon the nature and variety of our African media output. I invite your attention to those portions specifically targeted to African audiences.

Our wireless file -- a worldwide press news service-- has a special African area desk concerned with news and events particularly oriented to Africa. The file is now received in 32 African countries. It goes out nightly, averaging 12,000 words. Half is in French. Excerpts from it, along with other

materials prepared in Washington, are placed directly with chosen recipients by USIS, as well as placed in local periodicals and other media.

Our press and publications division also publishes two monthly news magazines -- "American Outlook" in English, "Perspectives Americaine" in French. They are mass distribution magazines aimed primarily at secondary students and lower-level civil servants. One hundred thirty thousand copies in English are produced by USIS-Accra, 55,000 in French by USIS-Leopoldville.

Motion pictures are particularly effective to communicate where literacy is low while still appealing to more sophisticated and educated audiences. We have thus increased our documentaries on Africa from three last year to eight this year -- including a film on the United States as seen by Africans studying here, documentaries on the development of the Republic of the Congo (Leopoldville), and a three-reel color film on Algerian independence. Next year, we hope to make 22 films.

Our monthly film magazine "Today" continues its growth and success. It is largely filmed by Africans and produced in close liaison with our African posts which have African audiences in mind. A report on Africa recently published in Moscow made this observation: "The U. S. Information Agency. . . is a powerful weapon of American imperialistic propaganda in Africa. . . . (It) periodically produces newsreel films on current world events entitled 'Today' which are regularly shown in 200 African moving picture houses in 12 countries in English, French, and Arabic. Nearly 2,000,000 Africans have already seen such films."

This Soviet account was wrong only in its figures. The Agency film "Today" is seen not in 200 but in 746 theaters, not by 2,000,000 but by 75,000,000

people throughout Africa annually.

Our television activities in Africa increase as television there grows. We now produce for monthly placement in Nigeria a special 15 minute targeted series, "Personal Report", narrated by a Nigerian graduate student at Howard University; the astonishingly popular "Let's Learn English" and the advanced course, "Let's Speak English"; the "Focus" series -- political specials produced for Nigeria, Liberia, Kenya, and the Rhodesias; TV specials on Americana produced for Algeria, Kenya, Morocco, Nigeria, and the Rhodesias.

Our radio arm, the Voice of America, is on the air 35 hours a week to Africa. Approximately half of this is news and features programmed exclusively for Africa by the African area desk of the Voice. Ten and a half hours are in French, seven hours in English. In addition, 79 hours of worldwide English, broadcast to many continents, goes to Africa as well.

Just one month ago this Agency inaugurated a new shortwave transmitter complex on the coast of North Carolina which is the most powerful radio transmitter in the world. It doubles our Voice of America power. With it we now lay down a signal that is audible and competitive in parts of Africa hitherto unreached by our shortwave radio.

In Liberia we have now three transportables helping to relay that signal. These can be air transported anywhere in the world that need or crisis demands. At the moment they reside in West Africa, broadcasting live in English and French and Arabic and by tape in Swahili, Hausa, and other African languages.

By the end of this year we hope to activate our large relay station in Liberia, the new 14 million dollar installation that will give us a dominant voice

in most of Africa south of the Sahara. Let me defer for a few moments, Mr. Chairman, comments upon our plans for that installation.

The Agency is engaged in other miscellaneous activities. To cite one significant example at random, we have regional women's activities officers. Their job is to guide and assist women of a foreign land to organize local, national, and international groups for participation in civic, federal, and international affairs where women can make a contribution.

In general, of course, the most important level of Agency activity is that of personal contact -- foreign service officers in daily face to face communication with foreign Cabinet Ministers and government leaders, business men and executives, editors and writers, educators, students, and opinion moulders, presenting to all of them in vivid first-hand terms the policies and purposes of this government.

The Commission's next comment was directed to the multiplicity of languages and cultures that need reflection in USIA output. There is such variety in our output -- and a lot of it. And we could use even more.

Many of the elements I have just mentioned contribute toward reflecting the variety that is modern Africa. Further, constant cable traffic between our field posts and Washington give us an ear to local ground swells of mood and opinion. Post playback is a big part of our media operations.

In addition we experiment and innovate. I have recently commissioned an officer to the sole task of re-tailoring our print and picture output to African tastes and attitudes. He will travel between several major posts in Africa with a regional service center as his home base.

Parenthetically, let me add that since many of Africa's educated classes received their education in England or France, the two languages of English and French will continue to be prominent in our product. This in no way disparages the development of a native African culture, but it does reflect the background and the training of many of the target audiences which it behooves us to reach.

The Commission then went on to call for a more balanced presentation of Negroes and whites in the United States. This has been a paramount concern of the Agency for endless months and we are grateful to the Advisory Commission for adding their voice to our concern.

I can begin by saying that such a more balanced presentation is being accomplished. As always, I can add that we are not yet perfect in this regard.

Part of this is the problem of definition: just how much is a "balanced" presentation? Should we do two films on Negro Americans a year, or a dozen? Of every 100 photos that go to Africa, should 10, 20, or 30 cover Negro subjects? In any single group photo, should there be one, two, or ten Negroes shown?

The answer plainly lies not in numbers or formulae but in an attitude and an impression. The attitude must be one of awareness of a need to reflect the role of Negroes in American life. The impression must be that we accomplish a success in sincerity in reflecting that attitude.

In practice, we have as a matter of course developed a large number of special materials designed solely for Africa. Some of these I have already mentioned; the special films, the special television, the special news wireless transmitted daily to Africa.

Other examples abound:

--The Voice of America with special broadcasts on "Negro Voting Rights in the South" and "The Supreme Court, Tradition, and the States," both written by prominent university scholars.

--Prominent Americans, like Harry Ashmore with his "Traditions and Change in Negro-White Relations", expressing confidence that violence yields to negotiation; Ralph McGill's "Reflections from the Deep South" pointing out that Negroes are achieving gains in the economic field because they have buying power; Roy Wilkins of the NAACP and James Farmer of the Congress of Racial Equality individually discussing civil rights and the Negro's view of himself.

--Agency pamphlets like "Success Stories from America" pointing out that among 19 million Negro Americans there are far more Negro success stories than ever make the headlines.

--Books by and about American Negroes going to our 174 USIS libraries in 85 countries, Africa included.

--Negro magazines frequenting these libraries.

--The five-~~column~~ volume 1961 report of the U. S. Commission on Civil Rights being sent to all USIS posts immediately on publication.

In addition to output, we work with people -- prominent Americans taking a role abroad. Ralph McGill is currently visiting five countries in West Africa, talking to journalists, youth groups, and foreign leaders. When Saunders Redding was in West Africa last year USIS arranged appearances and contacts with youth groups and important Africans. James Baldwin, independently in Africa, worked with our USIS posts in reaching important and eager African

groups. And when our USIS post opened new quarters in Accra last summer, the ribbon cutting ceremony was presided over by the noted author, Langston Hughes.

Further, we have sponsored a traveling seminar on journalism, a group of two Negroes and two whites conducting regional workshops in journalism in three African cities with interested participants coming from 11 different countries.

The list, Mr. Chairman, could continue far beyond the point of mere tedium. We shall shortly have from the printer a semi-annual report to the Congress. It will contain one entire section on "Race Relations at Home," showing how USIA has covered the subject of the Negro in the United States for foreign audiences. Failing objection, Sir, I shall personally remit a copy to every member of the subcommittee.

The Commission mentioned the tremendous interest in sports activity throughout Africa, commenting that USIA should encourage private distribution of sports equipment. The Agency has had such a program underway for quite some time. Our Office of Private Cooperation has assisted the People-to-People Sports Committee in developing a project which hopefully will produce at least some of the needed sports equipment.

The People-to-People Sports Committee, under the Chairmanship of Mr. Edward Eagan, former Olympic Boxing Champion and New York Boxing Commissioner, has developed a sports kit project, arranging for athletic equipment manufacturers to produce six different types of sports kits with basic equipment for six team sports: baseball, basketball, boxing, soccer, softball and volleyball. These kits are packaged for shipment and sold at wholesale prices to American groups, organizations and individuals for donation to youth groups

overseas through the local USIS post. The price of each kit includes the cost of shipping it to an overseas destination.

Our overseas posts indicated that they could use more than 10,000 donated sports kits in their programs during the twelve months ending in September 1963.

As of Friday, March 1, 1963, the American public had contributed 107 sports kits valued at $2,645. Of this total, 20 sports kits have been sent to Africa. Some kits were specifically earmarked for Africa by their donors, and some were directed to Africa because their donors asked that they be sent "where the need is greatest."

The Commission report went on to criticize the manner in which exchange personnel are handled in the United States. You will recall, Mr. Chairman, that such matters in the United States are the prerogative of the Cultural Division of the Department of State, while we handle such matters abroad. Though the observations thus fall outside the purview of this Agency, we would be remiss were we not to offer brief comment upon them.

No one denies a need for improving the reception accorded exchange personnel in the United States. Human beings are involved, and human institutions are always improvable.

Part of the problem has been that large groups of African students arrived under crash programs before all agencies involved were prepared to handle them. That acceleration of program has been absorbed, and such difficulties have now largely disappeared.

Regarding African broadcasters, some have admitted to dissatisfaction

with their visit here. In conversation, the reason usually cited involves a difference in broadcast principle. Our stations here are private and commercial. Theirs are largely government owned. They therefore find much of our programming, principles and practices irrelevent to their own problems of broadcasting. Perhaps more could be done in alerting American hosts to the differences the African broadcaster faces, but basically the problem is more generic than human.

Further, many of these broadcasters can better be trained there than here. We are embarking on programs to do just that. In Leopoldville and Addis Ababa a Voice of America full time consultant has been posted to train, to place material, and to aid in improving radio operations.

The Commission then made four comments on the African exchange program:

(1) The best students coming to the U. S. result in deterioration in African student bodies. I think this may not be true. Government grants bring to the U. S. only 30% of African students who come to this country. Of that figure, only 129 fall under programs concerning this Agency -- some 4% of African students in the United States. Even these are chosen by "binational committees", including members of the African governments and African educators. If our small portion of exchange grants does take good African students, it is at least with the cooperation and encouragement of the Africans themselves.

(2) A lack of incentive to teach develops. The fault here is not with the exchange program but rather with pay scales in African countries. They share with the United States a circumstance of teachers having low wage rates. With

host governments attracting educated Africans to civil service posts with pay higher than comparable teaching posts, it is not surprising that teaching incentives falter.

(3) Too many exchangees desire to remain permanently in the United States. This does not seem supported by the evidence. The number of African exchangees applying for waivers under the Immigration and Nationality Act permitting them to stay as immigrants is so small it is not even included in the annual State Department statistics. Countries listed are only those with 10 or more citizens seeking waivers to stay in the U. S. No African countries are listed.

Further, of the African students here under other than U. S. Government auspices (you will recall we account for only 30% of African students here), only 45 from Africa applied in 1962 to change their status from non-immigrant to immigrant. I repeat, none of those were on U. S. Government grant.

(4) The training of grantees cannot be adapted to their future life. This does not seem to be borne out by recent studies of grantees returned to their countries. One such study showed the great majority -- about three fourths -- of returned grantees saying their U. S. visit had influenced their careers, most of them favorably, with only 2% finding it either mixed or unfavorable. Half or more of the grantees report that their U. S. visit had a good effect upon their professional rank and title, on the amount of responsibility given them in their work, in the respect shown them by colleagues and supervisors, and in the confidence they themselves feel in their work. Only one percent or less said their U. S. visit had a bad or mixed effect on their title or rank.

Let me offer, however, a personal reflection. If this government is truly serious about educating Africans, we would do ourselves and them a far

better service to build schools and institutions on the ground there instead of bringing sometimes poorly prepared Africans here.

The Commission then posed an interesting question: How much should USIA do in countries which are not yet viable economically or politically? The question is well posed. At the moment I am satisfied with the span of our operations extending to almost all countries.

To begin with, the Department of State established embassies in these new countries and USIS is, normally speaking, an integral part of embassy operations.

Further, USIS can be extremely effective in such countries. If you operate the only free library in the country; if you are the major source of films for the country; if you provide large amounts of radio tape of direct interest not otherwise available; if you do all these things you assume an importance in the country not otherwise possible in more sophisticated areas.

Again, some activities in very remote areas are undertaken at the behest of the Department of State. The kind of presence we represent can become politically important in policy terms.

Another political difficulty arises also. These new countries are proud of their success and jealous of their sovereignty. Anything less than full diplomatic treatment would offend their tastes. They would be highly resentful of submitting themselves to services coming from embassies or posts in neighboring countries.

Inactivity in some countries also implies a concept of regionalization. Yet regionalization becomes almost impossible with transportation and

communications so difficult in Africa. Putting a man down in one country may completely isolate him from neighboring countries.

All of us appreciate, I believe, that the future in Africa is by no means certain. There are powerful currents aflow. The seemingly unimportant of today may escalate to the crisis of tomorrow. Who, Sir, in the late 1950's could have predicted the import of USIS operations in the then Belgian Congo? An effective and efficient USIS operation does not spring full grown to birth overnight. At least we are on the ground in most countries. We are doing our job. We shall see what the future holds.

Let me add, Mr. Chairman, that the question of operations in all countries continues to plague us -- basically for budgetary reasons. We have underway now a small-post study designed to streamline and reduce the cost of operations in such countries. Perhaps a minimum effective presence will be our best solution.

The Commission went on to comment on the overlap in English teaching among U. S. agencies and to comment upon a need for more government-wide coordination.

This matter is not now so troublesome as it once was. Of the 10 countries in Africa visited by the Commission Chairman, six have no English teaching by USIA. In one country our English teaching is being discontinued. Of the three others, in Dahomey we are the only U. S. agency teaching English, in Togo the Peace Corps teaches in secondary schools while we teach English only to government leaders or ministers, and in the Congo the recent turmoil's end has enabled us to put our house in order via coordination with AID teaching

programs.

In general, let me say we undertake in Africa to render English teaching of a sort done by no other Agency -- i. e., to government ministers and middle level officials, often at their request and invitation.

To the Commission report's observation that too much of our material is too somber, heavy, and textual, we must plead guilty. Since my advent we have noted and made attempts to correct such a note in our programming. We have made progress.

But some of this is bound to remain because of the nature of our business. We are official representatives of this government abroad. Documents, formal statements, and official texts are part of our stock in trade. A cabinet minister, an editor, a professor, a foreign library - they are interested in official texts, and it is official texts that we supply. I know of no way to lighten the sobriety of official government documents, and even if we could, it would perhaps be wrong. Or take, for example, a request from Africa for the full text of a United States Supreme Court decision upon a racial matter, transmitted to the post and delivered to become the basis of decision by an African court on an analogous matter. Somber, heavy and textual material, Mr. Chairman, but in many instances justified by the nature of our business.

The Commission report commented upon English material at French speaking posts. This has been a long time cause within the Agency. It is being corrected, and with time will improve more.

Part of our difficulty stems from our rapid growth in Africa -- from 11 posts in 1957 to 33 posts today. Lead time in both budget and material

production causes a slight lag in changing conditions quickly.

And yet, there is much improvement. I have already mentioned our daily wireless file transmissions of news and features, 50 percent in French. In former French Africa a typical small USIS library today will have 700-800 books in French versus about 500 in English. The English is being weeded out, as are books rarely used. Further, we have established a book production program in Paris which now gives us a continual flow of French books to the field. By being closer to French production sources we are building up our French collections. We have augmented our normal operations to give us faster service and cut down our administrative lead time on delivery of books to the field.

Last year, Mr. Chairman, when I appeared before your committee a number of subjects were discussed. Our Agency changes as world developments change. In closing I would like to give you a brief progress report on some of those subjects that were of interest to the committee last year.

One of them was the matter I just commented upon -- French language books. We are better in this, but of course we need more.

Inexpensive books were also on your minds, as they have been on ours. We are amid an active low-priced book program, attempting to make available inexpensive editions of American books on various aspects of American life of interest particularly to the newly created states south of the Sahara.

By the end of this year we will have about 100 titles in print. With a basic distribution of four copies per title to our libraries, each will have a core of 400 new inexpensive books in language copies. Facilities are then made for distribution and sale of print runs now totalling 720,000 volumes.

We talked of students last year. We have inaugurated this year a new Agency emphasis on contacting youth and student audiences. A new planning officer has been assigned to this sole task. Our posts have programs underway to maintain contact with students and exchange visitors who have been in the United States, supplying them with books and journals in their field of training and experience.

English teaching, alluded to last year, has already been mentioned. Suffice it to say that it is one of the most popular activities we undertake, with cabinet ministers and government leaders studying with us at their request. In one country the national legislature was even called to order to hear a description of USIS English speaking classes. In an understated way, I am told the response was, quote, gratifying, unquote.

Queries were made last year about USIA personnel policies and the use of Negroes in African posts. I shall not reopen that discussion. We have some 140 officers in Africa, 26 of whom are Negroes. This compares with approximately 10 percent of officers who were Negroes last year.

I must confess, Mr. Chairman, to some personal trepidation at entering into such a numbers game. I, for one, feel there is no fixed quota below which we shall continue to recruit and above which we shall cease recruiting. The proper standard must be one of integrity and sincerity, a conviction that proper progress is being made. I submitted the figures above not because they were a fault but because they were a fact. Our selection is still based, as it has been always, not on race but on merit. My personal conviction is that we as an Agency have made very considerable progress.

On the subject of personnel I note with satisfaction our rise in language proficiency. Our policy now is that no one is sent to a French speaking post without at least an S-3 proficiency in French; that is, on a scale of 5 as bilingual fluency without accent, the speaking level rates at grade 3 -- a not inconsiderable achievement. Of the 140 officers in Africa, approximately 100 have acquired that standard.

While I am volunteering tidbits on personnel, let me also relate what I detect as a new spirit of getting to the people. We have several officers armed with jeeps and determination who travel the impassable tracks of Africa to schools, institutions, chieftains, and others, making the effort to reach the target audience regardless of its location.

Most interesting of all, however, is the new Liberian relay station near Monrovia which we discussed last year. This will give us the broadcast power to be heard clearly in Africa. The arithmetic of our plans -- such as six 250 kw and two 50 kw transmitters -- has already been described to this committee.

But this will be more than a mere relay station, important though that function may be. We are establishing in Monrovia the African Program Center. It in time will provide some 50% of all VOA programming in Africa. This programming will cover the gamut of languages in which we broadcast to Africa: English, French, Swahili, and Arabic for the moment, within five years Hausa, Ibo, Yoruba, Amharic, Somali, Lingala, and possibly Portuguese. We will establish regional production subcenters in Dakar, Lagos, Nairobi, Rabat, Addis Ababa, Leopoldville and other African cities yet to be determined. Assigned

to these cities will be correspondents, operating under the general instructions which will guide our African Program Center: i. e., "Reporting Africa to Africa." We shall cross-report Africa to itself, telling it of its lore, its history, its geography, its progress and its plans, its hopes and its dreams, and perhaps the way in which this government wishes for Africa the choice in freedom of its own destiny.

Hopefully, Monrovia's target date for air is Fall of 1963.

All of this, Mr. Chairman, spells progress. But our job is never done. New problems are added -- 24 new countries in the last half decade. Old problems grow -- radio receivers exploding from about 4 to 6 million, radio stations increasing from 81 to 103, and all that in but one year.

Africa continues as an area of emphasis with this Agency. The task faced there is large. I like to think that this Agency, Sir, with the consent of the Congress, will be equal to that task.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman, the Agency's Deputy Director, Donald M. Wilson, would like a brief time for his remarks to you.

USIA Murrow Statement to Fascell Committee

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IMMEDIATE RELEASE, THURSDAY, MARCH 28, 1963

Statement by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U. S. Information Agency
before the
Subcommittee on International Organizations and Movements
of the Committee on Foreign Affairs
House of Representatives, March 28, 1963

I am grateful for the opportunity to talk with you today on the often perplexing, frequently frustrating, but always fascinating business in which I am engaged -- the conduct of our Government's overseas information program. In the world-wide ideological conflict, which this committee is now studying, there is much that the U. S. Information Agency can do and is doing to further the cause of freedom and our national interests. There is also much that USIA cannot do, and it is well for us to understand its limitations as well as its potential if we are realistically to appraise its role.

Ten years ago the Jackson Committee, established to study our worldwide information program, stated that "any program supported by government funds can only be justified to the extent that it assists in the achievement of national objectives." I agree--and that is the purpose, the sole purpose, of USIA today: To further the achievement of U. S. foreign policy objectives as enunciated by the President and the State Department. We do this in two ways: First, by influencing public attitudes abroad in support of these objectives, and secondly, by advising the President and the Executive Branch on the implications of foreign opinion for current and contemplated U. S. policies and programs.

We seek to influence peoples' thinking through the various means of communication--personal contact, radio broadcasting, libraries, book publication and distribution, the press, motion pictures, television, exhibits, English-language instruction, and others. To do this job successfully, our individual country programs are not scattershot efforts but carefully designed to gain support for established U. S. foreign policy objectives relating to the particular country. This requires imagination, sophistication and flexibility--and means our programs will vary from country to country depending on U. S. policy needs.

There are, of course, many common denominators. Everywhere we seek to encourage constructive public support for what the President has described as "a peaceful world community of free and independent states, free to choose their own future and their own system so long as it does not threaten the freedom of others." We present the United States as a strong, democratic, dynamic nation qualified to lead world efforts toward this goal. We emphasize the ways in which U. S. policies harmonize with those of other peoples and governments, and underline those aspects of American life and culture which facilitate sympathetic understanding of our policies. We endeavor to unmask and counter hostile attempts on the part of communists and others to distort or frustrate American objectives and policies.

The advisory function is carried out by my senior colleagues and myself at various levels within the government in Washington, and by our Public Affairs Officers within the Country Teams at U. S. diplomatic missions abroad. In this connection, I am pleased to report that much progress has been made. Beginning with the Jackson Committee report ten years ago, study groups, advisory

commissions and other experts have repeatedly urged that there be greater consideration of psychological factors in the formulation and execution of American foreign policy. Today these factors are usually given appropriate consideration.

This is not to say that American policy-makers decide what to do or what to say on the basis of which way the winds of thought are blowing; foreign affairs cannot, should not and are not conducted on the basis of a popularity contest. But it does mean that, in this age of swift communication and swift reaction, our Government tries to present its policies and programs in as understandable and palatable form as possible--understandable and palatable to those millions abroad, friend, foe and neutral, whose lives and fortunes are affected by what we do.

Ours is a pluralistic, not a monolithic, society. There are many voices of America, not just one. But we learned in the 1940s and early 50s that a government information program abroad can be successful only if it speaks with one voice--and that has been the case since Reorganization Plan No. 8 created the U. S. Information Agency and gave it the prime responsibility for overseas information activities. Since 1953, USIA staffs abroad--acting under the supervision of the Chiefs of Mission--have been responsible for the conduct of public information, public relations and cultural activities for the civilian departments and agencies of our Government.

To do its job, USIA has 239 offices in 105 countries. In addition, USIA's radio arm--the Voice of America--broadcasts 761 hours a week in 36 languages.

As long as the U. S. Government has been engaged in this activity, and that is more than 21 years, there has been confusion about the role of "truth" in a government information program. But there is no confusion within USIA, nor has

there been for many years. We operate on the basis of truth. Voice of America news broadcasts are balanced and objective. They cover all the news, even when it hurts.

American traditions and the American ethic require us to be truthful, but the most important reason is that truth is the best propaganda and lies are the worst. To be persuasive we must be believable; to be believable we must be credible; to be credible we must be truthful. It is as simple as that.

Obviously, in our commentaries, films, exhibits, personal contacts and other activities, we emphasize those aspects of American life and policy which are of greatest significance in furthering our foreign policy objectives. We report events in context; we explain why things happen. But we do not lie, we do not cheat, we do not suppress-and as a result, we are able to obtain a high degree of believability and persuasiveness.

It is this believability and persuasiveness that so enrages the communists. The current issue of the Soviet youth magazine Komsomolskaya Pravda contains a long attack on USIA and its "diverse and abominable" activities. This article also was broadcast by Castro's Radio Progreso. "In the field of propaganda," according to this article, "the ruling circles of the U. S. certainly occupy first place." The author calls USIA "a truly tremendous monster of the 'cold war' which has no equal in other capitalist countries"--but then says this Agency has been a failure because of "the historical non-viability of anti-communism."

We consider this a compliment, an evidence of effectiveness. But it is very difficult to measure success in our business. No computer clicks, no

cash register rings when a man changes his mind or opts for freedom. And, as I have indicated, ours is only one of many American voices. The image of America abroad is moulded by countless sources, among them the 4 million American tourists who go overseas every year, a million U. S. troops and dependents abroad, our 33 thousand missionaries, Hollywood movies seen by 150 million foreigners every week, American magazines, newspapers and TV shows, and letters from the 22 million immigrants who have come to our shores since 1900.

And above all, it is what we do -- not what we say -- that has the greatest impact overseas. USIA can explain, interpret, clarify, synthesize and project -- but we cannot change the unchangeable or do the undoable. The United States of America cannot and should not try to please everyone on this planet; we have, and will always have, some policies that are unpalatable to some people. We are, then, and properly so, prisoners of policy.

We should understand also that USIA cannot by itself defeat communism, solve the Kashmir dispute, resolve the Arab-Israel quarrel, throw Castro out of Cuba, protect the freedom of Berlin or defeat the Viet Cong. But given intelligent and effective American policies, supported by Congress and the American people, we can make an important contribution to the achievement of our objectives. In my judgment, we are today making such a contribution.

In recent years, USIA has come a long way in improving its capability and effectiveness as an instrument of American foreign policy. Let me mention some of the recommendations of the Jackson Committee ten years ago, and the

similar Sprague Committee of three years ago, which are now standard USIA operating procedures:

*Coordinated media activities in support of carefully defined themes;

*Decentralization and tactical control in the field;

*Greater use of unattributed material and indigenous media;

*Greater use of private organizations;

*Improved coordination of information activities with our Allies;

*Better adaptation of Agency films to foreign audiences;

*Increased use of research;

*Stronger book programs;

*Better support for foreign correspondents in this country;

*More attention to third-country students in Europe, and

*An expanded program in Latin America.

In addition to increasing our effectiveness, we also have come a long way in developing a realistic appreciation of what this instrument can and cannot do--particularly in the face of the monolithic, well-financed world-wide propaganda effort of the communists. The Soviet Union does have certain advantages: It can conduct its affairs with a minimum regard for public opinion; it can speak publicly with one voice while following contradictory courses of action; it operates in secrecy; it has disciplined fifth columns in the communist parties of other nations. But it has its disadvantages, too. For we are in a war not to capture men's minds but to free them--and our free society of free men has a tremendous advantage over the communist society of coercion.

Nonetheless, there is much still to be done. We need to improve the quality and pertinence of USIA media output. We need to know more--much more--about the people we are seeking to reach: their hopes, their fears, their prejudices, their thinking processes. Electronically, we have made great progress in the techniques of communication--but, like all mankind, we are still in the primitive stage in our understanding of human relations and personal persuasion. USIA officers have developed much professionalism, but if we are to be truly successful we must speak more languages more fluently. We must increase our knowledge of American institutions and American culture. And we must take better advantage of opportunities which present themselves.

With respect to the latter, I am thinking specifically of such things as greater recognition on the part of American commercial media of their impact on foreign affairs; of the conduct of Americans abroad--how they spend their free time, their associations with their foreign neighbors and their participation in community activities. I am thinking of American tourists who go to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe--not as spies or propagandists, but as walking, living, breathing, free-thinking and free-speaking representatives of our open society and our democratic institutions.

The experience of Cuba seems to have demonstrated at that time and place that no nation, not even the most belligerent, the most aggressive, dares risk a direct confrontation with America's nuclear might. We hope this will continue to be so. But this does not mean that the forces of aggression will be stilled, only that they will turn to other methods. Persuasion is one of the most important of them, and under these conditions persuasion becomes power. Our arsenal of

persuasion must be as ready as our nuclear arsenal, and used as never before.

According to that Soviet writer I quoted earlier, "he is doomed to fail who defends a cause doomed to fail. And USIA," he says, "is doing exactly that."

This angry communist is, of course, wrong. It is the communist propagandists, claiming virtue in their system's violation of human dignity, who are doomed to fail. And fail they will, unless we commit the greatest blunder in mankind's history and--through ignorance, blindness or spite--throw away our triumph.

In my vineyard, given the increased professionalism and effectiveness of USIA, our desire and need to improve still more, the increased recognition of the role of information and cultural activities in the conduct of our foreign affairs, and the growing appreciation of the limitations as well as the potential of this instrument--given these things, gentlemen, I believe USIA will continue to contribute in increasing measure to the security of the United States and the development of a peaceful world community.

Again, I thank you for the privilege of appearing here today; without the support of the Congress and the American people, my colleagues and I cannot succeed in our task.

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Release No. 13

IMMEDIATE RELEASE, FRIDAY, APRIL 5, 1963

Statement by

Edward R. Murrow, Director, U. S. Information Agency
before the
Senate Foreign Relations Committee
in support of
The National Academy of Foreign Affairs (S 865)

April 5, 1963

Mr. Chairman, distinguished members of the Committee:

I have come to express my support for the legislation before you to establish a National Academy of Foreign Affairs. The Academy would provide in-service, interdepartmental professional training to personnel of all Federal Departments and agencies involved in foreign affairs.

Of prime concern to us was the requirement that the Academy be truly interdepartmental. The bill currently before you meets that requirement.

It is important because the postwar years have brought us to the threshold of the new complex diplomacy, a complex of all the bewildering additions to modern life -- from atomic discovery and space exploration through rising nationalism and pressing communism -- that make modern diplomacy more subtle and serious than ever it has been. As our challenge is greater, so must our diplomacy be greater.

The very existence of the United States Information Agency is an example of that complexity and the need for the inter-reliability of all the foreign affairs agencies. Who would have thought 15 years ago that the psychological element would be so important a component in modern diplomacy, or that the psychological element must in turn have regard for so many other disciplines and demands in the modern world.

The testing of such a premise lies in the President's expressed desire for tightly integrated embassy operations supervised by a chief of mission familiar with and responsible for all aspects of his program and not just political and consular functions alone.

Diplomacy today involves more than negotiation and passive reporting. Contacts abroad with foreign office counterparts and fellow diplomats no longer suffice. Knowing the local language is important, but even this is not enough. Regardless of where his post and what his assignment, the American diplomat of the 60's and 70's must have a thorough grounding in the culture and the country of his attention. He must know their kings and their wars. He must know their economic ills and their social wills. He must know both editors and educators, and must be approachable by both the leaders and the led.

Our exposure then is total. No one diplomat can know all, but all diplomats can know more. Diplomacy has become a team function. Any nation that cannot train its foreign affairs personnel for team functions will cease to function as a team.

It would seem that one instrument to make of us better servants of the Republic lies in the National Academy of Foreign Affairs.

Diplomacy, Mr. Chairman, the new diplomacy, the new complicated diplomacy, will never be better than the men who staff it. It is for that reason, for example, that I so heartily endorsed the report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs Personnel chaired by the Honorable Christian A. Herter. There is a paragraph in that report instructive to me, and it reads: "... our representatives overseas are not merely representatives of the individual agencies that sent them there or of their particular specialties or professions. They are first and foremost representatives of the United States. It is therefore essential that there be an underlying level of understanding and agreement among foreign affairs officials as to the goals of our nation and our democratic system."

As you are aware, the Herter Committee also endorsed the principle of a National Academy of Foreign Affairs. In addition, the new concept of personnel envisioned by them in establishing a family of the foreign services would further serve our purposes of meeting the challenge of the new diplomacy.

The National Academy will be of considerable value to my own Agency. With your permission I now become parochial. I have talked till now on the greater needs of the global diplomat. Such admonition and appelation fit all of us in the foreign affairs community. But my own particular responsibility is the U. S. Information Agency.

I adjudge that we would be served, and well, by the Foreign Affairs Academy.

To begin, we plan today for tomorrow. This is the 20th Century. The problems of the 21st Centurywill be vastly different from the 19th Century. We stand still at our peril. The Academy will help us to move forward.

We are, as you well know, the psychological adviser on American policy, both to the President here and to each Ambassador abroad. We as well are the arm of American policy that goes to the people abroad. We seek to explain to them in their language and on their own terms why it is this country does what it does.

If we are to discharge both these functions, in all candor we need to know more. We need to know more of what motivates foreign peoples. The phrase "foreign peoples" covers a dimension of difference across the variety of tens of different religions, of a hundred different nations, of thousands of different languages, and of millions of different peoples.

A knowledge of history and of political science and of economics and of language is of course important to us. To a degree, some of this is available in the American academic community. But of even greater import is the full and fair understanding of the hopes and ambitions of the man in the copper mine and in the cane mill, the toiler in the rice paddy and the jute field, the laborer in the forest and in the factory, the woman waiting in the medical clinic for care and in the mud hut with hope, the youth in the ox cart and in the class room. To help fashion our fates in friendship requires us to know of their minds. We can only do this with specialized attention to specialized problems, placed at the disposal and contemplation of ALL the best minds from all the foreign affairs community.

There are places in the world where the Agency is actively engaged in psychological offensives designed to achieve specific U. S. objectives -- places where our national interests lie immediately in supporting efforts to meet the

danger of subversive insurgency. To fulfill this role effectively requires men trained to deal with facets of foreign political and social structures not normally encountered. This is a somewhat new dimension of the conflict of ideologies.

The National Academy could help us meet this need.

We may in time pierce the "shield of culture." A foreign culture and a foreign language today often shield us from the foreign populace. We do not know the culture well enough; we do not speak the language easily enough. There is no solution in retreat from knowledge. Our only alternative is higher specialization in the area of responsibility and more thorough preparation in the assignment undertaken.

The sort of an institution we envisage, gentlemen, is one that can stand in prestige as a peer of the best graduate schools in our nation. It must attain this academic eminence if it is to attract to its faculties men whose scholastic excellence renders them capable of providing the depth of cultural and political training about which we have been speaking. It is with no intent to denigrate the current excellence or achievement of the Foreign Service Institute that I contend such level of prestige has not been and will not be reached by that institution. The Institute has been endowed with neither the financing nor the charter that would enable it to build itself to such academic heights.

Fortified with the gift of autonomy, and enriched with the limitless wealth of research material on governmental affairs available to the academician selected to serve on its faculties, I believe it would indeed soon attract many of the best scholastic minds this country has to offer. I can envision that a considerable number of such minds would consider it both challenge and opportunity

to partake of this knowledge and to participate in the preparation of our nation's Foreign Service personnel for improved contribution to the execution of America's foreign policy.

I further believe that there is merit in establishing such an institution beyond the confines of a single Federal Department. Others besides myself have spoken of the new dimensions that have challenged our diplomacy in the years since World War II. Various segments of that diplomacy are now the principal concern of a half dozen Federal establishments. It is only natural that an institution assumes to substantial degree the special interest and coloration of the organization that directs it. Thus I consider it more likely that the peculiar requirements of each department will be served more impartially by an institution of learning that stands free of them all, rather than by an Academy administered solely by one of them.

A brief word, sir, on the proposal as it involves the Agency. With the advent of a National Academy of Foreign Affairs, I would anticipate little if any reduction in our Agency training. A survey of sample courses will indicate why: two weeks of general orientation, two weeks on international communications, a one week course on Agency policy and planning, and separate courses on Overseas Administrative Practices, Domestic Office Practice, Office Administration overseas, Teaching English as a Second Language, Binational Center Operations, and Junior Officer Trainee programs. As you can see, the duration and nature of these programs makes them ideally taught on our premises by our own people, and most unsuitable for farming out to an advanced institution of learning.

Some of the present advanced training outside the Agency could be done

by a National Academy.

Not only are present needs likely to be met but there is another dimension as well. The promise of the National Academy lies not in what it will take over from the present but in what it will discover for the future. Its greatest contribution lies on the frontier of the unknown. I trust the proposal will be weighed not on what it can presently include but on what it can potentially create.

As for the extent of our participation, this is difficult to project with only an idea at hand. One would have to know more of curriculum and relevance before predicting a reliable degree of participation.

There is one comment, however, to mention regarding participation. We must keep our posts staffed. One cannot fail to meet overseas obligations because of training demands. If we should keep a larger number of officers in training, we may need a commensurate increase in foreign service personnel. It is an investment worth making in my judgment, for we measure the greater need of better men against the cost of giving us more men with whom to work.

In addition we have Americans in specialized programs not part of our normal foreign service complement: labor information officers, student affairs grantees, and other specialist categories. These are potential candidates for the Academy. The number would be small, perhaps no more than a dozen persons at a time.

I would also include the possibility of USIA selections from some of our 6,500 local employees abroad -- foreign nationals who have given long and devoted service and whose level of responsibility warrants the investment of advanced training. The number of those participants would also not be large.

May I add a personal addendum. Training in depth is invaluable, and we would be the poorer without it. But given the fast changing revolution of our times and the varied methods of dealing with it, I would hope there could be frequent opportunities in an officer's career for short lecture and seminar courses tied to home leave and transfer. The variety of knowledge and talent at a NAFA, plus the ability to tailor such efforts to a specialized need, could make this a very fruitful endeavor. Like the physician and physicist, the diplomat cannot wait seven to ten years to be brought up-to-date.

I shall welcome, Mr. Chairman, any questions you or the committee may wish to pose.

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Release No. 24

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U. S. Information Agency
At the East Carolina College Commencement
Greenville, N. C., Sunday, June 9, 1963

To speak at a commencement is, to some degree, to accept the challenge of the obvious. Commencement means beginning. But how many times have commencement audiences heard ringing phrases like "Commencement is not an ending but a beginning." I first heard that comment in the sixth grade, and it impressed me. When I heard it again in the ninth grade I was reminded I had been impressed in the sixth grade. By the time it had been repeated at high school and college commencement, I had heard it and had it enough.

So Mr. President, leave us commence our commencement with a promise not to parse commencement into a beginning.

I have come here to the red clay soil of East Carolina in part to represent the interest my Agency and this state have in common. We have just completed in nearby Greenville the world's most powerful shortwave radio transmitter complex. We have an operating reserve and an executive reserve here, and your President is an active and enthusiastic member of this latter. In point of fact, my Agency has received splendid cooperation from this college and this faculty, and my colleagues and I in Washington are grateful for it.

The U. S. Information Agency is in the communications business. We

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seek to tell others something about the kind of men who inhabit America. We try to associate this people and this government with the hopes and aspirations of other peoples. To do this we put to hopeful good effect every instrument of modern communication known to man.

We broadcast radio -- the Voice of America -- 789 hours every week in 36 languages. For special events coverage, such as the orbiting of Gordon Cooper, we broadcast in up to 62 languages. Every week, for use on overseas domestic stations translated into their native languages, our posts place locally 14,000 hours of taped broadcasting.

We make moving pictures. Six hundred million people a month see USIA films produced in 52 languages.

We produce television, placing some 500 programs every year in 61 countries.

We are in the press business. We send a wireless news file transmitting 10,000 words daily to over 100 world posts. We print newspapers and magazines -- 66 magazines and 20 newspapers in 25 languages. We have a world wide photo service, last year placing a million and a half pictures in newspapers around the world. We print pamphlets and cartoon strips -- over 18 million pamphlets last year, and five cartoon strips published in 87 countries -- including one that is the most widely read printed feature in the world with an audience of 100 million people.

We produce travelling exhibits, some 300 of them in continual use around the globe.

We publish books -- 8 million of them last year, many of them in foreign translations, but not near enough.

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We run libraries and binational centers -- 182 libraries in 88 countries and 159 binational centers, with approximately 30 million people visiting them each year.

We teach English, having instructed over a million persons since 1953, and teaching every day, for one example, over 7,000 people in Mexico City.

In conjunction with the Department of State, we administer the education and cultural exchange program -- helping some 5,000 students, leaders, and teachers every year to experience for themselves our country.

We work in private cooperation with U. S. business firms, with several hundred separate concerns sending material to their thousands of representatives working abroad.

And this is all done by some 1,300 Americans and 6,300 foreign nationals working overseas with our total Agency budget last year of $122.5 million.

So it is this instrument of national policy that some of the people located here are designed to complement. We appreciate your interest.

I have never been intrigued with the fascination of my own reminiscences. I remember well my own school days, but I am not about to burden you with homilies honed and humored over the past half century. As college graduates you are worthy of congratulations on the glorious magnitude of the infinite uncertainty confronting you. In the past those similarly garbed and graduated had at least the consolation that with modest diligence they would survive. But populations grow. Needs arise. Crises appear. And with the fearful possibility that the human equation might someday equal the nuclear nought, even that is no longer safe assurance for you.

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Even more, perhaps, do I have a modicum of empathy with teachers. They work with the intangibility of ideas and often the ingratitude of students as well as the impatience of administrators. And yet if our future bears any relevance to dream and desire, who is a more instrumental instrumentality than the teacher.

I stand here today. Tomorrow one of you may stand in my stead. I am beyond the sway of your teachers. You are not. My prejudices and patterns, for ill or good, are set. Yours are just beginning. If one of you is to fall heir to my mantle of responsibilities, or to another in Washington or Raleigh, as invariably someone must, what you have just completed at this school may have done more to form you than any other single experience in your life. Reflect upon that as you regard those who for four years have borne the burden of exposing you to the pain of ideas.

I stand but in awe of the teacher. He has an increased dimension of responsibility. He has, if his mind be not lulled to sleep by the drone of his own sonorous tones, a widened area of curiosity. Man knows more today about more things than ever before. In the full floodtide of our printed revolution, the art of education is not so much knowing how to read as it is knowing what to read. The wise teacher must temper his curiosity with inquiry, and hope that its resolution will bring that rare man who can mingle his love of knowledge with his understanding of ignorance.

And the students' view of these rare men of the mind is epitomized best in William O. Douglas' canard about the first confrontation between Supreme Court Justice James Clark McReynolds and Robert Hutchins -- McReynolds, then

the elderly bastion of conservatism staunch in his devotion to the principles of the last century, and Hutchins, then the mercurially brilliant new young Dean of the Yale University Law School. Justice McReynolds grumbled over the handshake, "Well, I suppose you tell them at that college that we are old fuddy duddies," and Hutchins replied softly, "Oh no, we simply let them find it out for themselves."

But there are other things you will find out of life as well. You will find that you advance into a world not quite overwhelmed at your coming. Days of leisure and pleasure now become weeks of work and worry. There is a living to earn -- it must be garnered as it is not given. There are responsibilities to assume -- they must be discharged as they will not dissolve. There are destinies to meet -- though some of the meetings may be both unexpected and unpleasant.

I wonder if you realize how unusual you are. This country has a population of 188,000,000 people. In a land where the pat phrase runs, "almost everyone goes to college," do you know how many college graduates this country had last year? 420,000. Math majors among you will quickly calculate that at about point oh-oh-two per cent (.002) of our population. In the entire country there are but 10 million college graduates -- about five and one-quarter per cent of the populace.

A lot of people in college? Yes, if you count them head by head; no, if you count them group by group. Ladies and gentlemen, you are an elite... an educated elite... and no elite in history has fared well unless they serve themselves and their society with distinction.

With diplomas in your hands, you have now had an education. We are all afloat on a vast sea of ignorance, but recalling the numbers I mentioned

above, you have been better prepared than most to sail that sea. If you founder, your excuse will come with the poorest grace of all. This society has chosen to educate you. An educated man among the uneducated, like that one man with eyesight in the company of the blind, cannot help but be a leader.

Being educated, you now should have that most important faculty of all -- criticism. You should have opinion and idea as to what is good and what is bad, what is meritorious and what is meaningless. You should be able to distinguish quality from quantity. You should have the beginnings of taste, because now your life becomes your judgment. Should you judge wisely and well, so will you live.

I am curious about this rare thing you now have that we call education. Have you, for example, heard the names of Stuart Mill and Rousseau, or of McCauley and Gibbon? You know the names Tom Jefferson and Karl Marx; have any of you read anything either has written? How many of you have read a play by Ibsen, a poem by Eliot, criticism by Mencken? Do you have a favorite painter or sculptor, a preferred composer or conductor? Or even more mundane, how many of you know any painters or composers?

Education should have made you more sensitive as well. The more you know, the more of complexity and difficulty you should appreciate. Education should remind you that when an apple falls on your head you think of gravity. But when you see a car driving down the road, how many of you think of Arab oil or Venezuelan gasoline that propels it, or of highway deaths near half-a-hundred thousand each year, or of fat Americans in poor condition who rarely walk, or of labor unions striking in behalf of worker benefits, or of design and fashion and built-in obsolescence changing each car each year for each buyer, or of

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traffic choking the downtown heart of big cities and leading to blighting the city core and urban renewal, or of massive highways cutting cross the land and changing forest land to billboard freeways, as well as the ardent campaign of beautifiers to ban the billboard, or of dormitory suburbs with spreading conformity and eaten-up land and segregated living. It's all a part of the one word "automobile," and it comes from nothing more than elemental sensitivity and critique that education should have given you.

For you now do the things that for years you have complacently watched your parents do for you. Conservation and the outer banks, better newspapers and television, business ethics -- they're all alien concepts to the world from which you come. But they're all passionate concerns of the world to which you go.

As college graduates you go from lessons you have studied to lessons you must learn. There is much to learn in this machine age. The largest educational machine in the world is in Berlin. It is 27 miles long, it is strung with barbed wire, it teaches lessons in the meaning of democracy and communism, of freedom and tyranny, of humanity and inhumanity. Its name is the Wall.

There are other educational machines here. One of them is a lunch counter. It is some 50 feet long, it is lined with almost deserted seats but it is ringed with a great crowd. Over the shoulders of that great crowd stand another whole host of onlookers. Through picture and print and film and text a veritable legion across this country and around this globe watches what lessons in democracy and freedom and humanity emerge from this teaching machine.

My contrast is somewhat invidious, and for that I offer apology. The Wall is deadly repression and depressed strife. The lunch counter is, I suggest,

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lively progress and expressed life.

If education has made you sensitive and critical, then the one thing you cannot feel is indifference. In the pages you have thumbed these past four years, one hopes you have learned to discern and to temper rawness with rationale. Your hopes are probably no different from those who have gone before you. Most of your dreams have been dreamed before. But what will concern you?. Of what shall you be afraid? What will stir you to righteous anger... to action?

If you have learned to discern then the issue becomes what it is about which you choose to feel. I know my own feelings and angers. They are not as important as yours, for you are my tomorrow. Through your feeling and your anger shall men know you, and me, and us, and all this country, and all that we in our world feel is noble and just and worth the price of sacrifice.

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Following is an extract from an address by Edward R. Murrow, Director of the United States Information Agency, before the 72nd Annual Convention, General Federation of Women's Clubs, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, June 14, 1963:

This is a partial profile of USIA and what it seeks to do.

You will notice that there is much that depicts the common interests of our two organizations. For example, you have shown a past interest in scholarship programs for overseas students. This is part of the business of USIA -- administering the Educational Exchange Program and having the prime university contact and cultural responsibility abroad.

You have an active community improvement program, and for that and its success you are greatly to be commended. It parallels one of our major preoccupations overseas: how to motivate and initiate local action on an array of problems across the board of community responsibility.

In Latin America, as an example, we are attempting to innovate against the weight of centuries past. We seek a basic social revolution across the width and breadth of an entire continent within the time span of years and without a resort to violence. Of all noble deeds best chronicled by man as worthy of commendation, history recounts no prior example of success on such a scale. But attempt it we must. The dimness of success does not diminish the ardor of efforts.

Our task would be much the easier if we could export local community feeling as represented by the success of your community improvement program. Many foreign visitors, of both great import and small, have toured this land from coast to coast and partaken of what we oft describe as our American way

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of life. Their impressions are as varied as the people who have them, but one impression invariably comes through with near unanimity. That impression is of individual effort in community endeavor. Why is it that people will join clubs and groups and organizations and societies and in their spare time dedicate themselves to doing a job with no pay? Their only reward is the satisfaction of a job well done; they accept their challenge merely because a something somewhere needs doing. Foreign visitors puzzle over this because they have seen it demonstrated no place else. When they realize its motivating spirit they become excited at the vistas of opportunity in their own countries if their own people could savor some of this motivation.

We have other things in common, your organization and mine. Not least among them is our mutual interest in raising literacy levels overseas. You have expressed it in your fund raising program through CARE and in your past interest in sending books overseas. We have expressed it in an ambitious project called BOOKS USA. I raise the subject here because I believe there is a way we might together serve our mutual interests.

Most Americans take books for granted. Books are available in the classroom, in our splendid libraries, in bookstores and elsewhere where we can buy them for mere pennies. Few of us ever bother to speculate what life would be if suddenly books were to disappear. The world around us would quickly seem bare and empty.

Yet millions of men, women and children around the globe suffer the emptiness of life without books. Books are capsules of knowledge. The hunger of people abroad for knowledge is insatiable.

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USIA seeks to satisfy that hunger through many means, as I have mentioned, but also through books. Last year we distributed some 8,000,000 books to foreign libraries, institutions, research centers and individuals. But our competitors from communism overwhelm us with their output. Last year they published some 40,000,000 books in non-bloc languages within the Soviet Union for distribution to free world countries. In addition they were responsible for 100,000,000 other books for worldwide distribution, giving a Soviet total distribution in foreign countries of about 140,000,000 books.

Here is a book gap we can never hope to close by public appropriated funds alone. But it may be possible to make progress through the help of American citizens. Our Agency has devised a plan called BOOKS USA through which the largest paperback publishers in the country offer packets of 10 books for sale at no profit. USIA selects the titles in these packets in such fields as American literature, history, and biography. For $4 anyone can buy a $5 packet of books. USIA will distribute them abroad in the name of the donor. If public spirited organizations like yours give full support to this campaign, we could place millions of additional books abroad. May I urge each of you to purchase BOOKS USA packets and that your organizations consider adopting BOOKS USA as one of your major projects.

I have left some folders explaining the concept in more detail. We ask the support of those who believe as we do that books are the tools of truth and freedom.

I am told that a sizable group of you will soon leave for a trip to Europe. There you will meet many curiosities by many people about the United States.

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Some of them will press upon you stereotypes of American women, as some of our USIA surveys indicate. You will find Europeans admiring the smart appearance, the attractive clothes, the basic good looks of many American women. You may find comment upon the freedom and independence of American women, the industriousness and efficiency and well organized homes and lives you lead. But you will also hear it said that you are domineering and bossy and sometimes wear the trousers in your family, that many of you are lazy, idle and make bad housewives because you are spoiled by labor-saving gadgets, that you are shallow and showy, vain and frivolous, care only for good times and money, that you are bold and forward and change husbands by too many divorces.

Do not vent your ire upon me for this catalogue. I merely report to you some impressions reported to us by Europeans on the American woman.

But there will be Europeans you encounter -- and these perhaps in the majority -- who will demonstrate a real interest in you and your country. They will be Europeans in West Germany concerned with NATO and the U. S. commitment to defend their border with communism. There will be Europeans in Italy concerned with U. S. Polaris submarines in the Mediterranean, Europeans in France curious about the gulf alleged by the press to exist between our Kennedy and their De Gaulle, Europeans in Britain curious about U. S. intentions regarding their efforts to enter the Common Market, and Europeans everywhere very curious about U. S. troubles with race relations in this country.

Nothing so intrigues the world about us as our travail over Negro-white relations. It has helped immensely that the President has committed this Administration to the prosecution of the Constitution on behalf of all citizens of

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the country. The issue is no longer joined on whether one agrees or disagrees with segregation. Our highest courts of law have decreed integration as the law of the land. We like to pride ourselves as having a government of laws designed to protect each citizen against the concert of others who would deprive him of his rights. The issue then becomes one of respect for law and integrity.

Apart from race relations, you will find other matters of common cause with Europeans and, indeed, people of almost every foreign country. The conditions of life and the cost of living, over-crowded schools and shortage of teachers, juvenile delinquency and family patterns -- these problems are shared by many societies in our world. Thus most societies face the task of becoming problem-solving societies.

We in this democracy believe that our institutions for solving problems are best for us. We have a considerable mechanism for solution in our cities and towns and community leaders and civic programs and organizations like your own.

I can only comment that all of you over there will represent all of us over here. You carry the stamp of America everywhere you go, and everywhere will you be so regarded. We would all do well abroad, I think, to listen and to learn, and to carry a good ration of curiosity among our baggage.

What happens in the great world beyond us can impinge mightily on the little world in which all of us live. No one of us can hope to change that great world alone, just as no one of us can influence the course of history. But history is ofttimes a vast compendium of a multitude of small personal worlds. Just as one single voice may scarce be heard but the sound of a chorus is

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raised to a mighty shout, so are there some things that can be done. A contribution can at least be made.

If we in this generous and capacious land can have a decent respect for the conditions of all our citizens, if we can demonstrate a reasoned concern for the health, well-being, education, and social justice of every member of our populace, we may indeed powerfully influence the surge of those destinies that come together and form the history of our time.

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"TELLING AMERICA'S STORY TO THE WORLD"

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Release No. 25

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Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before 59th Annual Convention, Advertising Federation of America
Biltmore Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia, June 19, 1963

My listed subject is "The Voice of America." I may stray from that, for, as you may know, the Voice of America is the radio arm of the U.S. Information Agency. It is therefore only one of some half dozen different media we use to communicate America's story to the world.

The U.S. Information Agency is in the communications business. We seek to tell others something about the kind of men who inhabit America. Our purpose is to associate this people and this government with the hopes and aspirations of other peoples. To do this we put to hopeful good effect every instrument of modern communication known to man.

We broadcast radio -- the Voice of America -- 789 hours every week in 36 languages daily. For special events coverage, such as the orbiting of Gordon Cooper, we broadcast in up to 62 languages. Every week, for use on overseas domestic stations translated into their native languages, our posts place locally 14,000 hours of taped broadcasting. We do not pay for this time.

We make moving pictures. Six hundred million people a month see USIA films produced in 52 languages.

We produce television, placing over 500 programs every year in 61 countries.

We are in the press business. We send a wireless news file transmitting 10,000 words daily to over 100 world posts. We print newspapers and magazines -- 66 magazines and 20 newspapers in 25 languages. We have a world wide photo service, last year placing a million and a half pictures in newspapers around the world. We print pamphlets and cartoon strips -- over a million pamphlets last year, and five cartoon strips published in 87 countries -- including one that is the most widely read printed feature in the world.

We produce travelling exhibits, some 300 of them in continual use around the globe.

We publish books - five million of them last year, many of them in foreign translations, but not near enough.

We run libraries and binational centers -- 182 libraries in 88 countries and 159 binational centers, with approximately 30 million people visiting them each year.

We teach English, having instructed over a million persons since 1953. We are teaching English in classrooms to nearly one quarter million people this year. English lessons by television reach millions more.

In conjunction with the Department of State, we administer the education and cultural exchange program -- helping some 5,000 students, leaders, and teachers every year to experience our country for themselves.

We work in private cooperation with U.S. business firms, with hundreds of separate concerns sending material to their thousands of representatives working abroad.

And this is all done by some 1,500 Americans and 7,000 foreign nationals working overseas, backed up by 2,500 Americans in this country, with our Agency budget last year of $131.6 million.

Our client is, of course, in advertising terms, the United States of America. More particularly, it is the government of the United States acting in behalf of the people of this land. Our client demands, and we owe him, only our very best.

We are on the ground in 104 different countries. Some of these countries are directly opposed in varying degrees one to the other: India and Pakistan, Israel and the Arab States, the Congo and South Africa, yet we must operate in them all.

The message we convey to them is not a simple one. Ours is a land of the multiple ideology. Democracy is not simple but complex. We allow, even encourage, dissent. Variety is our hallmark. We have made it a national credo not to have one belief, one rationale, one guide, one dogma. We have made a veritable dogma of having no dogma.

Thus it is that our Agency has been the recipient of great volumes of advice. The political scientist, the professor, the student, the researcher, the

sociologist, the psychologist, the anthropologist, the newspaperman, the broadcaster, the businessman, the sales manager, the manufacturer, the diplomat, the advertiser, the public relations man, the missionary, the writer -- they all say they have answers for our business of propaganda. And, in truth, some do have some of the answer. But the very variety of source and suggestion is enough to suggest that no one person has a monopoly on the how of understanding the United States.

As a people, we prefer it this way. We would suspicion any man who suggests he has a monopoly on what to be or how to think or what to say. When someone comes forth to assert such, the American experience puts the lie to his assertion.

Our concern is with the idea and the ideal. We cannot gauge our success by sales. No profit and loss statement sums up our operations at the end of each year. No cash register rings when a man changes his mind, no totals are rung up on people impressed with an idea. There is no market listing of the rise or fall in the going rate of belief in an ideal. Often, one's best work may be merely to introduce doubt into minds already firmly committed. There are no tallies to total or sums to surmise when you've finished a day of explaining disarmament or discussing with the disenchanted the hope of an Alliance for Progress.

In short, gentlemen, our job is far different from selling a product to a single mass market. We are not selling America abroad. America is not for sale. Sloganeering and boasting of cars and washing machines is a product of the past. How much food and how many refrigerators we have in America is hardly a persuasive message to men who have no food either to refrigerate or to eat.

As you know, ours is an independent agency reporting directly to the President and receiving its budget through Congressional appropriations. We have no constituency, our work begins at the water's edge, our results are frequently intangible, we generally receive domestic publicity when we make a mistake. Our budget can be cut with political impunity for no trade union, no arms manufacturer, no lobby will bring pressure to bear upon Congress on our behalf.

To do our job, we require people and money.

We do not know how much the communist world spends for propaganda and information. USIA has tried to estimate the size of the Soviet propaganda effort

worldwide, but has found it impossible to strike a reliable estimate. But a study published by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary in 1960 estimated, and I quote: "The various forms of communist propaganda throughout the world involve a personnel of about 500,000 and an annual expenditure of approximately $2,000,000,000..."

I quote further: "It can be said that Moscow (with slight aid from Peking) spends $2 a year per free man to be subjugated. To grasp the magnitude of this figure expressing the scope of the political war Moscow wages against us, we should remark that an American Senate Committee has estimated the sums allocated by the United States to world propaganda at one and a quarter cents per person per year. If the budgets of all other free countries are added the total hardly comes to two cents.

"On this point the Soviet effort is roughly 100 times as great as that of all the rest of the world." End of quotation.

Yesterday we received the verdict on the U.S. Information Agency budget from the House of Representatives. We had asked for a total appropriation for Fiscal 1964 of $157.9 million. We were given $142.7 million, $15 million less than we had requested.

The House Appropriations Committee report stated, "No additional positions have been allowed except for the Voice of America..." That means a personnel ceiling -- a freeze.

We were allowed $110,000 to cover all representation and contact work by our officers in 239 posts in 104 countries. That breaks down to $75 per man per year. Not infrequently some of that money is used to entertain visiting Congressmen who later deny requests for money for entertainment. For the Agency's use in Washington, we were allowed $500 a year to entertain foreign cabinet ministers, prominent journalists and the heads of visiting delegations.

Another figure may illustrate the point. The Russians attempt to jam the broadcasts of the free world. Were we to maintain and operate a jamming system equivalent to theirs, it would cost us $150,000,000 a year. The budget of the Voice of America is $23 million.

Let me share with you what we may have to face eliminating. Latin America and Africa are our two prime areas of concern.

In Latin America we asked for $10,747,000 to cover our operations in 23 countries. The United States, in concert with the other American republics, seeks in Latin America a social revolution across the span of an entire continent within the time of a few years without resort to violence. In all the noble deeds of man best chronicled by history there are no examples of success on so comparable a scale.

The modest commitment of our Agency's resources to this effort may have to be pared. We had plans for more films to show the failures of communism, to relate the Castro experience as part of a world wide pattern of failure.

We planned films in addition to those already done to illumine the concept of the Alliance for Progress, films that would emphasize the self-help of Latins and the need for participation not just by governments alone but by people as well. But we shall probably not have enough dollars to tell the story to the extent we consider adequate and necessary.

We had plans to open branch posts this year. We have opened nine in the past two years. Their purpose is to move more of our operation to the people outside the capital cities, to tell our story to the people in the lonely bayous as well as those on the crowded beaches. This we may have to defer.

We have pioneered a new concept of reaching critically important groups: labor information officers and student affairs specialists. They live with workers and students, learning their thoughts and their problems, and then trying to relate what is good in America to what is needed in these countries. They have established contact, they have gained the confidence of these people, and now they need the material to support their efforts: new books, new printed matter, new films, new television, new ideas. Supplying them the back-up they need is now in question.

Or take Africa. We are staffing today 56 posts in 33 countries. Five years ago we were in only 16 countries.

Our role in Africa is complicated by that "nationhood explosion", by great distances, infinite variety, and constant challenges of climate and culture. We have the burden of explaining America's race problem to an African continent acutely aware that our Negro citizens are of African origin. We are pressed to explain that we are not racist, that quite to the contrary the government and majority of this country support the Negro movement to progress. But we must explain as well the difficulties of moving fast, the limits of the law in a land that respects law. The phenomenon of social change has to be explored in considerable depth by all the means at our disposal.

There is considerable belief that we are a country of extreme conservatism, that we cannot accommodate social change, that we have no consideration for the development of the rest of the world, that we have never grown beyond what is essentially a 19th century society.

The increase we had requested in Africa was only $1.8 million. What had we planned to do with it?

We must reach the African, setting forth U.S. policy in terms the African can understand and appreciate. We had hoped to set up a regional printing center to produce material covering African-U.S. exchanges of people, AID economic assistance programs, setting forth aspects of U.S. history and institutions relevant to Africa, pointing out common elements of our heritage.

We had hopes of a series of documentary films on how the United States is aiding Africa in the formidable task of educating a continent of people who see education as their springboard into the 20th Century. We would have filmed AID construction for the University and colleges in Ethiopia, or the vocational training school in Guinea. Or films on Food for Peace programs, where the U.S. has averted famine and provided jobs. This, too, is an aspect of the United States concern worth telling to the Africans.

We wanted as well to open information centers in five new areas of Africa. What the magic of space is to this country, the magic of education is to Africa. We want to reach the moon; they want to reach their own minds. These new centers would have provided books and libraries and equipment to tell the story of the United States to Africa's leaders of tomorrow being trained today. Two of these would have been in Nigeria where the U.S. investment of interest is great and two others would have been in the Congo, a country still living in the shadow of its own crisis.

Or take the Far East. Our Agency there is deeply involved in the psychological struggle that will determine Asia's future for good or ill. We have committed ourselves and our energies to assist people to understand the alternatives and to make the decisions that will point to freedom. Further, there is a shooting war in Vietnam where our country has committed high stakes of national interest.

USIA is literally in the front lines there. We have mobile information teams, accompanied by a doctor, which circulate the countryside visiting villages, gathering the leaders and assembling the people, discussing and treating their needs both medical and psychological, seeking to tie the country together and rousing interest in their own self-betterment. We are in the strategic hamlets with newspapers and pamphlets and films and radios, with guidance and instruction and advice for a sorely tried people. We use helicopters for access, not buying them ourselves but going piggyback in those of other agencies whenever the need is great enough.

At Hong Kong we have a Center gathering information from the Chinese communist mainland and disseminating that information for world wide use. From there we feed material back for the Voice of America to broadcast to the mainland;

we feed material for our wireless file to convey to the 104 countries of USIA operation around the world; we produce Chinese language radio programs for placement in South Asia and run a Chinese book translation program for one of the key political audiences in Southeast Asia, the millions of overseas Chinese who live in other countries of the area.

Or regard some of the particular media we use. Television grows enormously. Last year close to two new television transmitters came on the air somewhere in the world every single day -- Saturdays and Sundays included. The appetite of overseas transmitters for product is voracious. They make no charge for time. They get no payment for carrying our programs. To gain similar access to such a burgeoning communication instrument, the Russians would pay -- how many millions would you guess? USIA gets the air time free. But we may not be able to make our best efforts to use it.

Our Television Service last year spent $3.9 million. To meet the expansion of world TV, we asked to add $3 million more, and to add new personnel to meet the new demand. But instead we received an unsympathetic response and a personnel ceiling for the Agency at its present level.

This means that two new studio facilities being constructed to replace our primitive facilities would not be staffed properly. Additional production over 1963 would be curtailed.

A regional TV production center in Mexico City would be out.

The most popular TV series this Agency has ever done, "Let's Learn English" and "Let's Speak English," would be cut to one-half its planned production.

Our ability to do timely and high quality video-taped and filmed programs on major issues and themes -- such as the President's two recent speeches on peace and integration -- would be reduced by three-fourths.

Acquisitions from commercial networks and cooperative programs with private and educational producers would be at less than one-third that proposed for 1964.

Successful current programs would have to continue at the current level despite requests that would permit an increase of both quality and quantity; Japanese television, for example, has requested that our "Washington Report" be produced every week instead of the present every two week schedule. They will probably have to be refused.

Additional programs for Africa, the Near East, and East Europe, where output is now low, would likely not come to fruition.

Or take our Press Service. Our Arabic magazine for the Middle East, Al Hayat, could not go to production every month as we had proposed; it may have to stay a bi-monthly. Or consider America Illustrated, our Russian and Polish language magazine. Russians have been seen in block-long lines at kiosks to buy the magazine in the dead of winter. The Russians tightly control the number of copies they permit us to sell, but our agreement with them may permit us nearly to double our print run. The increases we requested would have covered the cost of doing this.

This Agency has spearheaded the intelligent use of the motion picture in the national interest to a degree unprecedented in the United States with the possible exception of World War II. This development has taken place in the last year. Its success is evidenced by the response from overseas as well as by the favorable appraisal of the effort by the press, officials in government, and members of the Congress.

Now that USIA has put the government in the position of having the operating potential to make use of American film-making resources, it is indeed a setback to receive a vote of no confidence from the House of Representatives. On last year's limited production budget, we produced examples of what might be done in various fields with motion pictures. In Fiscal Year 1964 we had expected to have funds available to put America's most talented film-makers to work on themes of priority importance. The necessary funds included an increase in per-picture costs and an increase in the number of pictures.

We intended to treat such issues as America's racial challenge in a series of films which would explain to the world this most basic of American problems. We wanted to do 30 films on subjects such as Disarmament and the need for a Test Ban, Progress through Freedom on the U.S. social scene, the results of communism. The budget cuts may slice this plan in half.

Of great significance is our book program -- significant because, in a world awakening to the revolution of education, books and the access to knowledge will guide the minds of those new literates who will dream great dreams. The communists are aware of this. Last year they published 40,000,000 volumes in non-bloc languages. They caused to be published around the world another 100 million. USIA last year published five million. This year we asked for funds to publish some three million more, particularly in Spanish and Portuguese for Latin America where we have managed to build a modest momentum. The House appropriation could hold us at our present level. And our modest goal was for eight million next year against their 140 million this year.

Of course, all these things I mention -- and they are but a partial list -- will not have to be eliminated. But all have varying degrees of urgency, and the restrictive judgment of the House of Representatives forces us to painful choices in which some national interest must be compromised and some precious national opportunities cannot be seized.

Most people in this country never know of our Agency unless it gets into trouble. Learn of us now, because we're in trouble now.

We had asked for a budget increase that we thought we could spend effectively and efficiently. We want only the tools of our trade. We shall try to restore the cuts in the Senate.

Either the House of Representatives believes in the potency of ideas and the importance of information or it does not. On the record, it does not so believe. It is the function of the Congress to decide these matters. It is the duty of those concerned with this global struggle, however, to utter warnings as to the consequences that may be expected to flow from a policy which denies the United States the opportunity to compete on equal terms. Money alone won't do it -- the propaganda of the deed is more important that the propaganda of the word. But we must be heard and we must be read, particularly by those in the emerging nations who are examining old ideas and new allegiances. If we fail, history will take its revenge.

The United States Information Agency is not a perfect instrument, but it is maturing and its product is improving. It is the government agency charged with the responsibility of exporting ideas and information. More money will not guarantee success, but insufficient money will threaten failure.

We are being out-spent, out-published, and out-broadcast. We are a first-rate power. We must speak with a first-rate voice abroad.

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Release No. 26

FOR RELEASE AT 9 P.M. EDT, MONDAY, JULY 1, 1963

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the National Education Association
Cobo Hall, Detroit, Michigan, July 1, 1963

You are very kind to permit me to share with you my thoughts on your role as educators and the U.S. Information Agency's role as an educational instrument. We are both engaged in man's honored pursuit of his future by training tomorrow's leaders today.

Three weeks ago today, in his historic address at American University, the President said "we have no more urgent task" than the pursuit of peace--the "rational end of rational men." He described this peace as the kind "that makes life on earth worth living--the kind that enables men and nations to grow and to hope and to build a better life for their children. Not merely peace for Americans but peace for all men and women. Not merely peace in our time but peace for all time."

You as educators of America's children, we in USIA as communicators with all the world, are side by side in the vanguard of this great effort. Our weapons are ideas; our battleground the human mind. More than 40 years ago, H. G. Wells prophetically observed that "human history becomes more and more a race between education and catastrophe." Hopefully, that race is only begun; conceivably it is nearing a flaming finish.

So it is that education, in its broadest sense, is a prime concern of the U.S. Information Agency. We seek to further an enlightened American foreign policy by telling others about the kind of men and women who inhabit this country--who we are, what we are, and why we are what we are. We seek to associate this people and this government with the high hopes and lofty aspirations of people everywhere. To do this, we put to hopeful good effect every instrument of modern communication and adult education we can muster.

We broadcast by shortwave -- the Voice of America -- 789 hours every week in 36 languages, and we place many thousands of hours weekly of recorded

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programs, in as many as 62 different languages, on local radio stations abroad.

We produce films. Some six hundred million people each month see USIA documentaries, which are distributed in 52 languages.

We employ television, placing over 500 programs every year in 61 countries.

We report America through printed word and photograph. Our wireless news file transmits 10,000 words daily to our offices abroad in 106 countries. These words from America are quickly translated into local languages and distributed to editors, educators, broadcasters, government officials and other opinion leaders.

On a given day, for example, we can provide our posts abroad with the text of a major policy statement by the President in advance of delivery so that -- even while he is speaking -- mimeograph machines from Oslo to Ouagadougou are running it off in the local languages. It is not easy to measure the lasting impact of such communication -- just as it is difficult to evaluate the force of a message in our own country -- but we do ensure at least that the American point of view is quickly and fully available for scrutiny.

We also published 66 magazines and 20 newspapers in 25 languages. Last year we placed a million and a half pictures in newspapers and periodicals around the world. We print pamphlets and cartoon strips -- over a million pamphlets last year, and five cartoon strips published in 87 countries -- including one that is the most widely read in the world. These too are means of reporting America and the American point of view persuasively.

We produce travelling exhibits, some 300 of them in continual use around the globe. These range from simple panel displays to multi-dimensional exhibits, covering subjects from elementary education to space exploration. In the past two years, for example, we have shown three major exhibits -- on plastics, transportation and medicine -- in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. These three exhibits alone have been seen by more than three million people behind the Iron Curtain.

We operate 182 libraries and 159 binational centers, and they attract some 30 million people each year.

We have taught English to over a million people since 1953, and are teaching millions more by modern techniques of instruction, including television.

In conjunction with the Department of State, we administer the Government's educational and cultural exchange program -- helping some 5,000 foreign students, leaders and teachers every year to experience this country for themselves, and sending their American counterparts abroad to study, speak and lecture.

Years will pass in many cases before the foreign student, brought to this country for a few months or a year, will put to effective use the benefits of his experience here. It is also a gamble, for other forces are at work on him

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and around him as he matures to a leading position in his own land. There is ample evidence, though, that the exchange program is one of our most useful bridges to understanding.

Also in conjunction with the State Department we encourage and sometimes sponsor the performance abroad of American music and theater.

We support and often initiate the establishment of Chairs of American Studies in foreign universities -- sometimes occupied by visiting Americans, sometimes by scholars of the foreign country. We promote the establishment of courses on all varieties of American subjects in foreign universities, and then support those courses with books and publications. In addition to producing educational materials -- both for print and for broadcast by television and radio -- we sponsor seminars, workshops, round table discussions, lectures, and readings.

This past year we have reached thousands of foreign teachers attending USIA-sponsored seminars. Our purpose is two-fold: we share new teaching techniques and we impart information about the United States. Interest is avid. One teacher in Brazil travelled 36 hours by river craft and 24 hours by train to reach a USIS seminar on English-teaching. Another seminar, conducted for advanced students in Thailand, attracted more than 1,700 Thais, and afterward drew this comment from one participating teacher: "This program has shown us that America is a force for peace in the world, and is very close to Thailand in feelings and heart."

English teaching is as popular as any other single thing we do overseas. We are teaching millions of people with a new television series, "Let's Learn English," now broadcast in 36 countries. In many countries it occupies the "prime" viewing hours; in Japan it is programmed twice during the day by competitive TV networks. In Vienna, the national network reports that the program is the most popular in the history of Austrian television. Fan mail has been received in volume even from behind the Iron Curtain where many can see the program on their sets.

We had this amusing letter from a middle aged man who, after taking his final examination, asked that he be graded leniently. He had watched "Let's Learn English" every night on a television set in a furniture store window. He said the boys who also watched it were rough and shoved him around -- and besides, it was hard work standing up and taking notes on the glass window!

We are emphasizing our activities with youth and students abroad, many of whom misunderstand us and oppose our foreign policy. We are attempting to reach young people who never before came to USIA unless they had rocks in their hands. We are not imitating the communist techniques of riotous demonstrations. We are after no student mobs chanting "USA, USA." Rather, are we trying to reach the hitherto "unreachables" and convince them that we stand with them in their efforts to modernize their societies, and that democracy and freedom can be effective instruments in solving their problems.

We work with U.S. business firms, with hundreds of separate companies

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sending material that explains our national policies to thousands of representatives abroad.

We publish and distribute millions of books abroad, many of them in foreign translation, but we do not yet publish nearly enough. We give or loan books to foreign schools, universities and other institutions, and to key individuals and organizations as well. We facilitate the distribution and sale of American books abroad through regular commercial channels.

And USIA has been the means whereby American publishers, local school systems and private citizens have put books to work for the United States abroad. Publishers have contributed 1,300 sets of the Encyclopedia Britannica, 200 sets of Great Books of the Western World, hundreds of world atlases, multi-language dictionaries, and children's books series. We have given free Book-of-the-Month subscriptions to 650 foreign libraries.

We have shipped some three million donated books abroad in the past three years to libraries and schools, among them 450,000 books from Kansas, 410,000 children's books from California, and great numbers from book drives in Chicago and Los Angeles.

But the hunger abroad for books and reading matter is so great that our Agency has undertaken a new project with the hope and expectation that the American people will respond: BOOKS USA.

We have arranged with the largest paperback publishers in the United States to offer packets of ten books for sale at no profit. The titles which make up these packets are selected by USIA; they include the classics of American literature, modern biography, economics, poetry, drama, history, and contemporary political science. For $4 anyone can now purchase a $5 packet of books. They will be shipped abroad and donated by our field posts to foreign schools and libraries.

I appreciate that worthy projects abound, but may I urge that schools, through student organizations, clubs, or faculty groups, consider conducting drives for BOOKS USA. A note to us in Washington will bring prompt response and, if needed, advice and assistance.

When we first announced this plan to our overseas posts, one of the first replies came from Indonesia, enclosing checks from all the American employees of USIS Djakarta with the comment: "It is difficult to imagine a number adequate to reach the saturation point of effective and useful distribution."

Our post in Manila reports that USIS Philippines is besieged by requests from hundreds of the 28,000 Philippine elementary schools with an aggregate enrollment of more than four million pupils.

After distributing 83,000 primary school readers among the schools of

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nine West Indian islands, our man in Trinidad was told by a teacher with glistening eyes: "For the first time each child will have a book all his own."

To share the reading and education bounty of this country in the pursuit of peace is what we seek. I earnestly solicit your cooperation. The need is great, the competition fierce. Insidious ideologies are bidding for the allegiance of minds and hearts mired deep in the misery that afflicts so much of the human race.

Both we and the communists have made similar commentary on man's modern misery. Both we and they use the same words to address the world: peace, food, good health, houses, love, friendship, mothers and children, the future. If our words are the same, where are our differences?

The difference is over our concept of what at base a man is and may become. The difference is over what our two systems do to human and natural resources. The difference is over the concern each has for the destiny and the dignity of each individual in its society.

Thus it is our adversary who debases destiny, who foreswears freedom, who demeans the dignity of humanity. It is we who have chosen to take our stand on the side of hope, and to proclaim that the only shackles we wear are the limits to which we dare push our dreams.

It has thus come as grave disappointment to me that, at a time when demands are so great and there are needs that cry to be filled, the House of Representatives of the Congress has seen fit to pare the budget request of our Agency.

This vote of indifference comes simultaneously with evidence of great concern in Moscow at the success of the USIA. In the past days, both in the ideological plenum of the Soviet Communist Party and in leading Party publications there has been voiced a chorus of consternation at the growing effectiveness of our Agency.

Trud, the official labor organ in Russia, described USIA as, and I quote, "a perfect example of an instrument for poisoning the minds of the people with deceitful propaganda." Unquote. The principal journal of the Central committee, Kommunist, charged that USIA, and I quote again, "uses the entire arsenal of the means of mass influence over the minds of men." Unquote. Komsomolskaya Pravda, the daily mentor of Russian communist youth, called our officers in Africa, and I quote again, "specialists in the psychological seasoning and the ideological corruption of the population." Unquote.

In the Soviet Plenum, Party First Secretary Leonid Ilichov contended, and here another quotation, that "Western imperialists have seen the folly of relying on military or economic superiority to subdue the Socialist world and have instead turned to psychological and ideological warfare." Unquote.

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We accept that challenge. I came to Washington relishing the prospect of this combat. And given proper support, I am confident of our ultimate success.

There is, indeed, good reason for the Soviets to be concerned. But I must admit to deep dismay that the House of Representatives does not appear to share the urgency of the challenge and our nation's response to it. At a time when we have geared ourselves to a greater effort -- both in quality and quantity -- to follow up the initial successes we have had, the House has determined to restrain us. Not to recognize an opportunity is a shame -- to recognize it but fail to respond in full measure is dangerous.

We asked of the Congress this year $157.9 million. We were given $142.7 million -- $15 million less than needed. The Committee added what amounted to a personnel ceiling for the Agency.

I told the Appropriations Committee when I appeared that we did "not inflate our requests in anticipation of reductions." The Committee was aware that as our Agency operated solely abroad we have no constituency to complain of injury, no pressure group to press our case, no arms manufacturer to intervene on our behalf, no organized lobby to serve as advocate.

Why is the present sum insufficient? We operate in a dangerous world where crisis is the norm, not the exception. But coping with crisis is by no means our sole function. Reflecting with fidelity what manner of man it is who inhabits this country is our most basic preoccupation. We seek to share the American experience and the American message with others abroad, not in idle hope of emulation but because from such dialogue can and must come compatibility and understanding. The alternative has been described by some as the unthinkable.

I stress the word fidelity because we cannot report an America that does not exist even if we would. USIA is but one of many means for telling of our achievements and our dreams, as well as of our inadequacies and our shortcomings. Foreign journalists and visitors, our own film makers and our television networks, our authors and newsmen and tourists, missionaries, businessmen, young Americans studying abroad -- all contribute to the view of America from abroad. What we say about the United States can thus be easily compared to the reporting of others. We must tell the truth, because it is right and because we must be believable.

I hardly need insist that our word cannot be better than our deed. It is what we do, far more than what we say, that will determine what other people think about America.

In the months to come, we shall either have real progress to report in the field of race relations in the United States, or we shall be obliged to try to explain failure. We shall be able, in truth, to tell the world that Americans are faithful to our tradition of personal involvement to achieve justice for all -- or we

shall be obliged to report that a tradition which fathered such great achievement has foundered in unconcern and indifference.

What we say about this aspect of American life in the months to come will depend on what you and other community leaders will do. Our reporting will mirror your response to the personal challenge of making this a land of truly equal opportunity for all.

USIA has been assigned by the President and the Congress a specific and important role in the conduct of American foreign affairs. We are expected to compete with a massive communist campaign of distortion and denigration. We are expected to explain the United States and its policies. A significant part of that task is to communicate something of the American educational process, and thereby to share the fruits of your experience with those similarly engaged abroad. Yet our annual worldwide budget, funding all our activities, is about one-third the annual expenditure of the University of California and barely more than that spent each year by the city school system here in Detroit.

We sought a budget increase which we believe we could spend effectively and efficiently. To do our job we need the tools of our trade. We shall seek to restore the cuts in the Senate.

Either the United States Congress believes in the potency of ideas and the worth of information, or it does not. Congress has the duty to determine the measure of expenditure. But it is also the responsibility of those of us charged specifically and personally with the program to warn what may occur as result of shoe-string financing. I would be derelict were I not to take notice that the effort to speak for the United States abroad has been short-changed. More money alone will not promise us success, but inadequate money may well threaten failure.

We are a great power and are expected to render great leadership. We cannot expect miracles to flow from the folly of frugality.

I am aware that I depart from tradition in discussing these matters in this forum. The alternative is to try to "make do" with inadequate funds. The Congress appropriates the money but we shall all share the consequences.

In running "the race between education and catastrophe" of which Wells spoke, we must not forget that "the race is to the swift; the battle to the strong." If slowed and weakened by lack of money, this country's worldwide information program cannot maintain the pace required for victory.

I recognize that the U. S. Information Agency is not a perfect instrument but it is improving, as the complaints of our competitors confirm. If it is the decision of the Congress that we should continue to be out-spent, out-published and out-broadcast, then that is the way it will be. I do not believe that is the way the American people want it to be.

* * * * * * *

(Excellent material)

'We Gather to Pay Tribute . . .'

(Last month Director Murrow spoke at USIA's 7th annual Honor Awards ceremony. Following is the text of his remarks.)

Sept, 1963 — Murrow "Swan song"

This once-a-year pageantry is, I think, one of our better indulgences. The pace of our work, the multiplicity of our jobs, the variety of our tasks all conspire to confine to rare occasions those opportunities when many of us can gather to meet with our colleagues.

This occasion today is both rare and fitting. We gather to pay tribute to those among us whose contribution this past year to our common effort has risen to uncommon heights. In view of the competence I find among you and the general level of accomplishment in USIA, I deem these awards high praise indeed.

Our appropriation hearings before the Senate will start in the next week. As you of course know, I have made protest both public and private at the insufficiency of consideration given us by the House of Representatives. We plan appeal of such matters to the Senate, and I shall not burden you with consideration of those issues here other than to make comment upon one peripheral matter.

We have a job to do

There have been comments in the press of recent date over my imminent departure from this Agency, spurred perhaps by the enthusiasm of those who urge my retirement to the anonymity they contend I so richly deserve. I have never dignified such speculation by replying to it. But here among the Agency family I want merely to remark that I am no stranger to disappointment. We have a job to do, you and I together. If we fail in our efforts to secure adequate financing this year, we'll try again next year. I take it that it is part of my job to create a climate in which creative people can work and to provide you with the tools required for the job.

This has been a busy year for our Agency. Last fall, we mobilized our resources to play a vital supporting role in the confrontation over the intrusion of Soviet missiles into Cuba. Last spring, we inaugurated a whole new complex of shortwave transmitters in North Carolina—a complex that doubled the power of the Voice of America. In May, we mobilized our resources again to tell the world of the feat of Astronaut Gordon Cooper—and we helped achieve for this event a greater dramatic impact overseas than had been recorded for any previous space flight.

That this should have been a busy and successful year is appropriate, for it marked the completion of the first decade of USIA as an independent Agency. As many of the veterans among you know, USIA has matured and strengthened immensely during these tumultuous past ten years. Thanks to the contribution of each of you and of your colleagues at our posts throughout the world, it has become a highly effective national instrument to gain overseas understanding and support for United States policies.

I have been with you for but a quarter of this past decade. In this time I have found our colleagues to possess professional skills and a degree of dedication unsurpassed either in the Government or in the private sector. I have said I would be willing to have our people compete with their counterparts outside the Government in news gathering, radio, television, publishing, exhibits and other callings.

Expertise in the art of communications, and in the even more delicate art of persuasion, is not easy to come by. Products and techniques that succeed easily in one place are sometimes barren in another. Neither is it easy to accommodate to languages, climates and cultures far different from our own. Both professionally and personally, it has been most gratifying to see at first hand the work of our officers and staffs on the three continents I have so far been able to visit. It has been equally gratifying to witness the effective use they make abroad of the materials we here in Washington produce for them.

Our mandate from the President

We cannot know what the future holds. We do know, however, that change is the only constant in world affairs. And we know our Agency is charged with helping to fashion that change. The mandate we have from the President clearly tells us what it is he wants of us on behalf of the American people.

He wants specific effort in specific areas —both geographical and conceptual. He expects us to do the things that diplomacy and force alone cannot—to change the minds of men in their best interests and in ours.

He has not charged us to win a total ideological war nor to win all the lesser ideological arguments. He expects us to apply our best efforts to succeed in those areas where it is possible for us to succeed, and in those areas that are essential to our national interests.

This calls for a continual evaluation of our techniques and our output—day

(Continued on page 13)

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MURROW AWARDS SPEECH

(Continued from page10)

by day, and tool by tool. It calls for a sharper cutting edge rather than a wider swing. And as we prove our worth with what we have, it will become easier to justify what we need.

In the continuing contest with communism, we know that our adversary is concerned at our growing success. The past weeks have echoed a whole range of outrage and dismay from behind the Iron Curtain—dismay at the ebbing effectiveness of the voices of totalitarianism, outrage at the quickening flow of light we are bringing to truth once obscured in dark places.

During the past six months, the work of this Agency has been subjected to more sustained high-level attack by Communist spokesmen than at any time in its history. We should all be somewhat proud of this. It is a tribute to our increasing effectiveness. Communist spokesmen repeatedly have said there is to be no ideological co-existence. This means continued and accelerated competition in the peaceful confrontation of ideas. This is a competition we welcome.

The coalition of communism is not our only adversary. Even were its energies dissipated and its voices mute, this Agency would continue to be charged with a great responsibility. We still would have the mission abroad of combating ignorance and fear, suspicion and prejudice. This struggle, as you well know, will not be won in a single day, or a single decade. It is long-term indeed, perhaps permanent. Only our best efforts and fortitude will guarantee that we will not fail. Scoffers think that a free world is only a dream. They are right. It is the American dream. And we in this Agency are helping to make it come true.

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(Murrow's last speech (read for him).

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USIA

FOR RELEASE AT 12:30 P.M. EDT, THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 26, 1963

Address by
Edward R. Murrow, Director, U.S. Information Agency
before the National Convention of the Federal Bar Association
Sheraton Hotel, Philadelphia, Pa., September 26, 1963

Permit me, Mr. Mayor, a brief word of thanks to you and your companion hosts for this honor you pay me. Traditionally in the past when a layman such as myself heard from counsel it was first to tell me what I should not say, and then, in recognition of this sage advice, to advise me what I should pay. I should comment only by observing that I often followed such intrepid invitations to boldness by silence. Today, however, I respond to invitation by counsel with a rejoinder in appreciation. I am grateful for your consideration.

You are lawyers. I today am a propagandist. And therein lies a happy commonality. Words are the stock in trade of us both. We both deal with human aspirations, and with that point at which human aspirations are in conflict. We each seek a meeting of the minds. You speak judiciously for justice; we speak fervently for freedom. But both of us are advocates in a cause for a position. To a degree, we both submit our brief to a jury of our peers, and the decisions they reach are necessarily judgments by which we both must abide.

I feel then that I am not talking to total strangers when I mention something of what the U.S. Information Agency is about.

Our Agency operates in a difficult, not too well defined area. Our function is to explain the policies and practices of this government and this people overseas. We embrace a multitude of disciplines and professions. We employ all the media of communication known to modern man: radio, television, movies, press, book publishing, exhibits and the arts. We are involved in an entire range of problems: a press run in Beirut, an exhibition in Turin, a stage performance in Munich and radio relays in Colombo. From a news telecast in Bogota to a sound-tracked film strip in Paris to a book typeset in Manila -- upon all the myriad of details we initiate, we create, we facilitate.

Even more important we must deal amidst the intangibles: the difficult, delicate human art of persuasion. For by word of mouth, by cultivated personal

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contact abroad, we seek to persuade others of the rightness of our view and that our actions and our goals are in harmony with theirs.

We deal not only in communications but also in policy. We articulate and distribute not advertising for cigarettes and soap suds but clarifications of government policy and deeds. And we speak in many languages to many peoples of vastly differing cultures and styles, of vastly differing levels of comprehension. We must deal also with the very considerable pre-conditioning foreigners have had to the image and the ideas of America. We must deal with the realities of their fears, their concerns, their stereotypes -- however unjustified, their existence is real -- of the product we promote: the actions and the hopes of the United States.

We have had occasion to be together in the past, lawyers and my Agency. One of our prouder present projects is called "Law Books, USA," undertaken in cooperation with the Foundation of the Federal Bar Association. This is a project whereby private citizens, just as they would buy a CARE package, may buy a packet of books on the law. USIA posts abroad will then distribute those books to libraries, lawyers, legislators, judges, and students. For $8 one buys these 7 books:

"Spirit of Liberty," by Learned Hand.

"The Nature of the Judicial Process," by Benjamin Cardozo.

"Talks on American Law," by Harold J. Berman.

"Brandeis Reader," by Erwin Pollack.

"Equal Justice Under Law," by Carroll Moreland.

"American Constitution Reader," by Robert McKay.

"American Jurisprudence Reader," by Thomas Cowan.

Under a non-profit scheme, only $8 will put this packet encompassing America's judicial genius into the vortex of intense curiosity overseas as to what our institutions and people are like. Purchases, if sent to the Foundation of The Federal Bar Association (1815 H Street, N. W.) in Washington, D. C., are tax deductible. I earnestly solicit your participation.

Lawyers and USIA have other contact as well. The Conference on World Peace Through Law in Athens this summer past was the subject of attention and coverage in all of our world-wide media. Several participants there -- Chief Justice Warren, Judge Thurgood Marshall, and Civil Rights Commission Staff Director Berl Bernhard -- followed this with a tour of several countries in Africa. Reports from our posts abroad were impressive in terms of the impact on Africans with whom they spoke.

Marshall capsuled it nicely in responding to a question as to why he had

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come to Africa. He said they were there on a sort of educational-cultural exchange for the United States, that this country "...had sent Louis Armstrong to toot, Harry Belafonte to sing, and us lawyers to talk."

Mr. Chairman, I am neither a tooter nor a singer. Neither am I a lawyer. And as I am aware that a much talking bureaucrat is like an ill-tuned instrument, I fear I may yet give you occasion to reflect on the propriety of your invitation to me.

Other sources tell me that Marshall lived up to his self-professed credentials as a talker in Africa. At a question-and-answer session following a talk to a highly receptive audience, Marshall had been badgered by several incessant communist student questioners. One followed him from the hall, grabbing at his sleeve and arguing in a loud voice, until Marshall finally turned in exasperation: "I've answered your questions. What do you want of me now?" The haughty student said in a loud voice: "Take a message to the Supreme Court. Tell them to take seriously their responsibility in race relations." The irrepressible Marshall, somewhat struck by this, thundered back: "Good. And now take a message to yourself. Tell yourself to go straight to hell."

The student, I am told, appeared at no more sessions.

Race relations, I am told, took up the conversations of these gentlemen to the near exclusion of almost everything else. Mr. Bernhard mentions, for example, that in Ethiopia Chief Justice Warren's sessions with judges and lawyers, his press conferences and public appearances, must have concerned themselves 90% of the time with America's racial problem.

It may surprise you to learn that foreign peoples are so concerned with our domestic difficulty. It is no surprise to those of us who work with foreign affairs. There is no other single subject month in and month out that so consistently occupies the cares and curiosities of other peoples about the United States. Putting John Glenn into orbit puts his name in every headline in the world. But James Meredith may be as well known around the world, and that while America's space sensations rise and fall in world attention, America's race relations seem to remain in the undiminished spotlight.

It is not then mere bold assertion to state that in the field of civil rights and racial relations our Agency, speaking in behalf of the people of this country, has its greatest difficulty. Events here plague us over there. When the Honorable G. L. Mehta, the former Ambassador of India to the United States, was refused service in a Texas restaurant due to his color, it is no answer to say to Indians that unfortunately the Ambassador was mistaken for a Negro.

An official foreign diplomatic visitor was greeted at the Washington airport on his first trip to the United States. He gave his welcome to his host with eyes fixed firmly on the ground. When asked why he persisted in staring at a spot in front of his feet, the diplomat answered, "I am afraid I shall see a white woman.

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When a man of color looks at a white woman in America mobs of white people may tear him to pieces."

Or take the African Cabinet Minister who with a full day of appointments in Washington cancelled everything to go to Mississippi for the funeral of the slain civil rights leader Medgar Evers. To him that was the most important place in this country on that day.

Or the African student who deliberately provoked having service refused him in a restaurant due to his color so that he could have a feeling of camaraderie and understand what it is like to be an American Negro.

These, of course, relate to foreigners in our country. The responsibility of my Agency is the obverse of this: lands where we Americans are foreigners and other peoples are the hosts.

At a time not of our choosing we have been cast as custodian of man's right to self determine his freedom. It is not a role we have sought. Having shouldered it, we do not now shirk it.

Its import is that in country after country we have a responsibility of awesome sobriety. With responsibility comes renown. Privacy has become a privilege of the past. Ours is now the fishbowl world where we become the focus of many men's attention and curiosity.

How they see us conduct ourselves may well deeply influence how they choose to conduct themselves in relation to us and our Communist adversary.

My Agency's responsibility is to translate the policies and practices of this government into terms meaningful to the foreigner. But how does one pursue this task when, as occurred with one of our foreign service officers, an explanation to an African official was interrupted by the cutting query: "Why are you trying to kill my people in Mississippi?"

What does one do when the foreign minister of a country opens a meeting with a USIA officer by commenting that he came to America believing in our ideals and heritage of a free land, but lost that belief on confronting the reality of racial discrimination here. He has returned to his country, in his own words, bitterly disillusioned with the United States. How well does one then continue the business of diplomacy or politics with that foreign minister?

Or take the example of an English language teacher in a leftist African country where students week after week carpingly criticize America's racial dilemma. After some nine months the students finally acknowledged the fact of progress as reported by the USIA teacher and commended the United States for it. The next morning headlines carried the name of James Meredith and two men killed in the rioting in Mississippi. That very day the students quietly condemned the teacher: "You lied. We no longer have confidence in you or the United States."

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All these examples occurred in Africa. But reactions to race difficulties are not a problem only in Africa. They plague us in Europe, they assault us in Latin America, they bedevil us in the Far East, they in short mock every virtue that we tell others the United States stands for. Wherever men have ears to hear and eyes to see and read they learn that USIA words sometimes fall short of USA deeds.

Put yourself in the following hypothetical circumstances. You are an American citizen serving with USIA abroad. It is Monday morning, September 16, a date recent enough for us to recall the headlines. These are some of the hypothetical things that might have happened to USIA around the world:

In Tokyo a USIA Cultural Affairs Officer is speaking at the opening day of a Japanese university. He talks of the dynamics of U.S. democracy and stresses that the United States, like Japan, is addressing itself to the solution of mutual problems. The students pour from auditorium to street where newsboys run toward them crying the morning lead: "Birmingham Church Bombing Kills Four Negro Children in America."

In Rio de Janeiro a USIA press officer is conferring with a features editor of the Sunday paper. He has brought the Brazilian editor a picture layout on the improved status of minorities in the United States. The editor is interrupted by a copy boy bringing in tear sheets from the wire services with this bulletin lead on top: "Birmingham Church Bombing Kills Four Negro Children in America."

In Cairo a USIA magazine with a Negro on the cover sits on a newsstand. The magazine carries an important story for Egyptian readers on progress of the American Negro. Next to it is a local paper with the black headline: "Birmingham Church Bombing Kills Four Negro Children in America."

In Rangoon is a USIA exhibit set up for the Burmese Bar Association. Its subject: "Man's Vast Future." It has the sub-theme, "We Inherit the Past; We Earn the Future." Burmese lawyers are walking through observing this pictorial evidence of the brotherhood of man and the common aspirations and motivations of our two countries. A Marxist oriented lawyer enters with a pleased expression and holds up a local newspaper headline, "Birmingham Church Bombing Kills Four Negro Children in America."

In Istanbul a USIA radio program placed on local Turkish stations is carrying a panel discussion by three teachers and professors just returned from an exchange visit on which USIA sent them to the United States. They are talking about America's racial progress and democracy in action when suddenly the program is interrupted by an announcer with a news bulletin: "Birmingham Church Bombing Kills Four Negro Children in America."

In Lagos a USIA library, used by hundreds of Nigerian college students daily has a near full house with students at every table using American books, source material, and periodicals. At a far table one student with a transistor radio quiets his comrades and turns up the volume for the whole room to hear the

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same bulletin on "Four Negro Children Killed in American Church Bombing."

In Caracas a television station has just finished broadcasting to the Venezuelan capital a USIA TV show on the progressive social institutions of a democracy in action. The news show immediately following opens with a lead announcement on "Four Negro Children Killed in American Church Bombing."

These hypothetical incidents could, in fact, have happened to any of our USIA officers in scores of capitals around the world.

Several morals flow from them. U.S. racial violence is top news the world round. The good name and repute of this country is being blackened and defamed. To all of us, this is distressingly, inescapably true.

I should not, however, leave you with the impression that racial disturbances are deplorable because they make USIA's job abroad difficult. Difficulties, after all, are what we are sent abroad to engage, and in the total sum of how this nation fares the good or ill fortune of my Agency is of but small consequence.

But I believe that these are testing times, and that we are being now measured against the yardstick of the very ideals we ourselves created. It is true that a curious world waits to see if a nation so constituted as we can constitutionally solve the commitment of our Constitution to equal rights for all our citizenry. But the reason we attempt racial progress is not the opinion of peoples overseas. It is at base the conscience of ourselves here at home, the conscience of both the deniers and the denied. We do this because we demand it of ourselves. We do it because it is right. And this is a nation where right has honor.

To the world USIA makes commentary upon where our racial concerns may lead us. Our difficulty is heightened in explaining such matters overseas by three things. There is a genuine misunderstanding of an extremely complex domestic problem with its roots deep in the U.S. past and in the U.S. present of economic, social, and political realities. Second, commercial news media of both this and other countries tend to unbalance circumstances by emphasizing sensational developments. This is the principle that violence makes headlines while nonviolence makes dull reading. Third, deliberate distortion by our enemies exploits an impression of pervasive injustice and intolerance in the United States coming from a nation which claims to champion equality and opportunity.

We are newsmen. As such we report events of racial discrimination and violence as they occur, for our audiences abroad have an understandably keen interest in such matters. But at the same time we attempt to place such occurrences in the context of this nation as a living democracy.

We know that this issue and its problems will be with us for a long time to come. Controversy and disorder will be its backwash. We shall not be able to undo wholly such unfavorable impressions of the United States as this will create.

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So our corrective task becomes one of showing that controversy and disorder are inevitable by-products of our national concern over equal rights for all. We do everything possible to offset the effect of distortions and misrepresentations. We seek to dispel ignorance. We aim to supplement oversimplification. We try to remedy incomplete information. Our goal is to obtain sympathetic understanding of interested nations for what we seek to do.

Thus we follow complete candor in recognizing the dimensions and complexity of the problem.

We detail the full and active Administration support of all measures required to solve the problem.

We indicate that the very struggles now compelling world-wide attention to the problem are themselves signs of progress. Democracy in action is never quiet.

We relate constructive movements to solutions at whatever level they occur -- national, regional, state, or local. We bear in mind that nationwide more schools, hospitals, theaters, restaurants, labor unions, and housing developments are integrated than are not. Each new instance of integration adds to an already favorable balance.

We seek out and use sources which give a continuing flow of news about significant constructive developments -- however unspectacular.

We background each positive item with materials to show that such developments are not unique but part of a mounting national trend.

We focus attention on the support of the majority of Americans for civil rights progress and programs already in operation and in submission by the President to the Congress.

We point out the large white participation and support of the colored man's call for equality.

We underline the positive response of major elements of this nation -- church groups, trade unions, business leaders, women's organizations, professional associations, students -- and the response of all to the President's call for cooperation.

We look for stories to humanize civil rights advances, telling of those proud but unknown individuals who help to win local gains.

We give prominence in materials for special audiences -- labor, women, students -- to civil rights activities of their U.S. counterparts.

We explain, as we inevitably must, the peculiar nature of the U.S. Federal

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system, making it clear that local officials are locally elected and local police are locally directed. They are not, as in many other countries, under control of the national government.

Do not misunderstand the intent of our Agency. We are under injunction to report the rough with the smooth, to relate unfavorable or controversial developments or resistance to the President and his program. But our purposes are to keep the broader national purposes in view -- and to report our progress, however attenuated, to the national goals we have set for ourselves. And we shall do this even when other sources of information, however motivated they may be in their reporting, tend to obscure those goals.

Sometimes, of course, this may involve great risk. When 200,000 people converged on Washington on August 28, all the facilities of our many media went into action. Our Press Service cameras photographed its length and breadth, with those photos later making their way to overseas posts for placement in local publications. News summaries on our wireless file, along with official statements and releases, were teletyped to seven geographical world areas. The Voice of America, with newscasts in 36 languages, was on the air with special coverage of the story throughout the day. Our Motion Picture Service has done a documentary centering on the March. Further, newsreel footage went into scores of movie houses for theater goers, particularly in Africa and Latin America. The Television Service did short sequences for placement worldwide on foreign TV stations.

This has the ring of sound preparation and efficient organization, as indeed it was. Where, you might ask, was the risk? The risk lay in what might have occurred. Had disturbances broken out our cameras and colleagues and copy would have been just as actively reporting tragedy as they did triumph.

From this arises a very fundamental lesson in propaganda. Propaganda is far more what we do than what we say. Propaganda of the deed is far better and a thousand times more lasting than propaganda of the word. Words can supplement or bolster but can never substitute for actions. We will be known far more by what we are than by what we say we are.

The civil rights struggle will indeed be a trying time for our democracy. Our people in a real sense will be on trial. And our concern will be not only with the ends we finally obtain but as well how we reach those ends. The verdict is not the only truth in our national jurisprudence. Democracy is as well concerned with the style of the trial.

There will be other spectators as well in this courtroom of international history. Two thirds of this planet is non-white; they would be less than human if they were not absorbed in the disposition we make of our own non-white difficulties.

They will regard us not only in their role as non-white onlookers but also as bearers of the legacy of poverty. Sensing their own new-born need for a better

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life, they will sense also the lack or presence of a social conscience in this, the world's richest nation with wealth enough to do whatever its dream commands. If we choose not to make honorable disposition of the Negro complainant in our court of history, they will know that it was not because we were unable. It will be that we chose to do less than honor in the face of injustice.

I am not so naive as to believe that morality alone will be the palliative for our international ills. Defense is difficult without strength to accompany morality. But neither can the judgments we now seek from other nations be commanded by force alone.

Man has not yet devised the command to hold the head and heart of him who dreams and dares.

Respect and confidence, like love from a woman and loyalty from an ally, must be earned. The American people stand now as a nation closely observed. The jury of peers has not yet been summoned to decision. But when that day arrives, let no one man here begrudge the evidence that he himself put into the scales of justice.

The Twentieth Century can be the century of liberty and justice. We inherit the past. But we earn the future. Let us consider our concerns of today with due respect to what we hope that future will bring.

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